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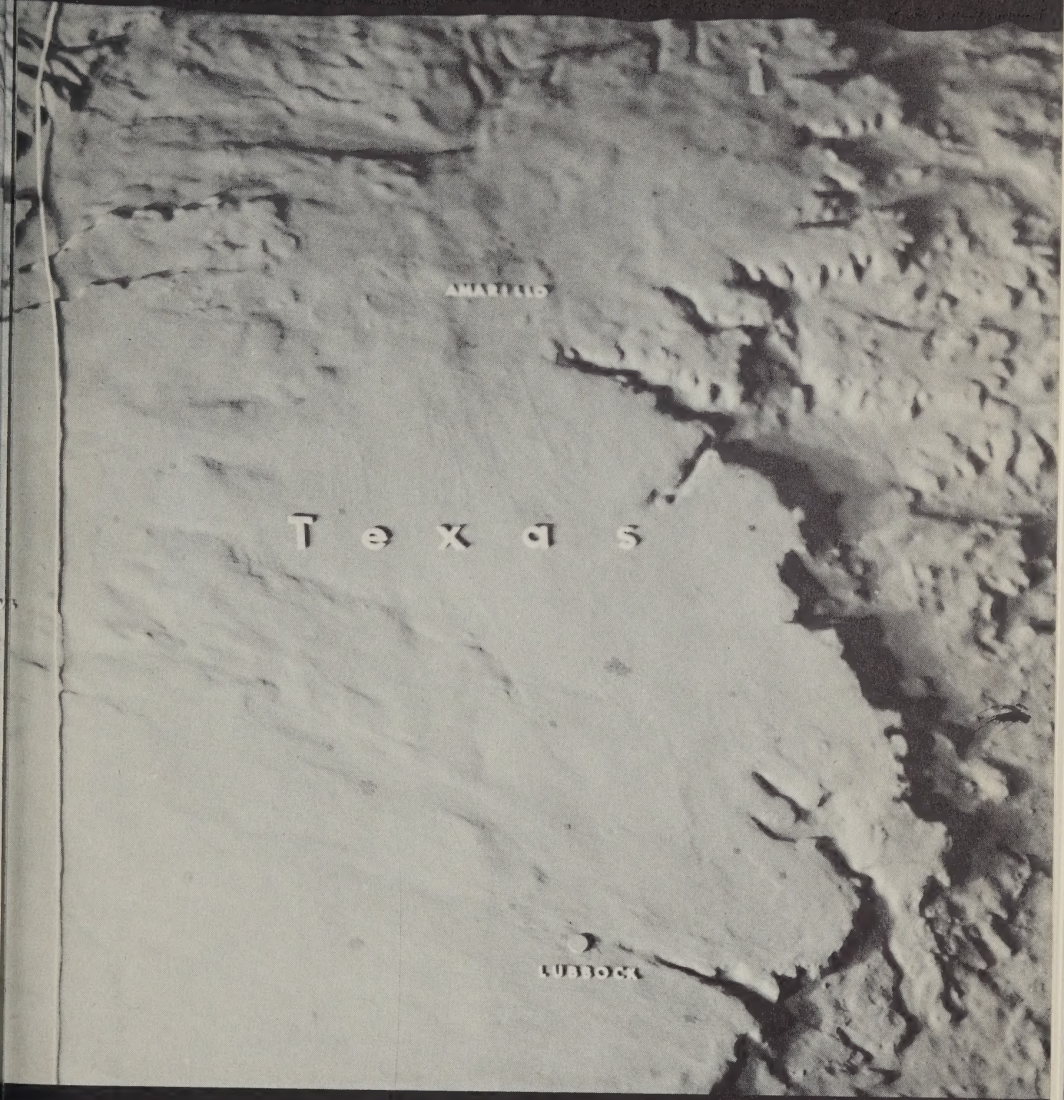
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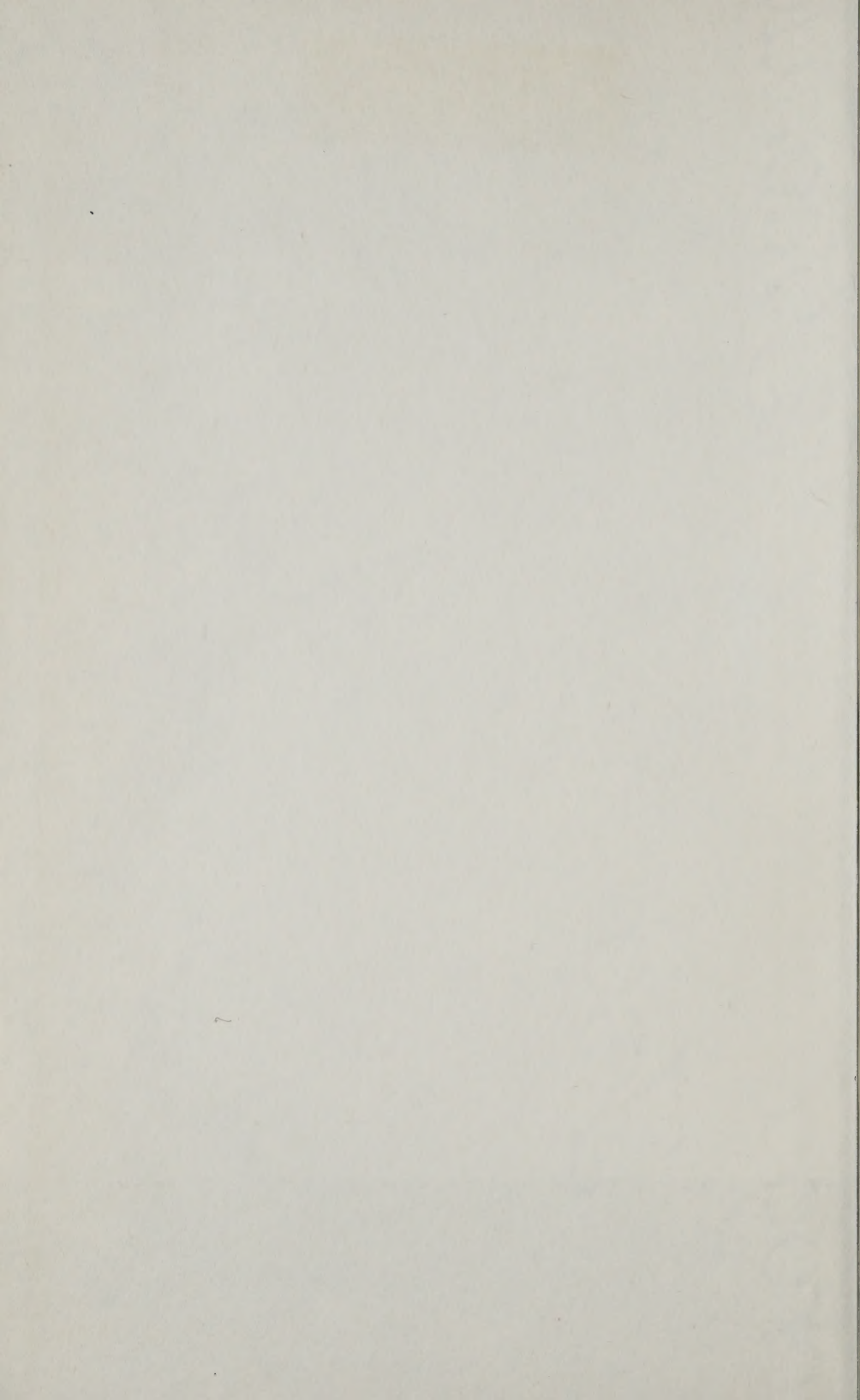
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LUBBOCK



A History of Lubbock



A History of Lubbock

edited by

LAWRENCE L. GRAVES

WEST TEXAS MUSEUM ASSOCIATION

on the campus

TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE

LUBBOCK

1962

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*To the Pioneer Settlers
of the
South Plains*

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Preface

This history of Lubbock was originally conceived as a tribute to the pioneers who settled the South Plains of Texas during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early ones of the twentieth. It first appeared as volumes III, IV, and V of the *Museum Journal* of the West Texas Museum Association for the years 1959-1961, and was intended to coincide with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the city of Lubbock in 1909. The first of the three parts into which the study is divided is intended to trace the development of Lubbock through the period of pre-history, down through the founding of the town, and on into the period following the first World War. The second part describes the material growth of the city from the early twenties to the present. The third part takes up cultural developments from the twenties through the years of the great depression and the second World War. With some exceptions, the account ends at about 1950.

The writing of urban history is a comparatively recent development in the field of historical writing, having come about mainly in the last three decades. But it is a field that is attracting more and more interest as the population of the country continues to accelerate, and as people continue to

concentrate more and more heavily in metropolitan areas. It seems increasingly important to understand this process and its repercussions on the nation. Perhaps some day a synthesis of urban development will be written.

The present volume records the rise of one American city, which in the speed of her growth, the problems faced, and the methods used to solve them, seems typical of many others across the country. Starting in 1890 as little more than a town promoter's dream and visible only as a handful of dusty, isolated shacks huddled together on the plains, the settlement has grown in less than three-quarters of a century to become a cosmopolitan center for some 150,000 people in the midst of an irrigated oasis. The speed of her growth has often perplexed visitors and residents alike; it is to be hoped that at least tentative answers for Lubbock's rise are suggested in this study.

Most cities in the United States resemble one another in various ways: They usually have a core of modern office buildings, an older sector of more dilapidated structures, an area of railroad yards with unsightly warehouses, and residential districts varying all the way from slums to suburban housing developments. And generally the people are more or less interchangeable in their business pursuits, political organization, recreational and religious habits, and their moral outlook. Lubbock fits this pattern, and yet there is the mark of West Texas upon her. Although the latest census credits her with over 125,000 people, she still maintains much of the spirit of small town individualism, together with a rather straitlaced moral attitude more characteristic of much smaller communities. A certain suspicion of such attributes of a modern industrial nation as government bureaucracy, labor unions, and commitments to foreign nations is to be noted. And there is also an informality of dress and habit not always found in older communities. Politics have been dominated by a group of prominent men who have stamped the city with

the mark of their ideas and concepts and have forestalled the rise of a class of professional politicians.

The record of any community is the sum of the individual efforts of her people. In some instances one dominant personality has controlled events over a period of time and been responsible for the directions taken. Lubbock, too, has had her leaders, especially in the earlier years. Yet, it has seemed to each of the authors that emphasis should be placed on group efforts and processes at work. We have thus not given extended biographical attention to individuals or families. Political institutions rather than specific leaders, economic forces instead of particular companies, the trend of religious development rather than histories of individual churches have been emphasized. During the course of this study it became apparent that much more work needed to be done in such areas as the development of welfare agencies, the impact of Texas Technological College on West Texas, the growth of labor unions, the nature and distribution of population groups, and the nature of the image the city's residents hold of themselves. No doubt these gaps will be filled by later investigators.

It may be questioned whether the history of a community can be undertaken profitably so early in its career. To this there are several possible answers. First, if we are to understand the workings of our society we must have studies of various of its facets. Unfortunately, it is not possible to wait until all the evidence is in. We must use what is available, leaving to others the correction of errors. Secondly, it is important to use data while it is still available and before it becomes scattered or lost. As early settlers die they take with them knowledge which can never be recovered. Perhaps one of the services of this volume may prove to be the preservation of a part of the source material for the history of the city, together with a stimulation of the desire to collect and preserve other data before it is irretrievably lost. Finally, the sheer pleasure of probing the many byways of city life has

been justification enough for those engaged in this project. One of the rewards accruing to the social scientist is the satisfaction of being able to probe the workings of a growing and developing institution such as a contemporary city.

The authors of the several essays are members of the faculty of Texas Technological College. Seymour Connor is professor of history and Director of the Southwest Collection, Merton Dillon is associate professor of history, Sylvan Dunn is associate archivist of the Southwest Collection and teaches sociology, Lawrence Graves is professor of history, W. C. Holden is professor of history and Director of the West Texas Museum, Winfred Steglich is professor and head of the Department of Sociology, David Vigness is professor and head of the Department of History, Mrs. Winifred Vigness formerly taught history, and Harry Walker is assistant professor of economics. Each has been left free to pursue his subject in his own way and to develop his own interpretations. Although certain inconsistencies and conflicts in interpretation were expected, it was thought best not to attempt to reconcile these completely, nor has close conformity in citation forms been achieved, although a general pattern was followed. The volume is intended as a compilation of original works.

The range of materials available for such a study as this is surprisingly wide, and an attempt has been made to locate and use as much of it as possible. Much reliance was placed upon official city and county records and local newspapers. Complete records were not always available; a flood in the basement of the Lubbock County Courthouse destroyed some early records, and fires in the offices of the Lubbock *Avalanche* disposed of parts of their files. Thus at some points much dependence has had to be placed on private records and memoirs. Personal interviews with early residents not only provided a wealth of material but also gave insights into events which could have been gained in no other way. The tape recordings of interviews with early residents on file in

the Southwest Collection of Texas Technological College have been of much help in filling gaps in information of early Lubbock. Many people familiar with the early history of the city gave generously of their time in making material available to those engaged in the study, as well as in helping to verify questionable points. Unfortunately, it would not be possible to cite each one individually, but without their help and interest this history could hardly have been written. Our only regret is that we could not have the benefit of the personal experiences of all those who pioneered in the making of the city.

The illustrations were selected with a view toward recording as many phases as possible of the city's development from its earliest days down to the present. Photographs were obtained from the files of the West Texas Museum Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the Office of Public Information of Texas Technological College, the Lubbock Symphony Orchestra, and Photo Craft Studios. A number of the photographs were taken by Reeves Photography, and a few by the Daniel Studio which formerly operated in the city. The Lubbock Chamber of Commerce opened the files of its monthly publication, *The Hub*, to us and made other data available; the files of the Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal* were also made available in the offices of that newspaper. City and county officials were unfailingly helpful to us in our use of their records. The staffs of the West Texas Museum Association and the Southwest Collection gave much assistance in tracking down elusive information. Dr. Earl Green drew the illustrations for the figures in chapter one, and the sketch map for the dust jacket. Dr. Sam Schulman helped with the preparation of the figures in Chapter 13. Miss Dorothy Rylander, Executive Secretary of the West Texas Museum Association, helped assemble the photographs and performed many other services. Mr. J. E. Vickers read the manuscript of part I and saved us from a number of errors.

The editor wishes to thank Dr. Seymour Connor, Director of the Southwest Collection, and Dr. W. C. Holden, Director of the West Texas Museum, for their advice and counsel. Thanks are due also to the contributors to this volume, each of whom gave generously of his time and effort in the preparation of his particular part of the study and thus made the editor's task less burdensome than it would otherwise have been. He also acknowledges with gratitude the seemingly unending patience and forbearance of those who were called upon for aid in solving the problems of publication, and not the least of these his wife.

LAWRENCE L. GRAVES

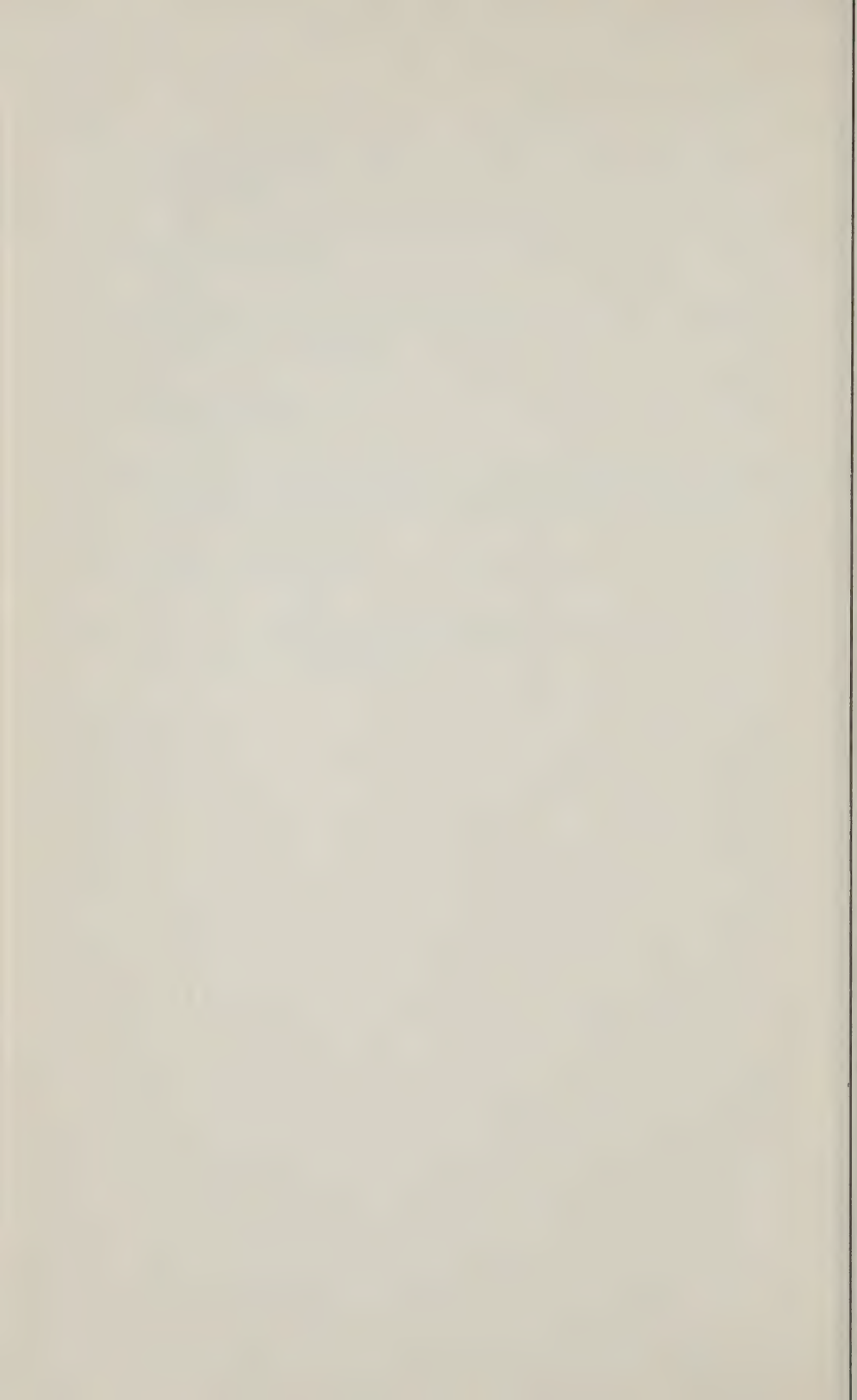
Lubbock, January 1962

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Part One: STORY OF A COUNTRY TOWN



The Land

W. C. Holden

LUBBOCK COUNTY and the Southern High Plains have not always appeared as they do now—a comparatively level tableland tilting downward towards the east. Four hundred and twenty million years ago, in Ordovician time, a great inland sea covered the area. Life was abundant and countless marine skeletons sank to the sea bottom to form the limestone now known as the Ellenberger formation, which holds pockets of oil, and lies more than two miles below the present surface of the land.

By two hundred and fifty million years ago, in the Pennsylvanian period, the sea had shrunk until it was not over four hundred miles across. To the southeast it extended to the Llanorian Mountains in the vicinity of Junction, and to the north it reached to the Amarillo Mountains whose tops are now hundreds of feet below the bed of the Canadian River. This buried range outcrops in western Oklahoma and is known as the Arbuckle Mountains. During the Pennsylvanian period the Ranger, Borger and Scurry County oil-bearing formations were laid down.

About two hundred and twenty million years ago a major geological change caused a gradual withdrawal of the sea. The runoff from some adjacent land uplift deposited red, clay silts in the vanishing sea. Oil was trapped in the red beds as they were laid down during eons of time, forming the Permian pools which lie beneath the land to the west and southwest of Lubbock. As the sea retreated towards the west, the land phase of the Permian began. The surface was low and marshy swamps prevailed. On the firmer expanses of ground huge sail lizards gave way to even larger reptiles.

A hundred and seventy million years ago a new age, the Triassic, began. Conditions were much like they were in the Permian. Red silt deposits continued to build up. Salt water swamps gave way to fresh water marshes. Phytosaurs and butteneria and lung fish appeared and the first dinosaurs lived, and later became the lords of animal creation.

The red beds grew and the swamps continued until sixty million years ago when the Cretaceous, the age of the dinosaurs, began. A number of species had evolved. The ferocious Tyrannosaurus made meals on the giant Brontosaurus, the largest land animal that ever lived. All went well, with the meat eating dinosaurs making meals off of vegetarian dinosaurs, until Nature bestirred herself. From swampy plains the Rocky Mountains were thrust up. They rose and fell many times, and the dinosaurs, unable to adjust to the catastrophic conditions, became extinct.

The last upthrust was in Pliocene time, ten million years ago. Since this last uplift, the earth's crust has been fairly stable and the changing terrain has been fashioned by erosion. The mountain crests at the beginning of the Pliocene towered at least five miles above the sea. Moisture-laden winds from the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico travelled across the lowlands until they reached the mountains, where they rose to pass over the summits. As they ascended, the air expanded, causing it to cool. With the cooling came condensation, rain,

and snow. So great was the height of the column of air involved that the amount of precipitation may have approached that on the eastern slope of the Andes today. The excessive rainfall caused many great rivers to flow towards the east and southeast. The eroding action of the runoff in the high elevations was tremendous, and the streams carried countless tons of silt (see Figure 1a). When the rivers reached the foot of the mountains and started across the swampy plains toward the sea, their currents slowed and they deposited their burdens on the flood plains along their courses. When their beds and flood plains built up in one area with the sediments, they swung to adjacent lower ground. In this way, they zigzagged back and forth, ever building up an alluvial deposit from Canada to the Edwards Plateau in Texas, and extending from the base of the mountains for hundreds of miles towards the east. The average thickness of this alluvial deposit was about three hundred feet (see Figure 1b). The broad, sandy beds of innumerable buried rivers at various depths in the deposits constitute the water sands which hold the water for our irrigation wells on the South Plains today. The clay banks separating the water sands were once the flood plains of the same Pliocene rivers. It is hard for us to imagine the size of these ancient streams. Many of them may have been larger than the Mississippi today, and some may have been comparable to the Amazon.

As the mountains wore down, the thickness of the column of moisture-laden air forced upward decreased and rainfall decreased. By the time the summits were only two miles high the rivers flowing east across the plains were reduced in size, and only a few of them remained. Then the Pecos River, a young stream, began cutting its way northward from the Rio Grande, at a point twenty miles west of the present town of Comstock. It began a new erosional cycle, and as it fingered its course parallel to the base of the mountains, it beheaded and stole the headwaters of all the streams, except the Cana-

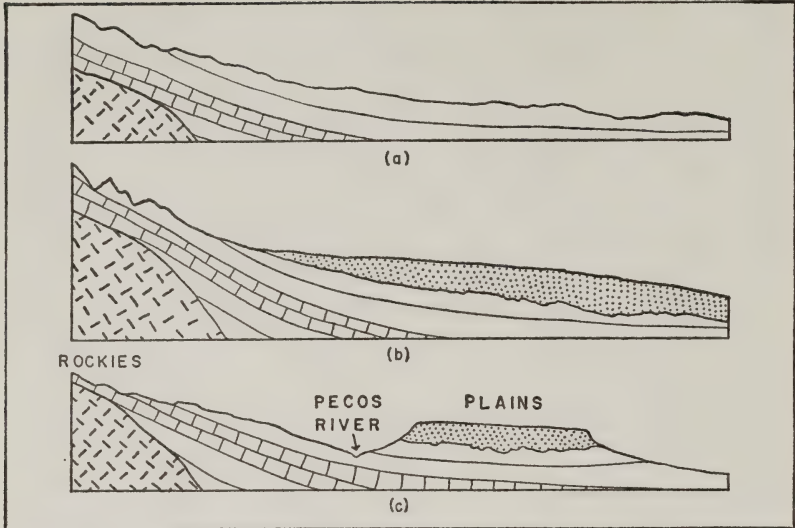


FIGURE 1. — Generalized cross sections showing formation of plains. (a) Before Pliocene time; (b) During Pliocene time: Rocky Mountains stood high and thick deposits were laid down east of mountains; (c) Present: Erosion has isolated plains by removing material from both sides.

dian, flowing from the mountains across the Texas Plains (see Figure 1c). Seminole Draw once drained the east slope of the Sacramento Mountains and its upper tributary was the Pensasco. Sulphur Draw, before it had its waters pirated was the Hondo, the Yellow House drained the region from Mountaineire to Lamy, and Blanco Canyon was watered by the Sangre de Christo Range.

When the headwaters of these streams were cut off no further deposition from the mountains was possible. The wind then took a hand in fashioning the appearance of the land. It scoured, levelled, and filled in the remaining river valleys until they were mere etchings. The result can be seen by contrasting the Yellow House, or the Blanco, with the Canadian Valley across the north Panhandle. The amount of filling in of the Yellow House and the Blanco is evidenced by the fact that when the Santa Fe built the railroad from Plainview to Lub-

bock, the bridge pilings were driven down nearly a hundred feet in the Blanco and the Yellow House without reaching the old river bottoms.

The surface of the Plains became stabilized and generally levelled. Moisture from the water trapped in the sands of the old river beds below rose slowly to the surface by capillary action. When it reached the air zone, usually twelve to thirty inches from the surface, depending on the tightness of the top soil, it evaporated, depositing its mineral content, which was largely calcium. In this way a caliche zone was formed in much the same way as a deposit was made in the tea kettles in days of wood or coal stoves, or as is the case in our water heaters and pipes in this age of gas and electricity.

The cement property of the calcium made the caliche zone much harder and more rock-like than the thin top soil above or the hundreds of feet of sedimentary strata below. The Pecos River, aided by wind erosion, cut a wide valley between what is now the High Plains and the worn-down mountains to the west. Water erosion, helped to a lesser extent by the wind, has slowly pushed back the High Plains, but on both the east and west the caliche Caprock has resisted encroachment. The fact that the Caprock is harder than the formations below causes the escarpments to be precipitous, and if they could be viewed from a hundred miles up, it would make the High Plains appear as a mesa-like tableland.

The High Plains are steadily becoming more narrow. In spite of the highly resistant character of the Caprock on the east and west sides, the erosive agents, rain, wind, and frost action, are constantly whittling away the escarpments, perhaps at a rate of one inch a year. As time, which is ageless, goes on, valuable level land along the rims will disappear.

The physical character of the High Plains makes for several distinctive economic advantages. Rainfall is utilized to the maximum, because there is no runoff except in canyon valleys which transverse them. The richness of the top soil, fer-

tilized for hundreds of thousands of years by verdant growth of native grasses, makes it highly productive. The levelness of the land lends itself to fullest use of power machinery. Fossil water, trapped in the old river sands below, makes irrigation highly profitable.

Irrigation, however, is of limited duration. A popular fallacy prevails among some exploiters of the water to the effect that the source of the underground water is in the Rocky Mountains and that the supply is being constantly recharged. No reputable geologist accepts this view. The bottoms of the sands containing the water are several hundred feet above the valley floors cut by the Pecos on the west and the Canadian on the north (see Figure 2). There is no known strata which could siphon the water under either of the valleys and elevate it up to the water sands. Recharge can only come from current rainfall on the surface. Moisture penetrates into the water sands from lakes and from the sandhills, where in some places the water sands lie very near the bottom of the surface sands.

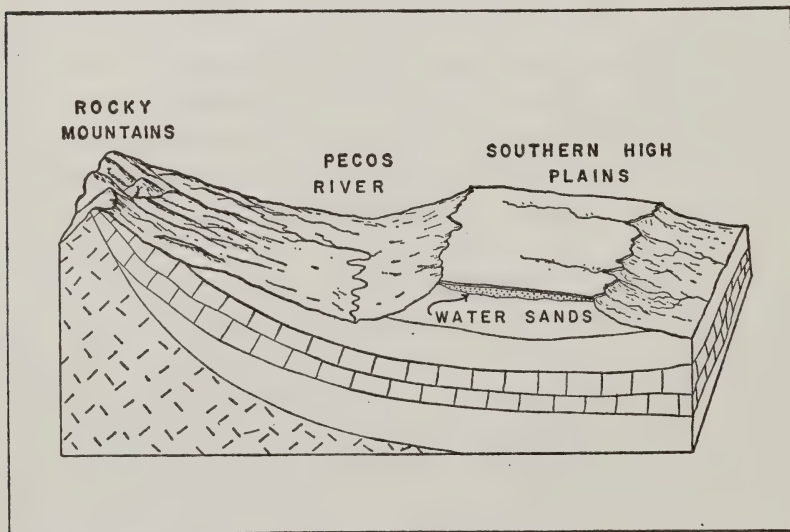


FIGURE 2.—Generalized diagram showing isolated water-bearing sands of the Southern High Plains. No scale intended.

However that may be, the present consumption of underground water exceeds the recharge. The water table is steadily falling, and the sands which hold the water are only so thick. A conservation program utilizing proper land management so that all natural rainfall will go into the land can extend the use of underground irrigation water for the benefit of the region. But when the irrigation water is dissipated the surface features of the High Plains will remain, and after the country reverts to dry land farming, the Plains will still have distinct advantages.

PLANT AND ANIMAL LIFE

Vegetation and animal life changed very little from the time of the early Spanish expeditions in the 1500's to the advent of the Anglo-American buffalo hunter in the 1870's. The grasses were the same. The great level expanses were covered with buffalo grass intermixed with blue grama. The two afforded a fine turf five to six inches high. In the late summer on seasonable years the delicate stems of the blue grama, topped with fragile seed heads, projected six inches above the levelness of the turf. These were the grasses Castañeda said in 1541 "grew a span or more" in height. In moist ground near lakes and streams grew tall switch grass, side oats grama, and bluestem. Coronado said these grasses reached "to the stirrups of the saddles."

Occasional scattered yucca, *gloriosa*, with its slender, stiff, prickly, light green stems dotted the landscape. Only when the yucca sent up a flowering waxy stalk from its center did it tend to relieve the monotony of the grassy seas. Then, especially in the moonlight, the gently swaying masses of white blossoms, standing three to four feet above the ground, added a poetic touch to the vastness of the plains.

At rare intervals, usually on the west sides of lakes, were patches of a dark, sprangly shrub known as cat's-claw, *Acacia greggii*. It was well named because its little barbs had the

shape, size, and toughness of a cat's claw. Settlers came to recognize "cat's-claw land" as good farming soil which was drouth resistant.

One plant the Anglo-Americans encountered, which was not here in the 1500's, was the mesquite. An intruder from the southeast, it had not been here long when the buffalo hunters came. Nor did it grow high enough to detract from the sea-like levelness of the terrain. Periodic grass fires reduced the mesquite to slender switches above ground, the main body of the tree's mass being the root system beneath.

Before the advent of the Anglo-Americans some cottonwood and hackberry trees grew along the water courses in the canyons. These were quickly cut down by buffalo hunters and early settlers to make their dugouts. Trees which escaped this usage were soon cut for fence or corral posts.

The seasonable, though rare, occurrence of wild flowers was a manifestation of nature which never ceased to puzzle the old-timers. The seeds could lie dormant on, or in, the ground through drouths like that of 1885-1887 or 1890-1893, and then, sometimes at intervals of seven or eight years, burst forth on a wet spring with utmost profusion. In May the whole face of the earth would be a veritable carpet of many colors, yellow, blue, red, and brown. Tahoka daisies, buttercups, verbena, Indian paint brush, "nigger-heads" and scores of other flowers responded in unison to the favorable elements and vied with each other in creating a great floral pageant.

The carpet of luxuriant and nutritious grass which covered the High Plains made animal life profuse. The quadruped which impressed the early Spaniards most of all was the bison, commonly known as buffalo. They had no name for him, and so they referred to the tens of millions of buffaloes which they encountered as *las vacas*, "the cows." A stupid, shaggy animal, the buffalo was a picturesque companion of the Plains Indian, the source of the Indians' food, clothes, shelter, and fuel.

Next to the buffalo in numbers was the antelope, a grace-

ful, curious, nimble creature with large, innocent eyes. His horns were hollow like those of a goat or cow, but he shed them every year like a deer. The upper parts and sides of the doe were a rich tan, and the underparts, rump, tail, sides of the face, lips and chin were white. Two white bands extended under the throat, and the mane was russet, tipped with black. Because antelope hides never had a commercial value, the delicate animal survived the buffalo on the South Plains by three decades. Their number is indicated by an incident occurring in 1890. A prolonged snow had caused cattle and antelope to drift southward until they came to the north IOA Ranch fence about three miles south of Singer's store. When clouds cleared, the IOA hands went to push the cattle north to Yellow House Canyon where there was more shelter and water. They found three thousand antelope mixed with five thousand cattle. The antelope were snow blind and could not be driven. The cowboys had to weave in and out among them in order to separate the cattle. It took two days to get the cattle three miles back to the Canyon. After the snow melted the blindness of the antelope cleared, and the herd disappeared.

Antelope fawns made wonderful pets while young, but when they grew up they became mischievous, like goats, butting people with great glee until eventually they would have to be disposed of.

Occasionally, though rarely, a black bear was seen on the South Plains. In 1883 some cowboys found and roped one about ten miles east of where Lubbock was subsequently located. Two years later a bear went off the Caprock into the horse pasture of the Square and Compass Ranch and stampeded 140 saddle horses. They ran through a fence, tore it down, and 38 were badly cut. One had to be killed. The bear got away.

The early settlers frequently saw on the Plains a small fox which they called "a swift." It was about the size of a Maltese cat, though its body was a little longer. It could outrun a jack

rabbit. Cowboys sometimes chased them on horseback, but no one horse could ever overhaul a "swift." On one occasion four cowboys of the IOA Ranch, mounted on fresh horses, jumped one. They gave chase, and, by taking short cuts and working in relays, they finally caught it. The ground was dry and hard, and the feet of the little animal were torn and bleeding. Some of its toe nails were hanging loose. If the ground had been soft, the cowboys were convinced they could never have outrun it.

The South Plains was not a good deer country. A few were found along the canyons and below the Caprock, but the deer was not adapted for the level, open expanses. He needed trees and uneven terrain for protection. Unlike the antelope, he loved to mix browsing with his grazing.

Rabbits, both cottontails and jack rabbits, were on the Plains when the first settlers arrived, but they were not nearly so plentiful as they were later when the wolves and coyotes were thinned out. Until the white man upset nature's balance, rabbits were no problem. Then they became a menace to gardens, young fruit trees, and field crops. It was generally considered that twenty jack rabbits could do as much damage in a field as one grown cow.

The predatory animal which inflicted the greatest damage upon early settlers was the lobo wolf. One lobo would do more harm than a dozen coyotes. A grown lobo could kill a good size yearling. When there were two lobos they could kill a cow, something they frequently did for the sake of eating the unborn calf. A female lobo with a den of cubs to support always had a ravenous appetite. She preferred a fat calf, but in the absence of more tender meat, she would tackle the toughest cow in the pasture. The average ranch sustained more loss from lobos than from cattle thieves.

The arroyos which drained into Yellow House Canyon were splendid breeding places for lobos. There was a ridge about two miles southwest of the IOA headquarters which

was called "Loafer Ridge." An old bitch made her den in the same hole every year for three years until they finally killed her.

Lobos became so detrimental to the IOA Ranch in 1892 that the manager employed two professional hunters. He furnished them with grub, horses, horse feed, and paid twenty dollars per scalp. The lobos were too smart to be trapped, so the men ran them down with hounds. They caught twenty-five that winter.¹

Old-timers recall that coyotes were much more numerous than lobos, but not so destructive to domesticated animals. They lived for the most part on small game, rabbits, ground squirrels, quail, and young antelope. If they could find a small calf with its mother away they would pounce on it. They were cowardly animals, and would never attack anything unless they had every advantage and were sure of themselves. They often ran in packs of five, six, or seven, and occasionally twenty to thirty. If the pack were large enough and they became sufficiently hungry they might tackle a yearling. Instead of snapping at the hamstrings in the back legs, or at the throat, as the lobos did, they grabbed the tail. Often yearlings, and on rare occasions a cow, would be found with their tails bitten off. Coyotes were sly and sneaky. On the roundup it was customary to drive a beef to be slaughtered close to the chuck wagon so that the meat would not have to be carried very far. During the night coyotes would slip within a few feet of where the men were sleeping to get the head or the entrails. Many times a cowboy would raise up on his elbow and kill a coyote with his six-shooter.²

Prairie dogs abounded on the High Plains in countless numbers at the advent of the white men. The Spaniards who crossed the Plains during the fifteen hundreds made no mention of them. It is likely that, like the mesquite, they had not migrated into the region at that time. By 1887 there was a continuous "prairie dog town" from Colorado City to Ama-

rillo. Lubbock was in the heart of a dense prairie dog population. There has scarcely ever been a basement dug in Lubbock that did not have from one to a dozen old prairie dog holes in it.³

The prairie dog became an economic detriment to grass and crops. His holes were a menace to cattle and horses. Many a horse had a leg broken and subsequently had to be shot as a result of stepping in a prairie dog hole. So great was the damage that it was inevitable that the prairie dog had to go.

His extermination was brought about with widespread and concerted effort on the part of the cattlemen and farmers. Anti-prairie dog mass meetings were held. In some communities the citizens would pool their funds, assessing each man according to his acreage and letting contracts to regular prairie dog exterminating companies.⁴ The job was so thoroughly done that the little creatures would have become totally extinct had not K. N. Clapp, Chairman of the Lubbock Park Board, collected two families and started a restricted colony in Mackenzie Park in 1937. This "Prairie Dog Town" is now (1959) one of Lubbock's tourist attractions.

Snakes were fairly plentiful along the Caprock, the canyon rims, and in the prairie dog towns. The only poisonous snake was the rattler. Bull snakes, coach whips, and grass snakes were frequently seen. One day in the spring of 1891 Rollie Burns was riding across the pasture of the IOA Ranch and saw what appeared to be a bundle of snakes about the size of a bushel measure, all coiling and writhing. He observed there were two tails and one head. He fired several shots at the wriggling mass, and then got a stick and untwisted the pile of snakes. He found a large bull snake was trying to swallow a rattlesnake of equal size, and had him half down. After that he never killed a bull snake unless he found him near his chicken house. The relentless battle which the white man has waged against rattlesnakes has all but eliminated them on the High Plains. Only rarely has one been reported since the

1930's. Because most people cannot tell the difference between rattlers and non-poisonous snakes the latter have practically disappeared also.

Quail, both bob-whites and blue quail, were abundant on the South Plains. To a lesser extent wild turkey and prairie chickens were found in sandy areas where shin oak grew. Due to absence of trees, arboreal birds were seldom seen. Occasionally an eagle, which nested along the canyon rims and the Caprock, soared lazily over the prairie looking for live game — a rabbit, squirrel, small antelope, deer, or calf.

In 1885 Rollie Burns was riding across the plains when he saw an eagle swoop down and throw a calf head over heels. He rode towards the scene as fast as he could, but before he got there the eagle had both of the calf's eyes pecked out and had begun to peck a hole in the calf's flank where the hide is thinnest and nearest the entrails. That was the eagle's method, to peck out the eyes and disembowel its prey before the victim was dead. Burns took a shot at the bird and missed. He then shot the calf.⁵

Buzzards were more numerous in the 1880's and 1890's than now. Wildlife was far more abundant then and afforded much carrion, the buzzard's food. Of all the birds he was the most revolting and depraved. A cowboy in 1884 saw one light on the rim of the Caprock and go in a hole near the edge. He had always wanted to see a buzzard's nest, so he climbed the bluff to the place where the buzzard had disappeared. In a shallow hole he saw the mother buzzard and two young ones, the ugliest creatures he had ever seen. When the old buzzard saw the cowboy she went to the cave, began to flap her wings and vomit. The man backed away and the old buzzard retired to the back of the cave. The cowboy went closer, and the mother went out and began to vomit at him again. It was the worst smelling scent the man had ever encountered. The cowboy concluded that was the buzzard's means of defense and he could testify it was effective. No vermin with a sense of

smell could ever venture into a buzzard's nest. By the same token, no other carrion eater was ever known to eat a dead buzzard.⁶

In seasonable years when the lakes were full, migratory water fowl stopped over during their flights south in the fall and again on their way northward in the spring. Occasionally a few ducks or geese, or both, spent the winter here. They were wary, and it was hard to get a shot at them. People were too busy to build blinds and spend hours lying in wait. The result was that wild duck was seldom on the tables of the early settlers.

The climate of the South Plains on the whole is moderate, and at times pleasant, especially in the fall. The Lubbock area, with an elevation of 3,220 feet, has cool nights throughout the summer. With well heated houses and travel in heated cars, the winters no longer seem severe. During the 1880's and 1890's the Plains were regarded as a region of extreme weather changes. With boxed houses, little fuel, distances far, and travel by horseback or in open buggies, people were much more sensitive to the vagaries of weather. It has been known to snow in July, and people have gone for days in their shirt-sleeves in January. Long, protracted drouths have been followed by equally disastrous floods. A blue, piercing blizzard has changed a balmy day into zero weather in a matter of minutes.

On January 13, 1886, a blizzard occurred which was long remembered. George Boles had killed an antelope and had started skinning it when the norther hit. Before he could finish, the hide had frozen stiff and he was unable to complete the skinning. Water froze in a well twenty feet below the surface. Cattle drifted against fences and froze to death by the thousands. Some which survived had their hooves frozen so badly they later dropped off and the animals had to be killed.

Sandstorms in the winter and spring were unpredictable

and violent. Frank Wheelock and Rollie Burns started to Amarillo in a buggy in April 1895. When they were a few miles north of Lubbock a sandstorm blew up, straight out of the north. They let the buggy top back to keep it from blowing off. Then they had to hold their hats on. When they reached the McWhorter place in Hale County they had to stop. Mr. McWhorter lived in a two-story adobe house. The walls would sway in and out two or three inches. During the night the windmill blew over. The next day, after the wind had quieted a little, the travelers started on. When they got to Amarillo they found it had snowed there. Drifts were ten feet high in places, but the streets north and south were swept clean. When Wheelock and Burns returned to Lubbock they found windmills were down all over the country. In Lubbock the new frame courthouse was so careened and twisted the doors would not shut, and the central tower had been blown off. The roof had to be taken off before the building could be squared up. In the rebuilding the tower was not replaced. The cook at the Nicolett Hotel said that while the sandstorm was at its worst he could not touch the stove because of the electricity in the air.⁷

Mirages are a by-product of the weather. Atmospheric conditions cause celestial stratification which acts as lenses and mirrors, which then project images above the horizon. Cowboys sometimes saw cattle twenty-five feet tall grazing near a lake which was not there, or a horse and rider would appear forty feet tall. Most astonishing occurrences took place. Estacado was twenty-two miles from the headquarters of the IOA Ranch, and over a considerable ridge. The region around Estacado was much more rolling than was commonly the case on the South Plains. Approaching from the south one could not see the town until he was within four or five miles of the place. One clear, frosty morning people at the IOA headquarters saw Estacado elevated above the horizon. Everything was visible. The panes in the windows in the south and

west sides of the courthouse could be counted. Horses could be seen tied to the hitching posts in front of the stores and blacksmith shop. People were walking about the streets, and some of the IOA cowboys claimed they could recognize individuals.

That fall another illusion, equally strange, occurred. The IOA branding outfit was camped eight miles south of Yellow House Canyon, practically due south of Buffalo Spring. The next morning, after the sun rose, the camp appeared as if it were located on the canyon rim. Below, water was running in the creek. Hackberry trees dotted the water course, and cattle were grazing along the sides of the canyon. If the men had not known they were miles away, over a rise, they would have sworn they could have walked down into the Canyon to the creek in less than five minutes.⁸

Mirages still occur on the Plains, but the illusiveness of the land was greater before the sod was broken, and before houses, windmills, and trees detracted from the ocean-like expanses of sky and grass.

FOOTNOTES

¹ W. C. Holden, *Rollie Burns* (Dallas, 1932), 168-170.

² *Ibid.*, 40-41.

³ K. N. Clapp to W. C. Holden, interview, June 24, 1959.

⁴ W. C. Holden, *Alkali Trails* (Dallas, 1930), 231-232.

⁵ Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 138-139.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 204-205.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 171-173.

2

Indians, Spaniards, and Anglos

W. C. Holden

THE FIRST PEOPLE to live within the present city limits of Lubbock were not the buffalo hunters, not the Spanish conquistadores, nor the Comanches, but a race of sturdy hunters who camped from time to time beside the Lubbock Lake Site from three thousand to twenty thousand years before the advent of Christ. The term, Lubbock Lake Site, is misleading, because there is no lake to be seen there today, and only a few old-timers know there was ever such a body of water. Yet the designation is well known in archaeological circles throughout the United States and Europe. As a matter of fact, Lubbock's reputation is greater in scientific circles for the Lubbock Lake Site (and "Flying Saucers") than for any economic or civic reason.

The site is located just north of the Littlefield Branch of the railroad about a mile and a half northwest of the College Avenue crossing. Yellow House Canyon makes a sharp bend there, and lying in the elbow until the 1920's was a lake which covered about ten acres. It was fed by springs on the west side. Before the water table was lowered, the springs kept the lake

at a constant level. Rollie Burns reported that during the 1880's and 90's he had seen as many as ten thousand cattle watering there at one time. The overflow from the lake was sufficient to cause Yellow House Canyon to run a stream of clear, cold water a dozen feet wide and a foot deep all the way down its course. The lake was commonly referred to by buffalo hunters and early cattlemen as the headwaters of the Brazos.

City water wells, augmented by irrigation wells in the 1930's, lowered the water table until it was below the lake bottom, which became a grass-covered, marshy bog. The action was not ascribed to the fall of the water table at the time, but to the supposition that the lake had "filled in" and the springs "sealed off." The city purchased the site with surrounding land, ninety-three acres in all, as a future water reserve. It was believed that all the engineers would have to do was to clean out the lake and unseal the springs.

Then came the Depression, unemployment, and the Public Works Administration. The authorities were desperate for projects which would put people to work. The city, at little expense to itself, sponsored a project to clean out the lake. The thought was that hundreds of men working with spades and wheelbarrows could be used. Soon it was found that the old lake bed was too boggy and waterlogged for hand labor. The money was then used for power machinery. Earth-moving contractors needed work too. A great semicircular channel, forty to fifty feet wide and over twenty feet deep, was cut in the old lake bottom. Water stood in it to the rim. It was a pretty sight to see, with the water so clear and blue one could distinguish objects at the bottom. But the springs did not flow. No use was made of the water, other than that the channel became a swimming hole. Several boys were drowned there, due to the fact that Lubbock boys at the time had never had an opportunity to learn to swim.

In the late 1930's the drilling of irrigation wells in the re-

gion was accelerated, and the water table in the channel began dropping at a rate of about two feet a year. By 1945 it was below the bottom of the channel, and today is about thirty feet below that. What has taken place at this site is a graphic illustration of what is happening to the water table throughout the Southern High Plains. The water sands vary in thickness, and none are known to be over two hundred feet thick; most of them are less than sixty feet thick. What the future holds is obvious unless there is a drastic reduction in discharge and a considerable increase in recharge from surface sources.

When the channel of Lubbock Lake dried up, the beautiful geological banding of the almost perpendicular banks was revealed. The site was visited by Dr. E. D. Sellards and Mr. Glen Evans, geologists from the Texas Memorial Museum at Austin. They were especially interested in the late Pleistocene epoch and the advent of the earliest hunters who killed the now extinct mammals, such as elephant, camel, horse, ground sloth, dire wolf, and *Bison antiquus*. They discovered that the strata at the Lubbock site were almost identical with those in a similar site on the same ancient drainage system between Clovis and Portales, New Mexico. That location has become known in archaeological literature as the Clovis site. The two sites constitute geological columns which contain a chronological record, superimposed one on the other, of all the known cultural groups who lived in the Southwest, from the elephant hunters twenty thousand years ago to the Comanches of a hundred years ago. At no other known place in the New World is such a complete chronological record to be found (see Figure 3).

At the bottom of the channel, extending downward for a considerable depth, is a layer of caliche gravel which was laid down long ago by a running stream of local origin. Abundant in the stratum are the bones of elephant, the prehistoric horse, several species of camel, the huge, stupid ground sloth, dire wolf, antelope, and *Bison antiquus*, an animal with enormous

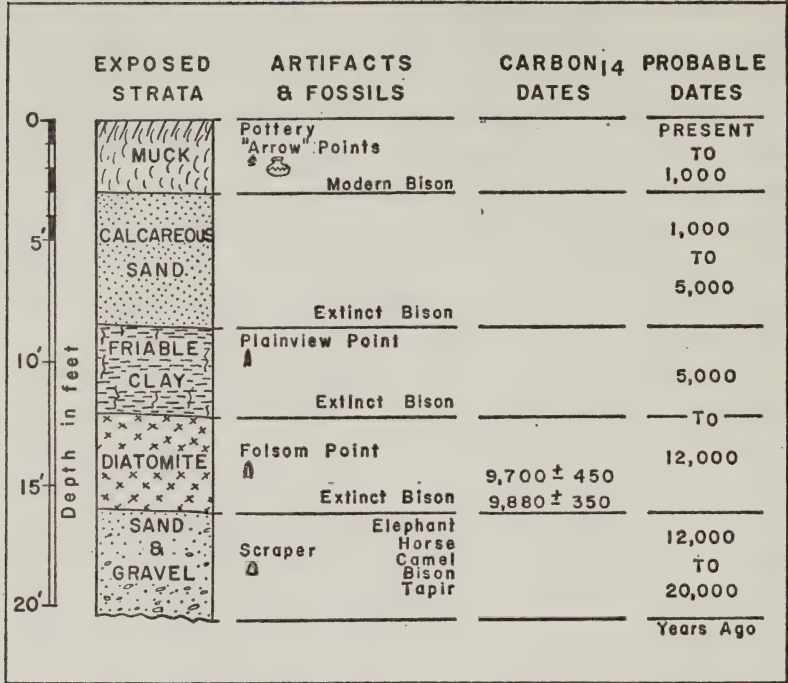


FIGURE 3.— Chart showing stratification of the Lubbock Lake Site.

horns extending out from the sides of his head and much larger than modern bison. In this layer at the Clovis site several large spear points (see Figure 4a) have been found in close association with elephant bones. The bones are as plentiful in the Lubbock site, and there is every reason to believe that Clovis points will be forthcoming with sufficient excavation. Man's association with the elephant has been determined by the flourine system of dating to extend back as far as twenty thousand years ago.

At the top of the caliche gravel formation is a geological disconformity indicating a period of erosion of unknown duration. It was sufficiently long for the elephant, camel, horse, and probably sloth to become completely extinct. About the end of the last ice age some radical climatic change did away

with these noble animals in the new world. Man, more intelligent and more adjustable, survived. Only the *Bison antiquus* survived the rigors of the transition.

At the close of the transition the Lubbock Lake Site became a lake in whose still waters conditions were ideal for diatoms, whose tiny skeletons sank to the bottom, creating a layer of diatomite, a substance which, when dry, is as light as cork. Men were on hand to hunt bison. They used a small, beautifully worked, full fluted point known now as the Folsom point (see Figure 4b). It is to be recalled that no Folsom point has ever been found with elephant, horse, or camel. This tends to indicate the Folsom technique was developed after the disappearance of these animals. A number of Folsom

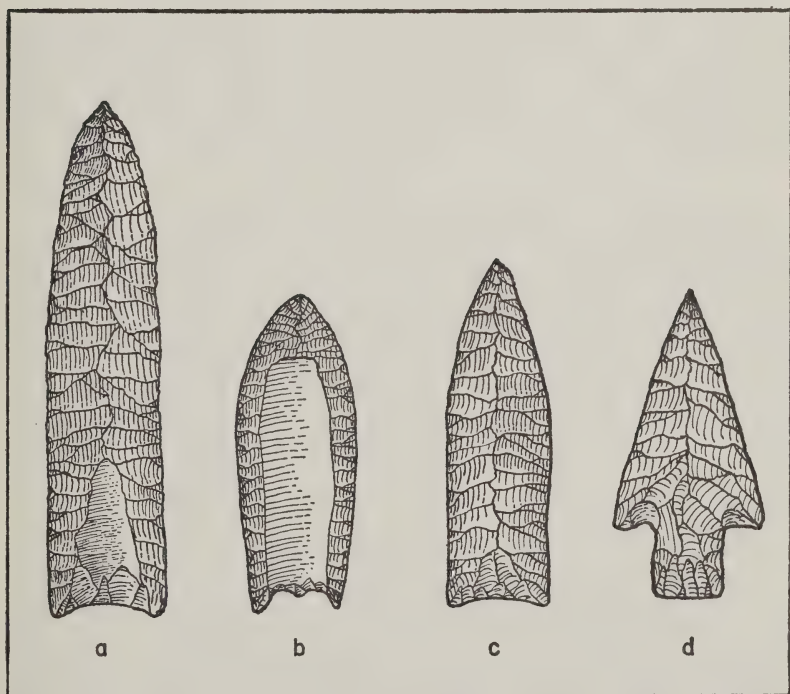


FIGURE 4.—Projectile points. a. Clovis point. b. Folsom point. c. Plainview point. d. Archaic point.

points have been found embedded in *Bison antiquus* bones in the diatomite layer of the Lubbock site.

About nine thousand years ago conditions changed, the lake disappeared, and the site became the flood plain of a nearby river. A deposition of about four feet of dark clay was laid on the diatomite. The clay is peculiar in that when dry it fractures in tiny, perpendicular spars, hence the term, friable zone. In this is found the Plainview type point (see Figure 4c), which may overlap the Folsom culture, but extends to a later period.

The calcareous sand layer at the Lubbock site contains cruder artifacts, now classified as archaic points. (See Figure 4d for generalized forms.) These represent a time interval from about five thousand to one thousand years ago.

In the dark muck at the top of the column, representing the last, and historic lake, by which George Singer built his store about 1881, are found points and other flint artifacts of late Plains Indians, such as the Comanches, Apaches, Kiowas, and other groups.

The evidence found at the Lubbock Lake Site reveals unequivocally that men have lived for tens of thousands of years in Lubbock County, and that the first Spanish conquistadors, four hundred years ago, were only recent comers. The City of Lubbock has given a long term lease of the site to the West Texas Museum Association in order that this important spot may be preserved and utilized for further scientific investigation. We can not now visualize just what new and startling secrets the unexcavated area of the site will reveal.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS

The first Europeans to gaze upon the grass-covered plains of Lubbock County and to visit Lubbock Lake were the Spanish Explorers. There is evidence that the first Spanish *entrada* came this way four centuries ago. Captain Francisco Vasquez de Coronado in 1540 led the first expedition to ex-

plore the Southwest in search of gold and the souls of the Indian inhabitants. In 1541 he came to the "Buffalo Plains" looking for the golden city of Quivira. Coronado's route remains controversial. Of six writers who have made studies of the route, two¹ are convinced that he journeyed as far south as Yellow House Canyon. Their basis for this contention is a direct, positive statement in one of the four accounts of the Coronado expedition, written by men who were there. The most comprehensive of the four, as to places, directions and distances is the *Relacion del Suceso*. It states that when Coronado's army, consisting of over three hundred mounted Spaniards, and a greater number of Indian helpers driving five thousand sheep, left Pecos pueblo, Cicuye, twenty-six miles east of the present city of Santa Fe in search of the fabulous, if imaginary, province of Quivira, it travelled "one hundred and fifty leagues, one hundred to the east and fifty to the south." At this point Coronado changed his direction, started northeast and finally found Quivira, a squalid place, in central Kansas.

Where would a point one hundred leagues east and fifty miles south of Pecos pueblo be found? If one takes an assembly of state maps of the United States Geological Survey and uses a 2.63 mile league, the point at which Coronado changed direction falls within the present city limits (after annexation) of Lubbock. The exact spot was probably the Lake Site, a favorite camping spot from the time of the elephant hunters to the advent of the Anglo buffalo hunters.

Some students of Coronado's route say they do not believe the writer of *Relacion del Suceso* knew what he was talking about when he said the army went one hundred leagues east and fifty leagues south of Pecos pueblo. We contend that he did know. The Spanish personnel of the expedition was composed of a group of hand picked men. One contemporary writer, Castañeda, said of them "When the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendosa, saw what a noble company had come to-

gether, and knowing the worth of these men, he would have liked very well to make every one of them captain of an army." The group was made up of men of attainment. Most of them had navigated the Atlantic in small, clumsy ships. They had seen "the sun taken" many times and knew the use of navigation instruments. The army had with it a compass. A record was kept of each day's march; one man was designated each day to count his steps. The army knew in what direction and how far it was travelling. Furthermore, we have another way to check the geographical accuracy of the four chroniclers of Coronado's expedition. The places and landmarks mentioned by them from the time the army left Compostela, near Mexico City, until it arrived at Pecos pueblo are well known, and the places and distances given by the narrators check out with considerable precision. It is logical, therefore, to infer that they knew their directions and distances on the latter part of the route where the landmarks are less well known.

All four of the Spanish writers were tremendously impressed with the Southern High Plains. Castañeda said that the country was so level and smooth that if one looked at a distance he could not see the ground beyond the animal; or if one lying on the ground were near the buffalo, he could see the sky underneath the animal's belly. If, during midday, a man wandered off from the army in pursuit of game, he could easily become lost, and his only recourse was to wait quietly until the sun went down and then to take his directional bearings. Castañeda warned that only those who had practiced it had better try this method of navigation. One man took off after game and was never seen again.

The chroniclers frequently mentioned the lakes. They were as round as plates, some fresh and some salty. Grass grew very tall near the lakes; away from them it was short, a hand's span or less. "The country is like a bowl, so that when a man sits down, the horizon surrounds him at a distance of a musket

shot. There are no trees except at the rivers which flow at the bottoms of the ravines." No track was left where they went, because the turf was heavy and the grass would quickly rise again where men and animals trod. Coronado said,

There were no more landmarks than if we had been swallowed up in the sea . . . because there was not a bit of rising ground, nor a tree, nor a shrub, nor anything to go by . . . the plains were so vast I did not find their limit anywhere that I went, although I traveled over them for more than 300 leagues. [Nowhere along the route did the party] see a hill or a hillock three times the height of a man.²

Four of the modern writers concerned with Coronado's route agree as to the way the army returned to Pecos pueblo. It went along the Blanco, which is known today from Plainview west as Running Water Draw. From the Running Water to Spring Lake in the north part of Lamb County was another day's march. The route went from Spring Lake by the present headquarters of the Mashed O Ranch to the living water on Black Water Draw, which is the upper reaches of the North Canyon at Lubbock, the canyon which comes through the grounds of the Lubbock Country Club. The route extended up the Black Water to the New Mexico line, where the drainage system changes its name to Portales Draw, and continued west to the Pecos River at Old Fort Sumner. A spring about six miles southwest of Melrose and another at Taiban, south of the railroad station, made it possible to traverse the route without ever being over twelve to fifteen miles from living water.

The next Spaniard to come through Lubbock discovered a modification of this route across the Southern High Plains. Father Salas, aided by Indian guides who knew the land, in 1629 came along the same route from Santa Fe, by Pecos pueblo, down the Pecos River to the Portales Draw, down it until it becomes Black Water, and continued down the draw to its junction with the Yellow House in what is now Mac-

kenzie Park; down the Yellow House to Gholson Spring; south, crossing Mooar's Draw in Garza County to Tobacco Creek which is a tributary of the Colorado River. Father Salas went down the Colorado to the Ballinger-San Angelo region where he labored for six months among the Jumano Indians. He even built a crude jacal-type mission there, the first ever constructed in Texas. He returned to Santa Fe by the same route, passing through the present townsite of Lubbock. In 1632 he came again the same way on a second visit to the Jumanos. While in the San Angelo country he chanced to find some pearls in the bed of the Concho River.

The South Concho River rises in the limestone formation of the Edwards Plateau and provides the greater part of the flowing water after the three prongs, the South, Middle, and North, converge at San Angelo. The water of the South Concho, fed by innumerable springs, was clear, but contained calcium and other mineral properties in which fresh water clams thrived. Also there were conditions present to cause the clams to produce pearls. When the clams died, the valves would separate and the pearls were deposited in the sands and gravels of the river's bed. Father Salas picked up a few and carried them back to Santa Fe.

Even a few pearls were enough to insure further investigation by the treasure-hungry Spaniards in New Mexico. In due time word came to Santa Fe from the Viceroy to send another expedition to see about the pearls. Captains Martín and Castillo with a party in 1650 came down the route used by Father Salas, through Lubbock, to the San Angelo area. They concentrated on the pearls and found gallons of them. They returned to Santa Fe with enough for every woman of quality in Spain to have several necklaces.

But neither the ladies nor the King were satisfied. Four years later, the Viceroy sent word to the Governor at Santa Fe to dispatch another expedition for more pearls. Captain Diego de Guadalajara with thirty soldiers was sent to the

Concho River. The Captain traveled the same route in 1654 as the previous expeditions, passing down Yellow House Canyon. The pearl harvest was not as good as it had been with Martín and Castillo for they had done a thorough job of pearl gathering. While in the region Guadalajara got involved in a local Indian war. The Cuitaos, Escanjaques, and Aijaos were attacking the Jumanos, friends of the Spaniards. Guadalajara and his thirty horse-soldiers rode into the battle to help the Jumanos. The engagement lasted all day and in the end Guadalajara captured two hundred Cuitaos prisoners and a considerable number of buffalo hides. His party stayed several months with the Jumanos, and lost no time searching for pearls, using every soldier, the Jumanos, and even the Cuitaos prisoners. However, their pearl finding was not too successful. Guadalajara returned to Santa Fe, passing through what is now Lubbock, with his Cuitaos prisoners, some pearls, and the buffalo hides.

The relations of the Spaniards in Santa Fe with the Jumanos remained good, and for many years trading parties came down from Santa Fe into the Concho country along the route used by Father Salas. The junction of the two canyons in what is now Mackenzie Park became a well-known landmark, and the Lubbock Lake Site was known as *La Punto de Agua* or the Place of Water, and so labeled on early Spanish maps.

During this period the Spaniards gave names to many other geographical features of the South Plains, the streams, lakes, and camping places. For a hundred and fifty years, a period nearly as long as the United States has been a nation, groups of Spanish soldiers went back and forth across the plains at frequent intervals. They came to know the region exceedingly well. A dozen major expeditions and scores of hunting and trading parties came and went. All of this activity in West Texas was happening before La Salle landed on the Texas coast, and it was his advent which first caused the Spaniards

to take notice of the region that later became the Spanish Province of Texas. If West Texans wished, they could assume a superior attitude when around historically-minded patriots of East and South Texas, and point out to them that so far as contact with European culture is concerned, the claims of West Texas are twice as impressive as are theirs.

Between 1540 and 1685 the Spaniards had named practically every place of interest in West Texas. Between the cessation of Spanish activity about 1800 and the coming of the first Anglo-American expeditions in the 1840's the continuity of contact was broken, and many place names were lost. However, a number survived on the South Plains. *Llano Estacado* is still used. To the Spaniards it meant the Southern High Plains from the Canadian River to the Midland-Odessa area. Why the Spaniards applied this term to the region is not accurately known. Several guesses have been advanced. One is that early travelers, not following a route along a drainage course, but striking out across unbroken prairie had to mark their trail, either to keep their direction or to insure their return, by putting up some kind of markers. Castañeda, principal historian for Coronado, said, "No track was left where they [hunters going out from the main party to get meat] went, and on their account it was necessary to mark the road with cow [buffalo] dung, so as to return, since there were no stones or anything else."³ Often the bleaching bones of buffalo, set upright or piled in stacks, were used for markers. So the Southern High Plains became literally "The Staked Plains" or *Llano Estacado*. Professor H. E. Bolton has advanced another plausible explanation. When approached from either the west or the east where the escarpment is pronounced, the Caprock reminded the Spaniards of the ramparts of fortifications. According to Professor Bolton there was sufficient similarity in the appearance from a distance of a "stockaded rampart" and the precipitous escarpments to suggest the nomenclature of "Staked, or Stockaded, Plains."

However that may be, the name of the first Anglo settlement on the South Plains, the Quaker colony of Estacado in the eastern part of Lubbock County, was derived from the term *Llano Estacado. Cañon Casas Amarillas* (Yellow House Canyon) took its name from *Casas Amarillas*, a place where there was a spring several miles west of present Whitharral in Hockley County. The canyon makes a great bend from south to east there, and the south bank can be seen for miles from the northeast. The cliff was of yellowish hue, and when seen from certain distant points through a mirage, resembled the walls of a great city, hence "The Yellow Houses." The *Cañon Casas Amarillas* has its origin a few miles to the northwest of the cliff in a spring-fed lake called by the Spaniards *Laguna Plata*, not because silver was found there, but because of the color. The name given to the North Canyon at Lubbock was *Cañon de Rescate*, the Canyon of Ransom, a designation which implies the lamentable negotiations which occurred there between Spanish traders and the Indians during the latter part of the Spanish period. The *Cañon Casas Amarillas* and the *Cañon de Rescate* came together in what is now Mackenzie Park to form the *Rio de los Brazos del Dios*. Incidentally, the Brazos, as well as the Colorado, was named at its upper sources, and not, as is commonly supposed, from its lower portions. The Spaniards first became familiar with the Colorado in the region of its upper tributaries, many of which have their origin in the red beds of the Permian formation. These gave a red coloration to the water and suggested the name, *Colorado*.

To the northeast of *Cañon de Rescate* was *Cañon Blanco*, so called because of *Cerro Blanco*, (Mount Blanco), a conical calcious mound, containing Pleistocene fossils. The hill rises in the wide canyon valley northeast of what is now Crosbyton. In true Spanish fashion the name of *Cañon Blanco*, in the Plainview area, was changed to *Agua Corriente* (Running Water). *Laguna Sabinas* (Cedar Lake) in the eastern part of

Gaines County was a well known camping place on the trails which crossed the lower part of the South Plains. Springs on the northwest side of the lake provided fresh water, and the spot was allegedly the birthplace of Quanah Parker, the last well known Comanche Chief. *Laguna Portal*, a salt lake located in Portales Draw east of the town of Portales in New Mexico, was highly prized by the Spaniards because salt was so valuable at the time. The name was applied because the lake was in the drainage system which was the "portal" (entrance) to the *Llano Estacado*. To the north are other hold-over place names from the Spanish Period, *Los Tules* (Tule or Reed Canyon), *Palo Duro*, (Hard Wood), *Sierrita de la Cruz* (Little Hill of the Cross), *Tascosa* (Boggy Place), *Alamocitos* (Little Cottonwoods), *Los Escarbados* (The Scrapings), *Rito Blanco* (Little White River), *Cañon Frio* (Cold Water Draw), *Cañon Tierra Blanco* (White Earth Draw), *Cañon de Punta de Agua* (Place of Water Draw) and others.

As early Spanish expeditions crossed and recrossed the South Plains they occasionally lost parts of their gear. Loaded pack animals would wander away and never be seen again. Confusion occasioned by an Indian attack or violent storm might cause items to be detached from their packs and lost. Two such items have been found in the Lubbock vicinity. About 1927 Dr. H. Bailey Carroll, now Professor of History at the University of Texas, went duck hunting at a lake on Mr. George Wolffarth's place, west of Ropesville. As he was crawling down to get a shot near the edge of the water he encountered the rim of a copper pot barely showing in the undisturbed turf. He forgot about the ducks, took his knife and dug out the pot. It was a beautiful specimen of hammered copper and hammered brass. He got in touch with Alexander Whitmore, an authority on copper vessels at the Smithsonian Institution. Mr. Whitmore identified the pot as being of the age and peculiar manufacture of those in use at the time of Coronado's expedition in 1541.

In 1952 a slender dagger was found in Lubbock when some excavations were being made in the alley behind the Coca Cola Bottling plant at 1615 Texas Avenue. The finder, Mr. Douglas Galey, brought it to the Museum, and we sent it to the authority on Spanish armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The dagger was identified as being a type which was made in Spain between 1629 and 1683. It could have been lost by the Martín-Castillo Expedition in 1650 or the Guadalajara Expedition in 1654, or one of the many expeditions to or from the Jumano country after 1654. This dagger is now on display in the "Life on the Plains Gallery" in the West Texas Museum. Exhibited with it are a score of other items of Spanish origin which must have been lost during the 1600's and 1700's on the South Plains. These include spurs, bridle bits, stirrups, and swords — each of which gives mute testimony of Spanish familiarity with the South Plains long before the Anglo-Americans reached the Mississippi River in their westward expansion.

In 1808 Captain Francisco Amangual was sent with three companies of troops from San Antonio to Sante Fe. He came by what is now Fredericksburg, Menard, San Angelo, Big Spring, along the east edge of the Caprock by Post City, and either up the Yellow House or the Blanco. Dr. R. N. Richardson believes it was the Yellow House.⁴ If so, Amangual came through the present town site of Lubbock.

Between the time of Amangual and the advent of the first Anglo-Americans in the early 1870's, the continuity of geographical knowledge acquired by the Spaniards of the routes, watering places and landmarks of the High Plains was lost. The Anglo-Americans approached the eastern escarpment of the Llano Estacado with no knowledge of what lay beyond. The belief prevailed that the High Plains were impassable because of lack of water. When Oliver Loving and Charles Goodnight drove a cattle herd from Young County to Fort Sumner in 1865 they took a circuitous route by Fort Concho,

up the Middle Concho to the Horse Head Crossing on the Pecos, and northward up the Pecos River. From the last water in the Middle Concho to the Pecos was a ninety-mile dry drive. Had they known it, they could have gone a direct route up the Brazos, Yellow House Canyon, Black Water Draw and Portales Draw to Fort Sumner and saved four hundred miles, never have been over fifteen miles from water, and had far better grass all the way.

It remained for General R. S. Mackenzie to rediscover the route across the South Plains in 1872. A band of New Mexican cattle rustlers, masquerading as Indians, was raiding cattle ranches for horses and cattle in the Fort Concho area. General Mackenzie took up the trail of the marauders and found the line of watering places the Spaniards had discovered in 1541. The trail was much used, showing that the New Mexicans had known about it all along. The General did not catch the thieves, but he did make known to the on-coming Anglo-Americans that a safe and easy route existed across the South Plains. It could be approached either up the Yellow House or up the Blanco. The two routes came together near Sod House Spring in Lamb County and continued up the Black Water and Portales Draws to Fort Sumner in New Mexico.

THE BUFFALO HUNTERS

The stage was now set for the advent of the buffalo hunters. The professional hunter first entered Texas from the north. In 1873 a number of hunting outfits operating from Dodge City as a base crossed into the northern Panhandle of Texas in violation of the Medicine Lodge Treaty. The agreement, made in 1867 between the federal government and the Southern Plains Indians, reserved the region between the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers for an Indian hunting ground. The buffalo hunters cared naught for the treaty. A number of hunting outfits entered the forbidden land. To supply them, Charlie Mayer established a supply store in the fall of 1873

on the north bank of the Canadian River about fifteen miles northeast of the present city of Borger and about four miles east of some abandoned adobe ruins. The new trading post was called Adobe Walls, a term which had previously been applied to the ruins. Charlie Rath, a competitor of Mayer's, soon followed with a supply of goods. A saloon and blacksmith shop shortly made their appearance, and by June 1874 a typical buffalo town was doing business. In June 1874 several hundred Indians, outraged by the white man's disregard for the treaty, attacked the place. Twenty-eight men and one woman made a successful defense, but when the Indians withdrew after a short siege, the hunters lost no time in abandoning the north Panhandle. Some went back to Kansas and others shifted their operation to the southern buffalo range.

The action of the Mooar Brothers may be regarded as typical of those who moved south. In the spring of 1875 they took a long, circuitous route around Indian territory through the eastern part of Indian territory, by Denison, Decatur, and Jacksboro to Fort Griffin, twelve miles north of the present town of Albany, in Shackelford County. They had in their outfit twelve wagons, which they had loaded at Denison. At Fort Griffin the commanding officer warned them not to go over twenty miles west of that place. In fact, he threatened to arrest them if they did so. Once beyond the fort, the hunters showed fine contempt for the army officer's command. They went a hundred miles and camped on what later became known as Mooar's Draw in Garza County. Other outfits, large and small, fanned out to the west of Fort Griffin. Supply centers sprang up at Buffalo Gap in Taylor County, Hide Town (later Snyder) in Scurry County, and Rath City in Stonewall County. These settlements were naturally viewed with suspicion and alarm by the Indians.

Soon hundreds of buffalo hunters were operating from each of these places. In December 1874 Rath City became the base for a campaign by the hunters against the Indians, culminating

with an all day battle, fought within the present city limits of Lubbock.

One Marshall Sewell and his outfit had been camped below the Caprock to the east of Lubbock County. A short time before, Chief Nigger Horse and his band of Comanches had secured permission from the reservation agent at Fort Sill to make a hunt into West Texas. A party of Nigger Horse's band came upon Sewell while he was making his daily kill. The Indians waited until Sewell had exhausted his ammunition and then killed him. The affair was witnessed by Sewell's 3 skinners who were across a ravine about a mile away. The skinners made off to Rath City, not stopping until they got there. News of the Indians spread quickly over the range, and the hunters began to converge on the supply base. The more ardent hotheads began preaching a punitive expedition against the Indians, with the view of exterminating or driving them from the country. Their bravery, augmented by liberal imbibing of whiskey, caused 500 men to volunteer. A night's sleep caused many to reconsider. The next day the volunteer army numbered 125. By the time the expedition left Rath City it contained only 46. Of these, 26 were mounted; the remainder rode in wagons.⁵ One wagon carried a barrel of whiskey. With the hunters went José, a Mexican guide who had been with General Mackenzie during his campaigns against the Comanches on the High Plains in 1874-1875.

The expedition proceeded to Sewell's camp where the trail of the Indians was picked up. It led westward towards the High Plains. In a cove of the Caprock northwest of the present location of Post an abandoned camp site was found. The trail led up on to the Plains. José concluded the Indians would be found in Yellow House Canyon, occasionally referred to by buffalo hunters as Thompson Canyon, at its headwaters, which was the Lubbock Lake Site. The expedition moved along the level terrain north of the canyon to the vicinity of Buffalo Spring where a place was found to get the wagons down into

the canyon. It was decided to make a night march from Buffalo Spring to the Indian camp and attack at daybreak. The wagons, food, and teams were left at the spring. By this time the whiskey barrel was nearly empty. However, there was enough for the canteens of some of the hunters.

At the forks of the canyon in what is now Mackenzie Park José became confused⁶ and took the north fork. At daybreak, when out about the vicinity of the present Lubbock Country Club, he discovered his mistake and led the hunters across the level plains to the south fork, striking it at the Long Water Hole about where College Avenue now crosses the canyon. A little farther west Nigger Horse's camp was found in "Hidden Canyon," as the elbow of the Yellow House where the Lubbock Lake was located was called by the hunters.⁷ By this time the day was considerably advanced, but the hunters were within gun range of the camp before they were discovered.

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The Indians returned the fire with such spirit that the hunters took whatever cover the terrain afforded. For hours the great buffalo guns boomed, with the hunters giving ground back toward and along the Long Water Hole. The courage and purpose of the hunters went down in direct proportion to the exhaustion of the whiskey supply. About mid-afternoon the leader of the hunters⁸ ordered them to retreat to the wagons at Buffalo Spring. The Indians followed at a distance, giving the now-sober hunters much annoyance. The Comanche marksmanship is not to be lauded, because the hunters sustained no fatalities and only three were wounded.

Back at Buffalo Spring the hunters did not pause longer than to take a few sips from the dregs of the whiskey barrel. It was already dark and they built a great bonfire up the canyon to the west to decoy the Indians while they got the wagons out of the canyon. Then they started eastward across the level plains as fast as they could go. When daylight came they started great prairie fires behind them so as to have a smoke

screen between themselves and the Indians, and in order that their tracks might be obscured. When the hunters were below the Caprock they ascertained that they were not being followed by the Comanches and stopped to rest and get fresh buffalo meat. The expedition got back to Rath City twenty-three days after it had set out.

News of the battle reached Fort Griffin, and Captain Lee with seventy-two colored troopers was dispatched to the High Plains to find and bring in Nigger Horse's band. Captain Lee went to the Lubbock Lake Site, picked up the Comanche trail, found the band at Silver Lake in Cochran County and conducted it to Fort Griffin without serious incident, other than the killing of Nigger Horse and his squaw.

After the battle in Lubbock County the Causey Brothers "pre-empted" Yellow House Canyon, and built a half dugout at Buffalo Spring. Some unknown hunters built a small log cabin where East Broadway now crosses the Canyon.

The winters of 1877-1878 and 1878-1879 witnessed the destruction of the main herd on the South Plains. Buffalo hunting, as a big, organized enterprise, came to an end.⁹ A few small, isolated herds remained for the next three or four years, and a few one-man outfits searched for them. In the spring of 1885 a Square and Compass roundup wagon was going from Garza County to Cedar Lake in Gaines County, and near the lake encountered nine wild buffalo, the last herd of its kind to be reported from the South Plains.¹⁰

THE QUAKERS

The first white settlement in Lubbock County, and in fact on the High Plains,¹¹ was made in the northeast part of the county in 1879 under the leadership of Paris Cox. He was born near Ashboro, North Carolina, October 17, 1846. While a young man he went to Indiana where he married Mary Ferguson. In 1875 he was operating a sawmill in Boxley, Indiana, when an agent representing a Texas railroad offered to trade

certificates for fifty thousand acres of unlocated lands in Texas for the sawmill and lumber business. Cox traded "sight unseen." In 1878 he came to Texas to locate his land on the public domain. He participated in a buffalo hunt and camped at Julia Lake in southeastern Hale County. He was impressed by the soil and the vegetation of the High Plains and determined to locate his land above the Caprock. He went to Austin and arranged to have it surveyed and recorded. The lands were supposed to be in Crosby County. He returned to the plains and contracted with Hank Smith to break and plant to various crops twenty-three acres of sod and to dig a well. For digging the well Smith was to get two dollars per foot for the first fifteen feet, and five dollars a foot from there down. All below fifteen feet was to be walled with rock. Cox went to Indiana to get his family, and Smith went to work.

The year 1879 was seasonable and the sod land yielded an abundant harvest. Also the well was finished when Cox returned in the fall. With him came three other Quaker families, the Hayworths, the Stubbs, and the Sprays. Cox built a sod house before cold weather. The other three families passed the winter in tents. Their suffering and tribulations were great, and when a violent sandstorm leveled their tents in March, all three families went back to where they had come from. Paris Cox and his family stayed. His wife was with child, and Cox sent for an old Quaker friend, Dr. William Hunt, stationed on the Osage Reservation in Indian Territory. Dr. Hunt came, and in June 1880 delivered a girl who was named Bertha. Due to a faulty land survey, Paris Cox's house, his well, and his field were located in Lubbock County. Bertha thus became the first white child to be born in Lubbock County.¹²

Cox had land to sell, and he did not let the desertions on the part of the three families deter him from his dream of establishing a Quaker colony. Dr. William Hunt caught the vision and went back to Indian Territory for his family. He returned to the settlement on June 15, 1881. Shortly after-

ward George Singer arrived with his family, built an adobe house, and opened a store.

THE IOA RANCH

While the Quakers were breaking the sod and building their little boxed houses in the northeastern part of Lubbock County, another economic operation was taking shape in the southern half of the County. During the late 1870's and early 1880's the American cattle industry was expanding with terrific tempo and profits were fabulous. English and Scotch syndicates were investing millions of pounds sterling in the region which had previously been the great buffalo plains. Land could be had for ten to twenty-five cents an acre. The price of cattle was going up each year. A company could invest a million dollars in 1880 and sell out three years later for three times that amount. The prospects began to lure American investors and speculators.

Such a group combined in 1884 at Davenport, Iowa, and formed the Western Land and Live Stock Company with a capital stock of \$800,000. J. S. Keator was president and William O. Kulp was secretary, but the influential member of the board, the one with the most money and interest in the cattle business, was Stillman W. Wheelock. Mr. Wheelock had too many other interests to devote full time to the Texas ranching enterprise. He was president of the Moline National Bank, the Moline Plow Company, the Moline Wagon Company and the Moline Paper Company.¹³

The Western Land and Live Stock Company, wishing to get into the cattle business in a hurry, established an office at Fort Worth and installed therein David Boaz as general manager. It was Mr. Boaz's business to purchase land, fence and water it, buy cattle, and get the ranch into operation. He decided the Yellow House Canyon was the most likely place still available. He began by purchasing the three sections of Zachary Taylor Williams' sheep ranch. Williams had built a

small house at a spring a short distance west of the entrance to the present Buffalo Lake reservation. This became the headquarters of the ranch. The site, considerably improved, is the present headquarters of the V-8 Ranch. Larger tracts were purchased from railroads. In all, the company acquired title to 74,200 acres of land at prices ranging from 25 to 40 cents per acre. Boaz then leased all the school lands in the southern half of Lubbock County, as well as other privately owned tracts. In this way he acquired a solid pasture 14 miles wide and 28 miles long, containing 245,280 acres.

Then came the fencing. A four-wire fence was constructed around the perimeter, and two cross fences divided the range in three equal pastures. The posts had to be hauled for fifty miles, from below the Caprock, and the cost of the fence was \$150 per mile. In all, a hundred miles were built. The north fence of the ranch extended from the Hockley County line along what is now the Levelland road and 19th Street east to the Crosby County line. The company later leased fifty thousand acres in the Dixie pasture owned by Major Johnson, and located directly south of the IOA middle pasture. Another unfenced fifty thousand acres was leased north of the ranch. This brought the usable land area to over a third of a million acres. Thus all of the land within the city limits of Lubbock today was either in the IOA Ranch, or was part of the area leased by the ranch prior to 1890.


The north parts of the middle and east pastures of the IOA Ranch were watered by Yellow House Canyon. The south parts of these pastures and all of the west pasture had to be watered with windmills. In all, ten wells were bored and mills erected. The Dixie pasture was provided with windmills and so was the land leased to the north of the ranch.

Saddle horses were needed. Boaz bought two hundred for \$8,000. The big expense was that of the cattle. He purchased twenty thousand stock cows at prices not again reached until the Spanish American War, paying a half million dollars.

J. K. Millwee was employed as ranch manager. In selecting him Boaz showed a rare judgment not always evident in his buying of cattle. Millwee had worked for John Chisum in New Mexico before the Lincoln County War. He had been a trail boss and was as good as ever drove to Kansas or Colorado.

Nearly all the directors of the Western Land and Live Stock Company lived in Iowa. Local patriotism caused them to incorporate the "Iowa motif" in their Texas ranch by adopting IOA as their brand, which is pronounced "Iowa" when said fast. Later, in order to keep the last letter from blotching so badly, the A was left open, or was like an inverted V. Millwee soon learned that northern businessmen were fallible when attempting to select a workable brand. They could not have chosen one which offered greater opportunity to cattle thieves for changing. It could easily be burned into a score of other brands.

During 1885 and 1886 the cattle thieves found good pickings on the IOA Ranch. It was a common trick for an aspiring cowman with a maverick-hungry rope to file on a section of school land adjacent to the IOA pasture, build a shack, and register a brand the IOA could readily be changed into. If he could burn the brand of a cow, or brand an unbranded IOA calf or two a week, he would soon be in the cattle business. The activity of the thieves was so great during the first two years of the IOA Ranch's operation that little increase was made in the company's herd.

In 1886 the ranch bought fifteen hundred cattle branded Cross C, made thus:  from Brigham Brothers. In purchasing the cattle the company also acquired exclusive use of the Cross C brand. Millwee soon observed that it was practically impossible to change this brand without detection. He recommended that the Cross C brand be used exclusively in the future and the IOA be dropped. This was done and the number of cattle thefts greatly decreased. However, the ranch

continued to be known as the IOA and was never called the Cross C.

Scarcely had the IOA Ranch commenced a full scale operation when the most disastrous drouth West Texas has ever experienced set in. It started in June 1885 and lasted until the fall of 1887. For twenty-seven months there was not enough rain to settle the dust. To make matters worse, in the winter of 1886-1887 a severe blizzard caused many of the lanky cattle to drift to the south fence of the ranch. Pressure against the fence caused it to break and the cattle drifted a hundred miles south of the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Many of them were never found and brought back. Not only were cattle lost in this way, but the die-up of cattle too poor and too weak to withstand the ravages of the winter of 1886-1887 was large. When the rains came in the fall of 1887 the IOA Ranch had fewer cattle than it had had two years before, and the sale during the interval had been negligible. It had been two years of great expense and no income. Furthermore, the price of such cattle as were sold decreased. Cows which were purchased for \$25 in 1885 would not bring \$5 in the spring of 1887. All of these setbacks were very discouraging to Mr. Millwee. He resigned as ranch manager in the fall of 1888, and on December 11 Rollie Burns was employed to take his place.

In 1887 Frank E. Wheelock, a great-nephew of Stillman W. Wheelock, was sent to the ranch by his uncle to learn ranch operation. In 1889 he succeeded David Boaz as general manager of the Western Land and Live Stock Company, a position which he held until 1901 when the company finally disposed of the residue of its holdings in Lubbock County.¹⁴

A serious drawback to the operation of the IOA Ranch was the presence of two herds of wild horses, mustangs, one in the Center and one in the West Pasture. The herds had been enclosed when the outside fences were built in 1885. Mustangs were of no economic value at this time. So difficult was

it to catch and tame one that the price he would bring would not begin to pay for the expense involved. Not only did the mustangs consume grass and water, but they had a way of luring gentle horses away from the ranch's remuda. After a short time the gentle horse would become as wild as the others.

Rollie Burns had an interesting experience with a saddle horse which joined the mustangs. One day he missed a big sorrel and surmised he had joined the mustang herd in the Center Pasture. Burns set out alone to look for the sorrel. In a few hours he went over a rise and saw the mustang herd. At some distance away to one side was the sorrel. When a tame horse joined the herd the mustangs kept him at a distance for a few days, on probation, as it were. Burns put his horse at full speed to cut the sorrel off from the herd, which would be sure to run. When he saw he could not succeed in intercepting the sorrel, he drew his .45 and shot at the horse. The bullet hit him on the jaw, but for some reason did little damage. The instant he was hit, the sorrel whirled around and ran like blazes to the remuda at the roundup grounds several miles away. The scar from the spent bullet stayed on the horse's jaw as long as he lived.

In the fall of 1889 Burns decided to get rid of both herds of troublesome mustangs. He divided the hands on the ranch into two groups, mounted each on good horses, and sent them forth to kill every mustang.

Two men on the ranch always rode wildly and recklessly. They were hard on the horses they rode, and in the chase they would well-nigh kill their mounts. Burns put them on two old outlaw horses which he did not care if they did ride to death. One man went with one crew after one herd and the other joined the other crew after the second herd. About eleven o'clock that day, at the same instant, as well as could be ascertained, both horses dropped dead miles apart. Neither rider was hurt from the fall. Before night every mustang had

been slaughtered. One herd was encountered just south of the present Tech campus (within the present city limits) and the other about where the Slide community is today.

The ranching venture of the Western Land and Live Stock Company was never profitable. Financial crises ensued from the outset. In October 1885 the company borrowed \$100,000, for which it gave a mortgage on 72,000 acres of land, practically all that the company owned in fee simple. Then came the drouth, the drop of cattle prices, and the blizzards. The loan, never repaid, eventually proved the undoing of the company.

Cattle prices fluctuated at a level of about one half of what they had been when the company stocked in 1885-86. In 1891 another drouth, this time for three years, began. The ranch could not pay expenses nor the ten percent interest on the loan, which had been extended from time to time by borrowing from one source to pay off another. By 1893 the directors were hopelessly discouraged, and decided to sell the cattle and the land. They gave Frank E. Wheelock and Rollie Burns three years to dispose of the cattle. The last remnant of 7,420 were sold in 1896 to J. M. Dougherty of Abilene, Texas, for \$8 a head. From the land the company wished to recoup its capital investment. Such would have been possible had the creditor of the still unpaid loan been patient. Between 1896 and 1901 a number of small tracts of several sections each were sold, subject to the lien. In August 1901 the creditor, Quincy A. Shaw of Boston, brought suit in the District Court at Amarillo, Texas, for foreclosure, naming the Western Land and Live Stock Company and every person who had purchased land from the company. The court ordered a foreclosure and directed the sheriff of Lubbock County to sell all of the lands in question at the door of the courthouse on the first Monday of November, 1901.¹⁵

Sheriff Eastin Wolffarth conducted the sale, and the residue of the lands was purchased by J. W. Kokernot of Brew-

ster for an amount sufficient to pay the creditor without endangering the holdings of purchasers of smaller tracts.¹⁶ The Kokernots later sold the lands at a profit.

The Western Land and Live Stock Company which started so hopefully in 1884 came to disaster seventeen years later with much of the capital investment being a complete loss. Had Stillman W. Wheelock lived it is probable that the creditor would have been appeased and the lands would have been colonized by farmers, thereby saving the capital investment and perhaps yielding a profit for the stockholders.

FOOTNOTES

¹ E. Degolyer, "Coronado's Northern Exploration," *Southwest Review*, Spring, 1950; W. C. Holden, "Coronado's Route Across the Staked Plains," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, October, 1944.

² *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), Part I, p. 551.

³ *Ibid.*, 571

⁴ R. N. Richardson, *Texas, The Lone Star State* (New York, 1958), 33. Dr. H. Bailey Carroll has done much research on Amangual's route.

⁵ Rex W. Strickland, "The Recollections of W. S. Glenn, Buffalo Hunter," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, 1949, pp. 15-64.

⁶ John R. Cook, *The Border and the Buffalo* (Topeka, 1907), 180-245.

⁷ The location of "Hidden Canyon" and the battle have been much discussed. Two participants in the battle, W. S. Glenn and John R. Cook, wrote accounts some twenty-five years later. Both were vague as to directions and distances. The accounts generally agree, although contradicting each other in some details. More recently, two Lubbock historians, E. J. Lowrey and Lester B. Wood, have studied the narratives and the terrain. Both concluded, as did this writer independently, that the battle scene was the Long Water Hole and the Lubbock Lake Site.

⁸ Glenn says that Jim Smith was Captain and Hank Campbell was Lieutenant. Cook gives Hank Campbell as Captain and Jim Smith as Lieutenant.

⁹ W. C. Holden, *Alkali Trails*, 13-14.

¹⁰ W. C. Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 134-35.

¹¹ The first settler on the Southern High Plains was H. (Hank) C. Smith, who in 1877 moved into the Rock House, built for Lord Jamison in Blanco Canyon northeast of the present site of Crosbyton.

¹² George R. Bean to W. C. Holden, interview, June 16, 1959.

¹³ W. C. Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 148-170, 185-208.

¹⁴ F. E. Wheelock to Western Land and Live Stock Company, November 4, 1908, Lubbock County Deed Records, Vol. 22, p. 7.

¹⁵ Quincy A. Shaw vs. Western Land and Live Stock Company, No. 267, April 23, 1907, Lubbock County Deed Records, Vol. 16, p. 583.

¹⁶ These included William E. Wheelock, Frank E. Wheelock, R. C. Burns, George M. Boles, J. R. Curlin, Green C. Igo, and J. W. Winn.

The First Settlers

Seymour V. Connor

A HOT SUMMER sun curled the native grasses, and gusts of dry wind mixed the air with dust as a small company of men moved across the treeless plain. There were six or eight in the party, all on foot, and a heavy wagon which was pulled by two straining horses. Water was too scarce to bring more animals along than absolutely necessary, but a stray dog had attached himself to the party several weeks earlier, and the men had not the heart to drive him away.

On July 25, 1877, they camped at Hank Smith's, the most westward habitation of the South Plains region, and two days later they moved out of Blanco Canyon onto the plains. That night they made camp at the northeast corner of Lubbock County, which they marked by building up a mound of dirt. They were not the first white men on the plains — earlier travelers had been explorers, soldiers, and buffalo hunters — but this party was the harbinger of civilization. The men were surveyors, and it was their destiny to stake the claims of private ownership on the vacant vastness that in a little more than half a century would be the bustling metropolis of Lubbock.¹

The party surveyed westward across the north boundary of the county, turned south down what they called the North Fork of Yellow House Canyon, and located some land in the heart of the county on the basis of scrip issued to the East Line and Red River Railroad Company. With them were three land prospectors who were engaged in the business of selling located land to eastern speculators.² Land operations of this type were common in West Texas at the time because of the millions of acres the state had granted to numerous companies as bonuses for railroad construction and other internal improvements. Unlike the rest of the United States, in which railroad construction had been encouraged by grants of the federal government, Texas had to sponsor its own internal improvements, since the state had retained the ownership of its public lands when it entered the union. State laws had provided premiums of eight and sixteen sections of land for each mile of railroad actually built.

Contrary to popular opinion, there was very little chicanery practiced by the railroad companies in Texas. No bonus was issued until the line was actually built and inspected by state officials, and these premiums had much less value to the railroads than might be expected, since the state did not grant land itself, but only certificates entitling the company to a given amount of land. The state managed a double benefit from this arrangement, because the certificate holder was required to survey and locate the land specified at his own expense in some portion of the unappropriated public domain. Furthermore, the state required that the land be surveyed in a checkerboard pattern, each alternate section being reserved for the state. This not only prevented a single company or individual from creating a large, unified estate, but it also enhanced the value of the alternate, state-owned sections. The railroad companies were required to alienate their tracts within twelve years — a peculiar “protection” against the very capitalists the state was attempting to persuade to invest in Texas.

Consequently, the great majority of the railroad companies sold their land certificates to speculators before the land was ever patented, at a going price of ten to fifty cents per acre. These speculators or land operators hoped to make fortunes, although few of them did, by patenting the land and selling it for a profit. Some of the big operators in railroad land in Lubbock County were Derious Varcoe, Samuel Tinley, Jr., J. S. Keator, David Studebaker, Samuel Bronson, W. O. Kulp, Eli Stilson, and J. I. Case.³

Approximately ninety percent of the land in Lubbock County was involved in these railroad surveys, the chief exceptions being four leagues of land patented by San Augustine County for the maintenance of schools under the famous school law of the Republic of Texas, and a few other tracts similarly patented on the basis of earlier laws. Most of the land was surveyed in the county in 1878, 1879, and 1880 by a number of different parties, the larger blocks being based on scrip issued to the East Line and Red River, the Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe, and the Houston, East and West Texas railroad companies; smaller blocks were based on scrip issued to other railroad companies and to internal improvement companies, or to their trustees.⁴

It was typical in West Texas that the land speculator, frustrated in his hopes of great riches for his railroad land, found the principal buyers to be cattlemen who were converting from open range operations. The average price of these lands was kept depressed by actions of the legislature in 1879 and 1881, placing the state's alternate sections on the market for any buyer in any quantity at fifty cents an acre.⁵ Thus, until the state took its lands off the market in 1883,⁶ the price of West Texas land was largely fixed at fifty cents to one dollar an acre. Undoubtedly, many of the purchasers of the railroad scrip greatly regretted their speculation in Texas lands. With the costs of surveying and patenting included, many had paid more than the minimum price for their land. Some were

forced to sell their holdings at a loss; others were in a position to wait for the inevitable rise in price which would accompany the actual settlement of the unoccupied regions; and still others elected to increase their holdings by taking advantage of the cheap prices offered by the state.

The placing of the alternate sections on the market enabled ranchers or land speculators who had the capital to consolidate their ranges. They could purchase the odd-numbered sections of the checker board from the owners of railroad land and the even-numbered sections from the state. Although there were no big ranches operating in Lubbock County at that time, there were a number of sales made under the unrestricted laws which were later to have a definite effect on the county's history. A large area in and along the south edge of the canyon in the southeast quarter of the county was completely alienated by the state. Between forty and fifty sections were patented by J. S. Keator and W. O. Kulp, land speculators from Illinois. The alternate railroad sections in this same area had been acquired earlier by Eli Stilson and J. I. Case, members of whose families had initiated the filing on the school sections acquired by Keator and Kulp, and on October 17, 1885, approximately fifty additional sections in this same area, principally Block S, Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe survey, were transferred by Stilson and Case to Keator and Kulp.⁷ Thus, approximately one hundred sections or more in a relatively solid unit were under one ownership, the result of the unrestricted sale of the state-owned land.

Whether their original intention was simply land speculation, or whether Keator and Kulp planned some other utilization is not known, but clearly there was not a profitable market for the lands in the early eighties. Quite probably it was this fact which persuaded them to organize a cattle company. In 1884 the Western Land and Live Stock Company, previously referred to, was incorporated in Iowa, and offices were established in Davenport. Keator's home was Illinois, and per-

haps it was he who persuaded Stillman F. Wheelock, a well-known capitalist from Moline, to invest in the new company, of which J. S. Keator served first as president and later as treasurer. This company then acquired the land holdings of Keator and Kulp, together with other lands and leases in the southern part of the county acquired for the company by Frank Boaz, and began the operation of the IOA Ranch.⁸

Strangely, except for the property assembled by Keator and Kulp, there were only a few other land purchases in Lubbock County under the unrestricted sale laws,⁹ although there were a number of people living in the county who might have taken advantage of the opportunity. The federal census of 1880, taken in June of that year, revealed twenty-five persons whose places of residence were, at least temporarily, in Lubbock County.¹⁰

In the southeast part of the county, below the present Buffalo Lakes in the Yellow House Canyon, three young cattlemen each bought a choice section of land on the creek, which was then flowing with live water from a dozen seeps and springs in the canyon.¹¹ Two of these men were brothers, John M. and Lepman B. Kidwell;¹² other members of the Kidwell family were ranching to the southeast in Garza County.¹³ It may be supposed that the Kidwell spread was joined and operated chiefly on free range. The Kidwell Ranch was well known in the early eighties, but in 1884 the holdings were sold to the St. Louis Cattle Company.¹⁴

Living with the Kidwell brothers in Lubbock County were Richard M. Reynolds, a twenty-six-year-old cattle herder from Clark County, Illinois, and Benjamin F. Porter, also a cattle herder, who was born in Monroe County, Tennessee, in 1862.¹⁵ Reynolds also acquired a section of land in the canyon in his own name, but apparently both Reynolds and Porter were working for the Kidwells.¹⁶

Across the canyon, and down the creek, was the dugout of the Causey brothers, John V. and Thomas L., well-known

buffalo hunters. Thomas was born in Alton, Illinois, in 1850, and John, in Vandalia, Illinois, in 1855. With the Causeys in June of 1880 was twenty-nine-year-old George Jefferson, a buffalo skinner from Van Buren County, Michigan, and Joseph Arnold, a twenty-eight-year-old cattle drover, of Highland County, Ohio.¹⁷ The Causey brothers had been hunting buffalo in the area for several years. They are credited with the establishment of a camp up the canyon at the Yellow Houses as early as 1877, where according to tradition they erected an adobe building. Following the great hunts they operated a store in Colorado City and no longer had any direct links with Lubbock history.¹⁸

Just up the canyon from Kidwell and Reynolds was the sheep spread of Zachary T. Williams, who may be considered the first semi-permanent resident of Lubbock County. Zack Williams, according to the 1880 census, was a twenty-nine-year-old sheep raiser from Noxubee County, Mississippi.¹⁹ He acquired three fine sections of land in the canyon and along its north rim in the immediate vicinity of the present Buffalo Lakes and just above Buffalo Spring. Although he filed on two of these sections in July of 1881 under the Fifty Cent Law,²⁰ and on the third in 1883 under a later act,²¹ he is reputed to have moved into the canyon as early as 1877. He told Rollie Burns that when he arrived there was already a sheep corral at the spring, which had apparently been built a year or two earlier.²² In 1880 Williams was employing two hired hands, Robert Middleton, twenty-five years old, from Ohio, and William Whittlesy, twenty-three years old, from Indiana, who were both living with him.²³ Burns described Williams' house as a good "boxed" house with a rock sheep corral. Williams remained in Lubbock County until about 1890 when he sold out and moved to Oak Hill, Valusia County, Florida, to settle down.²⁴

Living alone, somewhere between Williams and Kidwell, was a man named James L. Holland who told the census

enumerator that he was a stone mason, born in San Augustine, Texas, in 1847, of Irish parents. He may have been temporarily employed by either Williams or the Kidwells, or he may have been simply a "drifter."²⁵

There were four other sheep ranchers in the county in addition to Zack Williams. In the approximate vicinity of the present Lubbock Country Club was Wilkerson's Ranche (so named on the census) operated by Richard Wilkerson, a twenty-six-year-old from Fremont County, Indiana. With Wilkerson, at the time of the census enumeration, were three buffalo hunters — James Harvey, twenty-nine years old and a native of New York; John McConville, a thirty-nine-year-old Irishman; and Frank Lloyd, also a native of Ireland, born in 1851. The census enumerator himself, John W. Coleman, was sheep ranching in the area of the present city of Lubbock and Mackenzie Park. His was clearly the largest outfit in the county at that time, although some of the five hands living with him may have been only temporary. Coleman was fifty-six years old, born in Eutaw, Alabama. Junius Gunn was his sheep herder, a thirty-six-year-old from Delaware County, New York. Mills D. Foreman, a twenty-six-year-old native of Belton, Texas; Charles Allen, twenty-four years old, from Caswell County, Illinois; John W. Garrison, a twenty-one-year-old Kentuckian; and Andrew Gonzalez, a native of Monterrey, Mexico, were all reported as sheep shearers on Coleman's place.²⁶

Between Coleman and Zack Williams, two other "residences" were reported on the census: Frank Nelson, a thirty-five-year-old shepherd from Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and George K. Walton, a sheep raiser born in Middlesex County, Massachusetts, in 1843. Camped with Nelson was another buffalo hunter, thirty-four-year-old George Benson of Ohio.²⁷

Altogether, Coleman reported on the 1880 census a total of twenty-five men in Lubbock County. Of these, only Zack

Williams stayed in the area long enough to be identified with the beginnings of settlement in the county. None of the people associated with the Quaker Colony at Estacado were in the county when the census was taken. This colony had been established in the summer of 1879 by Paris Cox, an enterprising Quaker from Indiana, who had acquired a large quantity of railroad scrip which he located in western Crosby County and eastern Lubbock County in 1878 and 1879. These lands were chiefly patented on Dallas and Wichita Railway Company scrip in the name of various individuals who planned to join the colony.²⁸

As noted in chapter two, in the fall of 1879 the Hayworth, Stubbs, Spray, and Cox families moved to these lands from Indiana as the nucleus of the future colony, but the winter of 1879-1880 was so severe that in the spring the other three families returned to Indiana, leaving Cox behind in a small sod house apparently located on Section 75, Block C, on the boundary line between Lubbock and Crosby counties, where Hank Smith had dug a well for the Quakers the previous summer.²⁹ In the summer of 1880 the census enumerator for Crosby County found only Paris Cox and his immediate family at the colony. These included Paris Cox, his wife, Mary, their two sons, Charles A. and Oscar L., and a farm hand named George Corskadon.³⁰ Good crops were made in 1880 and 1881, and by the summer of 1882, ten families were reported to have joined the Coxes. A small town developed, originally named Maryetta, but renamed Estacado in 1886 when it became a post office. Although the community was located on the Lubbock-Crosby county line, the residents thought they were within the boundaries of Crosby County, and when Crosby County was organized, also in 1886, Estacado became the county seat. By 1890 there were approximately two hundred people in the town, which supported two general stores, a hotel, a lawyer's office, a newspaper (the *Crosby County News*, established in 1886), the county court-

house, and a meeting house which doubled for church and school. In 1891 the county seat was moved to Emma, well within the boundaries of the county, and the Quaker Colony began to disintegrate. By 1893 all the colonists, save a few families, had moved away from the South Plains.³¹

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of this settlement in the development of Lubbock County. Although actually located at least in part within the county, it was believed to be in Crosby County, and its brief history has generally been linked with the growth of that county. If county lines are disregarded, Estacado stood, a unique and somewhat lonely village, as a beacon of civilization and culture on the ocean of short plains grass. There the wandering plainsmen, the last of the buffalo hunters, the cattlemen, the sheep herders, and the first settlers could find the chief elements of civilized life. There supplies could be purchased, mail sent and received, news and gossip exchanged and assimilated, and the company of fellow humans enjoyed, albeit in a far more puritanical fashion than in most frontier towns. There, too, a school educated a surprising number of youngsters, and a church spread its influence over the region as the very seeds of settlement were being planted. In addition to these intangibles there are at least two other measures of Estacado's influence: the handful of individual families who had the fortitude to stay in the area, and helped to found Lubbock, and the early attempts at agriculture by the Quakers.³²

THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLERS

Interest in the agricultural experiment on the edge of the Caprock was great throughout Texas, and without doubt the reports of the Quaker colonists' farms attracted a number of the settlers who came to Lubbock County in those early years. Dr. William Hunt wrote (in April 1882): "The fertility of the soil and its capability of producing all kinds of grain and vegetables is established beyond all doubt. Second, the rich

grazing qualities of the grasses is also beyond question. Cattle, sheep, and horses live through the winter without other feed, and get very, very fat in the summer.”³³

George W. Singer, writing from Estacado in 1882, said:

First, it is a healthy country — no malarial fevers here. The land is good, is of a chocolate color, and is adapted for a farming or grazing country. The soil is from one to four feet deep. The plains, so far as I have traveled them lay very nice and rolling, there being a pool or basin on nearly every section of land. . . . Egyptian or rice corn is our principal corn crop, and is adapted to this country. We need to feed but little to our work stock here, for we can graze them all winter.³⁴

George W. Arrington, a Ranger captain of the Frontier Battalion, wrote that “the soil would produce small grain, if put in proper condition.”³⁵ Hank Smith, the first settler in Crosby County, described the abundance of water to be found at shallow depths and bragged about his crops of corn, rice, sugar cane, wheat, oats, and barley, and his orchard of several hundred domestic fruit trees in his reply to the questionnaire from Austin.³⁶

This sort of published information, together with private letters and oral reports, inevitably attracted persons from other areas, but until the summer of 1890 only a small number of people actually migrated to Lubbock County. Most of these were cattlemen or were connected with the cattle raising business, and many, consequently, were not permanent settlers. For example, the W. B. Johnson family may have been typical of several others. Driving a small herd of cattle towards New Mexico in 1888, the Johnsons, with five boys and two girls, stopped in the Yellow House Canyon where they camped for over two years because of the droughty condition of the country to the west, and then moved back east to settle in Motley County in 1891.³⁷ On the other hand, Will and Van Sanders and George Wolffarth brought herds of their own into the county while they were yet working for

the 22 Ranch off the Caprock and remained to become permanent settlers and founders of the town.³⁸

The relatively large operation of the IOA Ranch in the southern part of the county naturally utilized a number of cowhands, most of whom were transient. Rollie C. Burns, the ubiquitous manager of the IOA, replaced J. K. Millwee in that position in December 1888. Burns remained in Lubbock County until his death, operating his own ranch after the liquidation of the IOA, and engaging in various business enterprises. He was one of the founders of the city of Lubbock. Frank Wheelock, great nephew of the chief stockholder of the ranch and also a founder of Lubbock, was in the county by that time.³⁹ John and J. B. Mobley who worked on the IOA became prominent also in the development of the city.⁴⁰ Sam and Lee Gholson were grazing cattle in Crosby County in 1880, but during the ensuing decade shifted their operations, at least in part, to northeastern Lubbock County.⁴¹ Perhaps the best known name connected with the history of the county during this period was George W. Singer, who established a store in the Yellow House Canyon a few miles northwest of present Lubbock. Although the exact date Singer moved into Lubbock County is not certain, his store became a landmark before 1885.⁴² In 1886 it was burned by a demented Mexican, whom Singer then caught and killed, but it was shortly rebuilt about a half-mile down the canyon. The trading post and post office of the handful of settlers in the county during the eighties, the store is recalled vividly by many of the old timers.⁴³ As Rollie Burns pictured the store the first time he saw it:

I rounded a bend in the canyon and saw Singer's store, diminutive and forlorn, nestling on the southwest side of a lake which formed the headwaters of the Yellow House. The lake covered several acres and was fed by springs. When I rode up, a dozen or more horses were tied to the hitching rack out in front. In and around the store was a motley crowd of cowboys, a few Mexicans, and a half dozen Apache Indians. I mailed my letter, bought

a drink of whiskey and some candy, stood around awhile, and started back.⁴⁴

In his inimitable style, Evetts Haley compounded the reminiscences of several old timers to write a description which has been quoted so often that it is almost a classic:

When the roundups drew to a close and jingling spurs struck music from the floor of his store, Old Man Singer was in his glory. Pack horses were hobbled out, bed rolls thrown upon the floor, and when night came the old man left the cowboys in charge and went home. Until far in the morning the good old game of poker held forth in earnest. When money was gone a cowboy reached up and pulled down a box of stick candy or a plug of tobacco from a shelf, "sweetened the pot," and the game went on. Another went broke; and another, and down came a pair of California pants to be bet against a couple of shirts. Singer appeared in the morning after the struggle was over. Never did a padlock fasten his door, and never was his confidence betrayed to the loss of a cent by these men who gambled in zest but would have shot at a word.⁴⁵

In 1887 the population of the county was estimated on the basis of tax returns to be thirty-five persons, or roughly about ten families.⁴⁶ This estimate probably did not include Estacado which at the time was the county seat of Crosby County. It probably did include Singer and his family, the Gholsons, J. K. Millwee and the IOA hands, Will and Van Sanders, George Wolffarth, and a few of the colonists from Estacado living well within the limits of Lubbock County.⁴⁷ The census of 1890, taken in June of that year, enumerated thirty-three persons in the county, twenty-five males and eight females.⁴⁸ The first big wave of settlers hit the county in the late summer of 1890, although some of these had made a preliminary trip out in the spring of that year or the previous summer prospecting for land. And land it was that brought these people. Thousands of acres of the fine, fertile land of the South Plains were placed on the market by the state at low prices with easy purchase terms in the alternate sections of the rail-

road surveys located generally in the northern part of the county. The state had made a revision of its land policies; the fight to preserve the public domain for the home seeker had been won. In 1883 the unrestricted sale laws had been cancelled, as had all other laws offering land for sale, and a new law was substituted, establishing the minimum price at \$2 an acre and the maximum quantity any one person could patent at eight sections, while actual settlers on the land were given special privileges.⁴⁹ In 1887 the legislature repealed that law and reserved all of the state's school lands for sale to actual settlers only. This was the first of a series of laws which became known as the Four Section Settler Acts. The Act of 1887 provided that any bona fide and actual settler could purchase one section of land classified as agricultural land at \$3 per acre, and three additional sections of pasture land at \$2 per acre, with forty years to pay at five percent interest. Since this act required the classification of the vacant land by agents of the General Land Office before it could be sold, it was several years before any Lubbock County lands were put on the market, all of which, incidentally, were classified as pasture land.⁵⁰

The first applications by actual settlers for school land under this act in Lubbock County were made in June 1890, and from June through December of that year sixty applications to purchase were filed. Obviously a number of these people were already in the county when the lands were put on the market, but most of them just as obviously migrated in the late summer and early fall, since in June of 1890 there were less than ten families and by December sixty men had filed on homesteads. In the list that follows appears the date of filing under the Act of 1887 and the name of the settler making the application. The only positive generalization that can be made is that these people were in the county at least several days to a few weeks prior to the date of filing.⁵¹ A second generalization, probably acceptable, is that with the

easy purchase terms offered by the state, virtually all residents of the county filed on land. In other words, the list probably includes the names of all settlers in the county at that time.⁵²

<i>Date of filing</i>	<i>Name of Settler</i> ⁵³
1890, June 2	Bandy, H. M.
June 2	Clark, Albert
June 2	Clark, William S.
June 2	Crump, W. D.
June 2	Goss, D. F.
June 3	Hunt, Irvin L.
June 27	Wray, B. C.
June 27	Goble, B. M.
June 27	Burns, R. C.
June 27	Boles, George M.
July 7	Tierce, Jim
July 7	Leach, S. P.
July 12	Estes, E. W.
July 21	Wheelock, Frank E.
July 22	Hunt, L. D.
July 24	Hunt, T. R.
Aug. 5	Tubbs, Isham
Aug. 13	Cobb, W. F.
Aug. 13	Coleman, J. C.
Aug. 13	Freeman, W. Y.
Aug. 13	Wilkinson, William
Aug. 14	McCauley, W. L.
Aug. 15	Adams, R. L.
Aug. 16	King, Jeff
Aug. 16	Lee, R. E.
Aug. 16	Stevenson, George F.
Aug. 16	Stevenson, J. T.
Aug. 16	Stevenson, J. W. "Walt"

Aug. 22	Lewis, C. E.
Aug. 22	Allen, D. D.
Aug. 22	Reynolds, J. J. "Jug"
Aug. 27	Jones, W. P.
Aug. 31	Singer, Rachel A. (wife of Geo. Singer)
Sept. 1	Hadley, M. L.
Sept. 5	Carlisle, W. A. "Gus"
Sept. 6	Dansby, J. D.
Sept. 10	Bromley, W. C.
Sept. 10	Bromley, Thos. S.
Sept. 26	Kidney, R. F.
Sept. 26	O'Harrow, J. F.
Oct. 4	McAlister, J. R.
Oct. 4	Shannon, G. W.
Oct. 6	Johnson, B. F.
Oct. 17	Cox, Luther C.
Oct. 22	Burns, Jerry
Oct. 27	Crump, R. H.
Nov. 11	Tubbs, W. O.
Nov. 21	Tubbs, William
Nov. 22	Reichel, August
Dec. 1	Kuykendall, J. W.
Dec. 2	Barker, W. C.
Dec. 2	Groves, G. O.
Dec. 2	Stevens, Elmer
Dec. 3	Wood, M. A.
Dec. 12	Fowler, E. H.
Dec. 22	Henderson, W. C. "Connie"
Dec. 24	Anderson, F. A. "Flu"
Dec. 24	Mallard, C. W.

	Dec. 27	Higgins, R. F.
	Dec. 29	Branch, Martha
1891,	Jan. 21	James, E. C.
	Jan. 21	Sanders, W. E.
	Jan. 21	Stubbs, Charles Frederick
	Jan. 31	Hiatt, H. C.
	Feb. 7	Irwin, J. I.
	Feb. 25	Lemond, T. H.
	Mar. 17	Jones, John B.
	Apr. 15	White, Will H.
	Apr. 15	Grundy, F. T.
	July 24	Brown, Lawson
	Aug. 15	Clark, J. H.
	Oct. 6	Bugg, B. E.
	Oct. 7	Branden, Thos. J.
	Oct. 12	Love, J. W.
	Oct. 30	Lane, Christie
	Nov. 9	Bowles, J. "Jim" C.
1892,	Jan. 2	McDaniel, J. A.
	Jan. 2	Sutton, B. F.
	Feb. 1	Strother, S. H.
	Mar. 19	Wood, J. "Jeff" D.
	Apr. 11	Bandy, Richard T.
	May 3	Acuff, Michael S.
	May 26	Mallard, C. W.
	June 22	Garrott, J. C.
	Aug. 31	Vaughn, W. C.
	Oct. 11	Legett, J. Ben
	Dec. 30	Muehlethaler, Fred
	Lay, W. M.
1893,	Jan. 3	Moore, U. G.

Apr. 22	Long, W. S.
June 1	Greer, Crawford
Nov. 2	Polk, R. F.
.....	Gholson, Sam S.

FOOTNOTES

¹O. W. Williams, "From Dallas to the Site of Lubbock in 1877," West Texas Historical Association *Yearbook*, XV, 3-21. Williams was a transit man in a surveying party employed by a Dallas land firm to locate railroad scrip in the unappropriated domain in West Texas. The party was in the field from May through August 1877. Land locations were made in Lubbock County in late July and early August by a small group apparently headed by Williams after the main party returned.

²*Ibid.*, 12. Although Williams refers to three land prospectors named Tyree of Gallatin, Tennessee, Daniel Boone of Eastland, Texas, and a Mr. Hostetter of Pennsylvania, as their employers for this work, no land was patented in Lubbock County under these names.

³Texas, General Land Office, *Abstract of All Original Texas Land Titles Comprising Grants and Locations to August 31, 1941*, VI, 617-628. The generalized discussion of the process of land location is based on land files in the General Land Office, railroad files in the State Archives, and the pertinent land laws of the state. Specific citations would be tedious and impractical.

⁴*Ibid.* It should be pointed out that the alternate sections reserved for the state were placed in the permanent school fund and were henceforth commonly known as school land. (H. P. N. Gammel [compiler], *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897*, 10 volumes [Austin, 1898], VIII, 823ff., IX, 310.)

⁵*Ibid.*, IX, 55, 116, and 211. The Act of 1879 applied to organized counties, and in 1881 the lands in most of the unorganized counties were put on the market. Subsequently, that same year, a system of appraisal was established, and the minimum price was raised to \$1.00 per acre. The reason for these laws lies in the economy measures of Governor Oran M. Roberts' administration. Having urged that the school appropriation be reduced from one fourth to one fifth of the general revenue, Roberts then asked for the unrestricted sales of school land to supplement the schools' income. As Professor R. N. Richardson points out in the best single book on Texas history yet written, *Texas, the Lone Star State* (New York, 1943), 230-231, the state's finances were in desperate condition, and dramatic measures were probably necessary. Roberts' reforms ended the free spending era begun during Reconstruction and put the state on a sound financial basis.

⁶Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, IX, 308-309. There had been a great deal of objection raised to the unrestricted Fifty Cent Law. The best analysis of this point of view can be found in W. C. Walsh, "Memoirs of a Texas Land Commissioner," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLIV, 481-497. On the recommendation of John Ireland, who succeeded Roberts as governor, the legislature in 1883 withdrew all the public lands from sale. The contrasting messages of these two men to the legislature are interesting. See

the appropriate legislative journal or *Governors' Messages, Coke to Ross, 1874-1891* (Austin, 1916), 309, 477-478.

⁷ Texas, General Land Office, *Abstracts . . .*, VI, 617-628; reference is also made to the particular files in the General Land Office indicated in the abstract. Copies of the patent records are on file in the office of the County Clerk of Lubbock County, and in the Deed Records, II, 185 is a record of the transfer between the Stilson-Case interests and the Keator-Kulp interests at a price of nearly \$2 per acre.

⁸ The best source for the history of the IOA Ranch is William Curry Holden, *Rollie Burns* (Dallas, 1932), 148-208. Burns was the manager of the ranch from 1888 until its liquidation; however, he was not involved in its establishment. For information regarding the charter and origin of the company, see the following letters in the files of the Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College: William J. Peterson (Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa) to Edward Noble, October 30, 1956; Peterson to Seymour V. Connor, June 2, 1959.

Illuminating biographical information about the enterprising Stillman Wheelock may be found in Newton Bateman and Paul Selby (editors), *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Rock Island County* (Chicago, 1914), 1494, and *The Past and Present of Rock Island County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1877), 35-36.

Some of the leasing and all of the land purchasing activity of the company can be traced in the early volumes of the Lubbock County Deed Records. Of special interest to historians is the fact that Keator and Kulp, as trustees for the company, mortgaged the Lubbock County lands to Quincy Shaw of Boston, Mass. Shaw was a cousin of Francis Parkman and accompanied that great historian on his trip along the Oregon Trail. For an account of this journey see any edition of Parkman's *Oregon Trail*. Shaw later foreclosed on the Western Land and Live Stock Company for non-payment, was awarded a judgment by the District Court in Amarillo in 1901, and sold his judgment at a substantial discount to T. C. Frost, a San Antonio banker. A sheriff's sale was held, and the bulk of the lands, carrying the judgment, were sold to the Kokernot brothers whose home was also in San Antonio, but who had extensive ranching interests in the Trans-Pecos region. Records of these transactions can be found in the Lubbock County Deed Records, principally vol. IX, 608ff, 616, 618, and vol. XVI, 583ff.

In 1894 the actual title to the lands had been transferred by the company to the estate of Stillman Wheelock, apparently to compensate for some of the heavy losses the capitalist had suffered in advancing money to the company. For this transfer see Lubbock County Deed Records, VIII, 20-33. No research has been done to determine the exact arrangements which existed between the organizers of the company and Wheelock, but at the time of the liquidation of the company, the Wheelock heirs owned most of the valueless stock. A great nephew of the capitalist, Frank E. Wheelock, had come to the ranch and remained to become one of the founders of Lubbock. He figures prominently in later portions of this work.

⁹ Texas, General Land Office, *Abstracts . . .*, VI, 617-628.

¹⁰ United States Tenth Census, 1880 (microfilm copy of manuscript Schedule I, Population, for Lubbock County, in the Southwest Collection,

Texas Technological College). The original manuscripts of these returns were long stored in the Bureau of the Census and then the National Archives, and were deposited in the archives of the Texas State Library in 1952 when the writer was state archivist.

¹¹ Texas, General Land Office, Map of Lubbock County, January, 1915. This map locates the land in the county on the basis of the original patents.

¹² John M. Kidwell was 26 years old in 1880, born in Collin County, Texas, of parents from Illinois and Ohio; brother Lepman, 23 years old, was born in Parker County, Texas. (U. S. Tenth Census, 1880, microfilm Population Schedule, Lubbock County, Texas, residence no. 10, p. 535.)

¹³ United States Tenth Census, 1880, microfilm copy of manuscript Population Schedule, Garza County, Texas.

¹⁴ Lubbock County Deed Records, Index, I-J, 7. George Wolffarth helped round up and deliver the Kidwell herd to the St. Louis Cattle Company. His reminiscences, published as a biography compiled by Lela D. Puryear, in the West Texas Historical Association *Yearbook*, XXIV, 71-92, are very helpful for the early history of the Lubbock area. According to Max Coleman, *From Mustanger to Lawyer*, an interesting source of Lubbock history, vol. B, p. 128, the Kidwell brothers brand was Cross C and was acquired by J. K. Millwee for the IOA. Rollie Burns recalls a trip up the Yellow House in the summer of 1881 when he found the Kidwell brothers running the KID on their stock. (Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 74-75.) According to Burns, J. K. Millwee acquired the Cross C from the Brigham brothers, who were temporarily ranging in the Yellow House Canyon, in 1886. (*Ibid.*, 151.) The Kidwells may have sold the Cross C to the Brighams who in turn sold it to Millwee.

¹⁵ United States Tenth Census, 1880, microfilm Population Schedules, Lubbock County, res. no. 10, p. 535. It is interesting to note that their occupations were given on the census as "cattle herders," not cowboy or cowpuncher.

¹⁶ The Texas, General Land Office, Map of Lubbock County shows the location of Reynolds' section to be just below the present Buffalo Lakes.

¹⁷ United States Tenth Census, 1880, microfilm Population Schedule, Lubbock County, res. no. 11, facing p. 535.

¹⁸ Material on the Causeys is scattered and ephemeral. There was at least one more brother named George. Mention of their activities can be found in J. Evetts Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas* (Chicago, 1929), 48; Orville R. Watkins, "Hockley County, from Cattle Ranches to Farms," West Texas Historical Association *Yearbook*, XVII, 44-45; J. W. Williams, "Robson's Journey Through West Texas in 1879," *Ibid.*, XX, 111; W. P. Webb, "George W. Arrington, the Ironhanded Man of the Panhandle," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, VIII, 12, 15, 16, and 17. A biographical piece appears in the *Handbook of Texas*, edited by W. P. Webb and H. Bailey Carroll (Austin, 1952), and there will doubtless be much material in Wayne Gard's forthcoming book on the great buffalo hunt. The exact location of the dugout in the canyon is uncertain. Burns visited it several times and recalled that it was at Buffalo Spring. (Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 75.)

¹⁹ His father was born in South Carolina and his mother in Alabama. (U. S. Tenth Census, 1880 microfilm Population Schedules, Lubbock County, res. no. 8, p. 534).

²⁰ School land file, numbers 8183 and 8186, Texas General Land Office.

²¹ Texas, General Land Office, *Abstracts . . .*, VI, 628.

²² Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 97-98. Williams told Burns that during the summer of 1880, he had to leave the ranch a few days, and when he returned he found his herder had been killed and the sheep scattered up the canyon but still bunched by his sheep dog. For some unaccountable reason, this killing started a buried treasure legend, "and people have been going to old Williams' ranch and digging for buried treasure ever since."

²³ United States Tenth Census, 1880, microfilm Population Schedules, Lubbock County, res. no. 8, p. 534. Which of these two was the murdered man?

²⁴ According to Max Coleman, *Mustanger to Lawyer, A*, 39, his father, John C. Coleman, spent a night with Zack Williams in the spring of 1889 and Williams told him he was getting ready to sell out to the IOA and move to New Mexico. Rollie Burns recalls that the Williams property was leased by the IOA, but attaches an earlier date, and he also states that the Williams house later became the IOA headquarters. In 1898 Burns purchased Williams' three sections, and, adding them to four sections of his own, began the "Idlewild Ranch." (Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 149, 232.) The lease to the IOA is not recorded in the Deed Records, but Burns' personal transaction is: Vol. VIII, 369. In 1898, at the time of the sale, Williams was married and living in Valusia County, Florida. Burns gave him two promissory notes, which were paid out in 1902, at which time Williams was still in Valusia County. After the town of Lubbock was founded and the county organized he apparently considered moving back to Texas, but never did. He wrote Rollie Burns on May 9, 1896, inquiring about the condition of the country. (Photostatic copy of letter in personal library of J. Evetts Haley, Canyon.)

²⁵ United States Tenth Census, microfilm Population Schedules, Lubbock County, res. no. 9, facing p. 534.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, res. no. 1, p. 532, and res. no. 2, facing p. 532.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, res. nos. 5 and 6, p. 533.

²⁸ Texas, General Land Office, *Abstracts . . .*, VI, 141-142, 619. The quantity of land Cox obtained is frequently given as 50,000 acres, but it is not possible to substantiate this on the basis of the *Abstracts*. Col. R. B. Smythe, a pioneer surveyor of the South Plains, was a keen observer and well educated. In his reminiscences in the West Texas Historical Association *Yearbook*, VI, 17-34, entitled "The First Settlers and the Organization of Floyd, Hale and Lubbock Counties," he gives many details of the Quaker settlement which he knew at first hand. According to Smythe, Cox's certificates were located by C. U. Connellee, and the first patents were issued in 1879 to Paris Cox, G. M. Hunt, M. M. and Eliza Stubbs, M. D. Cox, and Elizabeth Lindley. His papers, together with the papers of Hank Smith, in the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society Museum, are among the best sources for the history of Estacado. John Cooper Jenkins, *A History of Estacado, A Quaker Settlement and Its Environs* (M.A. Thesis, Hardin-Simmons University, 1951), collates much material on this subject, as does Roger A. Burgess, "Pioneer Quaker Farmers of the South Plains," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, I, 116-123. An excellent contemporary account, unfortunately shy on detail, is George M. Hunt's *Early Days Upon the Plains of Texas*, (Lubbock, n.d.), 8-38.

²⁹ Burgess, "Pioneer Quaker Farmers," 116-118. The location is based on a contract between Hank Smith and Paris Cox dated June 6, 1879, at Mount Blanco, Crosby County, in the Hank Smith Papers in the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society Museum, and on the General Land Office Map which indicates that the major portion of section 75 lies in eastern Lubbock County, about twelve miles due east of the present town of Monroe or New Deal.

³⁰ United States Tenth Census, 1880, microfilm Population Schedules, Crosby County.

³¹ Burgess, "Pioneer Quaker Farmers," 119-123.

³² Among the most prominent of the pioneer families of Lubbock were people from the Quaker Colony and other settlers at Estacado. An accurate tabulation of these names would be very difficult to complete because of the paucity of documentary sources and the inevitable variance of oral sources. It is unfortunate that the population schedules for Lubbock County for the 1890 census were destroyed in Washington by fire, along with most of the rest of the nation's enumeration of that year. The statistics remain, but the names are lost. Curiously, a copy of the 1890 Population Schedules for Crosby County survived, and information from it appears in Nellie Witt Spikes and Temple Ann Ellis, *Through the Years, A History of Crosby County, Texas* (San Antonio, 1952), 27-31.

³³ Texas, Department of Insurance, Statistics and History (A. W. Spaight, Commissioner), *The Resources, Soil and Climate of Texas* (1882), 358-359. As early as 1882 the newly created state department of Insurance, Statistics and History issued this first yearbook and description of Texas. The department head, Commissioner Spaight, was diligent in seeking information about the faraway plains region of West Texas. Naturally he turned to residents of Estacado, and in his report he published extracts of their enthusiastic statements.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 359. An unsuccessful attempt was made to locate the original of this letter in the archives of the defunct department of Insurance, Statistics and History. The full contents of the letter might have been illuminating, but unfortunately it could not be found.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 359

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 359-360.

³⁷ Samuel Hamilton Johnson to Sylvan Dunn, interview, June 3, 1959.

³⁸ Lela D. Puryear, "George Clarence Wolfarth," West Texas Historical Association *Yearbook*, XXIV, 87.

³⁹ For a biographical sketch of Frank Wheelock, see Seymour V. Connor (editor), *Builders of the Southwest* (Lubbock, 1959).

⁴⁰ Coleman, *Mustanger to Lawyer, A*, 39-40, 54-55.

⁴¹ United States Tenth Census, 1880, microfilm Population Schedules, Crosby County. Information about the Gholsons, for whom Gholson Spring in the lower canyon was named, is scattered through most of the material dealing with this period.

⁴² Perhaps the most confusing point connected with the early period of Lubbock's history is the date Singer established his store in the canyon. Most of the sources accept the date as the summer of 1879, and nearly all that do can be traced to Rollie Burns. Burns, in letters, newspaper articles, and in his reminiscences, gives the date 1879 and in places 1878 and 1877. Haley, in *The XIT Ranch*, p. 50, bases his date on a letter from Rollie

Burns (R. C. Burns to J. Evetts Haley, Sept. 23, 1927, in Haley's personal library), and Holden, in *Rollie Burns*, bases the date on Burns' reminiscences. A concrete marker has been erected on the site of Singer's store bearing the dates, 1877-1886.

According to unpublished research of Max Coleman, who has been in correspondence with the Singer family and attended a Singer family reunion in May of 1959, George W. Singer moved to Texas from Alliance, Ohio, in company with some of the Quakers. Singer had married Rachel Underhill, the daughter of Harvey Underhill, before moving to Texas. A search of the Population Schedules of the 1880 census for Alliance, however, failed to locate him there.

The Underhills were among the first settlers at Estacado, but could not have arrived before the summer of 1881. Singer's sister-in-law, Mrs. Joe Sherman, in a letter to Judge George Bean, a copy of which is in the Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College, stated that to the best of her memory Singer first built the store in the canyon in 1883; however, in 1959 at the Singer reunion, the consensus seemed to be 1880.

Singer's name does not appear in the Population Schedules of 1880 in either Lubbock or Crosby counties. George W. Arrington, who led an expedition across Lubbock County in 1880, had to send back to Colorado City for supplies, and made no mention of a store in the area in his reports, which are published as edited by L. F. Sheffy in the *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, I, 30-66. He was not in the canyon in the summer of 1877 when O. W. Williams made the survey down it. (Williams, "From Dallas to the Site of Lubbock," 3-21; and Williams to George R. Bean, March 8, 1937, copy in Southwest Collection.) Unless Singer operated the store a few months in 1878 and 1879, and then returned to Ohio to immigrate with his wife and the Underhill family to Estacado, it seems likely that he did not open the store until the summer of 1881 at the earliest. It also seems likely that he opened it to trade with cattlemen who were beginning to come up on and to cross the plains, rather than the buffalo hunters who were around a few years earlier. Sid Boykin told J. Evetts Haley (Boykin to Haley, June 23, 1927, in Haley's personal library) that Singer "must have put it up in the fall of 1880 or early in 1881."

It is strange, also, that when writing from Estacado in April of 1882, to Commissioner Spaight, Singer did not mention his store. Actually, the date is unimportant; what is significant is the fact that during the eighties Singer's store became the focal point of Lubbock County settlers and served as a post office. That there was a need for such a business indicates not only that there were settlers in the region but that there was a certain amount of traffic through the area.

⁴³ Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 195. Singer moved the store to the town of Lubbock in 1891. According to information furnished the Lubbock Post Office by the National Archives, the first official postmaster in the county was a man named DeQuazy, who served in that position from March 31, 1884, to June 20, 1884. Haley, in the *XIT Ranch*, p. 50, noted that DeQuazy made an unsuccessful attempt to operate a store in the canyon in competition with Singer. All attempts to collect additional data about DeQuazy have been unsuccessful. Singer succeeded him as postmaster.

⁴⁴ Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 75.

⁴⁵ Haley, *XIT Ranch*, 50-51.

⁴⁶ Texas, Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics and History (L. L. Foster, Commissioner), *First Annual Report, 1887-1888*, (Austin, 1889), xliv-liv.

⁴⁷ One such a person was Dr. W. V. Marshburn, a pioneer physician. His farm was located in eastern Lubbock County, several miles west of Estacado. A shy and retiring person, according to Spikes and Ellis, *Crosby County*, 196, he lived in a one-room house and set out a big orchard.

⁴⁸ United States Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890*, pp. 508-511, 873-875.

⁴⁹ Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, IX, 391. This act actually initiated the classification scheme, but it was not applied to Lubbock County lands at that time.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 881ff. The correspondence files of the Land Office have been searched for reports from classification agents for an indication of exactly when the classification was made and by whom, but without success.

⁵¹ Some of the most tedious research of this study was involved in compiling this and later lists of settlers based on dates of filing. All of the school land files for Lubbock County in the Texas General Land Office filed under the Act of 1887 and its amendments, as well as under the later Act of 1895 and its amendments, were pulled and examined. The most pertinent data obtained were the dates of filing and, where applicable, of forfeiture, and the reason for forfeiture. These files contain, in addition to the necessary land information and application to purchase, affidavits verifying the applicant to be a bona fide settler.

⁵² With the possible exception of a few men like Tang Martin, a drifting cowboy who often followed the "chuck line" in his younger days, and who settled down in Lubbock. In his later years he was crippled, losing both legs, and was thereafter a ward of the county, living most of the time at the county courthouse. Old timers remember Tang Martin as the center of the town's gossip groups, and the Minutes of the Commissioners Court reflect the county's concern for him.

⁵³ Actual settlers on school land in Lubbock County arranged by date of filing according to data in each of the pertinent School Land Files, Texas General Land Office. Some of the settlers who had filed under earlier acts as actual settlers were W. V. Marshburn (May 27, 1884), Paris Cox (Dec. 5, 1885), G. H. Brigman (January 1, 1886), Isaiah Cox (April 1, 1886), George W. Singer (April 1, 1886), Alexander Rayl (November 11, 1886), and M. P. Marshburn (February 16, 1887). Such men as Zach Williams and the Kidwell brothers of course had purchased land outright.

4

The Founding of Lubbock

Seymour V. Connor

THE MOVEMENT of people into the unoccupied, or relatively unoccupied, lands of Lubbock County during the summer and fall of 1890 marks the advance of what historians have labeled the "Farmer's Frontier." Frederick Jackson Turner, whose name is celebrated in the annals of American history, wrote an essay in 1893 which became one of the foundation stones for the interpretation of the growth of this country; in it he described the continuing westward movement of the Anglo-American peoples from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific in terms of successive waves of migration as if a turbulent ocean of population was crashing against the open stretches of North America. A wave of explorers was followed by one of missionaries, and as these receded came waves of miners, cattlemen, and so on, ending in a massive billow of farmers who settled down and actually claimed the frontier for civilization.¹

Emerging from this process of "settling up" the country were a number of unique American phenomena which molded a distinct American character from the raw materials of Euro-

pean migration. It is very likely that the most important of these emergents was the frontier practice of establishing and operating a local government, often far from contact with the royal government, or later the state capitol. Out of this grew the American love of self-government and indirectly, the federal constitution. Out of it, also, came the great concept of the Northwest Ordinance admitting new states to the federal union on an equal basis with the older ones as population surged westward. By the mid-nineteenth century, British philosopher John Stuart Mill observed in his famous essay "On Liberty," that Americans had developed a unique and surprising ability to govern themselves. "Let them be left without a government, every body of Americans is able to improvise one, and to carry on that or any other public business with . . . intelligence, order, and decision."

The very roots of the American democracy are deeply embedded in the rich soil of local self-government. By the close of the nineteenth century, this practice of creating and developing a local government had become so common that Texas, as well as other states which included frontier regions, had provided for it as a matter of course. The Texas Constitution of 1876 authorized the legislature of the state to divide the unpopulated area of West Texas into county units in advance of settlement. Such geographical units, created by the legislature in the unoccupied territory, would of course be without local government and were to be attached for administrative and judicial purposes to the most convenient existing county until such time as the new area had sufficient population to organize its own government. Counties with an organized government were referred to as "organized" counties; those without were called "unorganized" counties.² A population of 150 qualified voters was required in an unorganized county before it could be organized.³

Immediately after the adoption of the Constitution of 1876, the legislature carved up most of the West Texas area into

unorganized counties, naming them after signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence and a few other heroes of the Texas past. Thus, Lubbock County was created on August 21, 1876, by an act which took effect ninety days later, and was named for Tom S. Lubbock, a former Texas Ranger, Confederate officer, and brother of Francis R. Lubbock, the Civil War governor of the state.⁴ Prior to this time the area was considered to be a part of the Bexar and Young Territories. These territories were simply an administrative convenience without any practical function or jurisdiction in the unoccupied region. The Bexar Territory originated in 1834 when the Mexican government subdivided Coahuila and Texas into three administrative departments, Bexar, Nacogdoches, and Brazos. The Department of Bexar embraced the western part of Texas, then virtually unexplored and unmapped. Through the periods of the Republic and early statehood, consequently, the western part of the state became labeled the "Territory of Bexar." In 1856, principally for the convenience of land locators and the General Land Office, a portion of the Bexar Territory was split off as the Young Territory.⁵ Although its boundaries were poorly defined, the Young Territory included part of present Lubbock County in its meaningless jurisdiction. The legislative act of 1876, creating the unorganized counties of West Texas, attached Lubbock County, along with the newly created counties of King, Dickens, Crosby, Hockley, Cochran, Stonewall, Kent, Garza, Lynn, Terry, and Yoakum, to the organized county of Young.⁶ After the organization of Baylor County, the legislature regrouped the unorganized counties in 1881. Lubbock County was then attached to Baylor and remained an appendage of that county until the organization of Crosby County in 1887, at which time Lubbock, Dickens, Motley, Floyd, Hale, Lamb, Bailey, Cochran, and Hockley counties were attached to Crosby.⁷

Hence, when the first wave of actual settlement washed

over the Caprock and onto the plains of Lubbock County, the settlers were under the temporary jurisdiction of the recently organized, adjacent county of Crosby. The phenomenon of organizing a county has long since faded into past history, but these first settlers were intimately familiar with the procedure. Most of them had moved from or through counties which had but recently been organized, and many had actually participated in the work of creating a county government. It must have been a heady and enriching experience with intangible aesthetic values, as well as practical ones. On the practical side, certainly, was the value of taking part in the beginning of the county—getting in on the ground floor, so to speak.

The chief focal point of practical interest was always in the establishment of the county seat town. In this matter, a number of small fortunes had been made, as well as considerable speculative profits, as West Texas counties became organized. An organized county had to have a county seat; in the county seat the value of town lots was assured a remarkable appreciation in a short space of time. In many counties in West Texas rival groups promoted separate towns which competed fiercely for the location of the county seat. In such cases the voters of the county had to decide which town was to become the county seat, and as a natural consequence which promoters should profit. Consequently it had become a common practice for town promoters to offer inducements to families to move into their town, or in some way to become identified with it.⁸ Because the pattern of this procedure was in the personal experience of nearly every one who moved to Lubbock County in 1889 and 1890, it is impossible for the careful historian to say that the "idea" for establishing the city of Lubbock had any one single genesis. The "idea" was undoubtedly in the minds of a majority of the men who moved to the county, and there were a few who came particularly to participate in "putting on" the county seat town as well as

organizing the county government. All the historian can do is trace the documented beginnings of the town itself.

At least three distinct groups figure in the establishment of Lubbock: W. E. Rayner and his supporters; W. D. Crump and his associates; and Frank Wheelock and his friends. All three groups ultimately merged into one, and Lubbock was spared the bitterness of a county seat fight.

W. E. Rayner was a cattleman, manager, and part owner of the Rayner Cattle Company, with home offices in St. Louis, Missouri, and a ranch operation in King County.⁹ With the organization of Stonewall County, immediately to the south, in 1888, Rayner became interested in building a town to serve as its county seat. He acquired a section of land and laid off a town which was designated the county seat. The town was named Rayner, and although there was organized opposition to it, the county commissioners court sustained the town and ordered a courthouse built there in 1889.¹⁰ This small frame building proving inadequate, in 1890 the commissioners court let a contract for the erection of a larger rock building on property which W. E. Rayner subsequently deeded to the county as the town square. Despite the apparent permanency of the town, its population being reported in 1890 at 234 people, opposition to it continued in the county, and the rival town of Aspermont was laid off. At an election in 1892, however, a majority of the voters indicated a preference for the town of Rayner, and it remained the county seat until another election in 1898 in which Aspermont gleaned the most votes.¹¹

In the spring of 1890, however, Rayner's town was enjoying the first fruits of success, and he became interested in trying to repeat the venture in Lubbock County. A visit to the area convinced him that it was ripe for the successful promotion of a town and would soon be ready for the organization of county government. At this time he made the acquaintance of W. D. Crump who had come to the area in March of 1890 with the same idea.

Crump, a Confederate veteran and native of Kentucky, had migrated to North Central Texas and was determined to move further west. After an exploratory trip to the Lubbock area, he associated with H. M. Bandy, a Church of Christ minister from Thorpe Springs, and D. F. Goss, an attorney and later state senator, from Seymour, to establish a town in Lubbock County. The Crump-Bandy-Goss party came out to settle in May 1890, stopping temporarily in Estacado, and then establishing a camp on the north side of the canyon near the center of the county at about the site of the present country club. Crump had sold his store at Benjamin, sent his wife and daughters to Dallas to spend the summer, and had come out to Estacado with his two sons about two weeks ahead of the rest of the party. He was joined by a family named Allen and by the families of William and Albert Clark, who had been sent out from Thorpe Springs by the Reverend Bandy. It was on a trip to Amarillo that month to get supplies that Crump met Rayner, who returned with him to Lubbock County and entered into an agreement with the Crump-Bandy-Goss group to pool their efforts in developing a town.¹² Rayner returned to Stonewall County after reaching a tentative agreement on July 17 for a site for the proposed town north of the canyon on Section 10, Block A, on which Wm. S. Clark had filed as a settler on June 2.¹³

Almost immediately after he got home, Rayner wrote to Crump and his associates urging them to select a new site on the south side of the canyon. They apparently resented his letter and wrote to him on July 23, 1890, insisting on the north side location and asking Rayner to come out to discuss the matter. Rayner was unable to come, but replied promptly, giving his reason for preferring the south side and trying to appease his new partners: ". . . I have no more landed interest on one side [of the canyon] than the other . . . I got up no hidden scheme to try and force you to go over but approached you openly & plainly, and urged the change."¹⁴

Rayner's reasons chiefly embodied his belief that any east-west traffic, as well as the vague possibility of a railroad link west from Abilene would all follow the south side of the canyon. He suggested that Section 20 of Block A be acquired and wrote that he had given Light Knight of the recently established town of Plainview his power of attorney to act for him. Whether or not his reasoning was valid is immaterial; he was strongly insistent upon it, and asked the Crump-Bandy-Goss group to release him from their bargain if they could not agree with him.

Now I shall be glad to have you work hand in hand with me in building up a town out there and my every act has shown that such was my desire, and I trust that you will give your consent to the change which I so earnestly desire, but if you will not then I would most respectfully ask you to permit me to withdraw from the contract. In this event you would be left as I found you — on the same land & c. I am satisfied you would not care to hold me to a contract against my wishes in a case like this where you had not and would not sustain any loss by reason of existence of said contract & my withdrawal therefrom. In other words I do not wish if I can avoid it *in any gentlemanly way* going into an enterprize (with my eyes open) that my judgment teaches me would be an absolute failure and I am satisfied you would not care to have me do so.¹⁵

The Crump faction released Rayner from the agreement, and the captain, as he was called, went ahead with his own plans to build a town on the south side of the canyon. In the meantime, these activities had not gone unnoticed by the observant manager of the IOA Ranch. During the spring and early summer of 1890, he and Frank Wheelock watched with mixed feelings the country to the north of the ranch filling up with settlers. Both Crump and Rayner approached them for support, and although Burns and Wheelock apparently remained uncommitted, their interest was stimulated.¹⁶ By mid-summer they decided to start a town of their own. While Rayner and Crump were trying to settle their controversy

over the location of the town, Burns went to Fort Worth to enlist the financial support of John T. Lofton and James Harrison in a separate town site.¹⁷ Lofton and Harrison were real estate men, dealing especially in lands in the Texas Panhandle. Lofton made a visit to Lubbock County, liked what he saw, and immediately began to organize the venture with professional skill. He brought the Crump-Goss-Bandy group into his venture, giving them shares in his proposed town; it may have been Lofton's appearance on the scene which prompted the Crump group to cancel their contract with Rayner, for Lofton was agreeable to the north side location.¹⁸

However, rather than using the Clark section which the Crump group had already selected (Section 10, Block A), Lofton chose the section adjacent to it (Section 7, Block A) as a better site. This section had been patented by the state to David Studebaker in 1877, and the title to it was clear, while the Clark section had simply been filed on, with payment still due the school fund.¹⁹

Lofton and Harrison purchased the Studebaker section on August 12, 1890, and conveyed an undivided one-half interest in it to Frank E. Wheelock on September 5.²⁰

With the support of Crump's following of settlers and the funds and experience supplied by Lofton and Harrison, the town on the north side of the canyon, which was given the name Lubbock, began to grow. The townsite was laid off and platted, a well was dug, lots were given away to induce people to establish themselves in the town, and a hotel was built. All such expenses were to be borne proportionately by the townsite proprietors, although apparently the actual funds were supplied by the Fort Worth men.²¹

The hotel became Lubbock's best known historic building. It was a square, two story, frame building with a third, attic floor lighted and ventilated by dormer windows. Frank Wheelock named it the Nicolett Hotel, after a hotel where he had stayed in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and George M. Hunt moved

over from Estacado to manage it. Hunt also established a store and served as postmaster.²² Lubbock post office, which had been in Singer's store in the canyon, was moved to the town, and Wheelock was appointed postmaster on November 5, 1890. He contracted with Joseph L. O'Bannon to haul the mail from Colorado City, and O'Bannon hired J. B. Mobley to drive the mail hack.²³

Old Lubbock, familiarly known as "North Town," began to boom, and as more families accepted the offers of town lots, tents, dug outs and a few board houses began to cluster around the town windmill and the pretentious hotel building. On November 12, 1890, the Reverend Bandy arrived with a large party of emigrants from Thorpe Springs to augment the settlement.²⁴ As winter began to chill the plains, excitement mounted, for Rayner had been equally active in promoting another town on the south side of the canyon. After separating from the Crump party, he had acquired Section 20, Block A, on August 6, 1890, and laid off and platted a town of his own, which he named Monterey, but which was generally called South Town or Ray Town. He was joined in this venture by his nephew, Howard Rayner, in whose name the land was actually placed.²⁵ The Rayners also offered inducements to settlers to come to South Town, and it too began to accumulate a cluster of primitive homes.²⁶ J. D. Caldwell moved his store from Estacado over to South Town, J. B. Lewis built a sheet-iron building for a saloon, Will and Van Sanders, George Wolffarth, J. C. Coleman, and others accepted the town lot inducement; and a warm rivalry developed between old Lubbock and Monterey. The prize, of course, would be selection as the county seat when the county was organized, and the town with the largest following would win. At one time, after Rayner had been absent for an unusually long period, Frank Wheelock persuaded many of the people to move from South Town to old Lubbock by offering to move them and give them lots in his town. The only one who actu-

ally moved north across the canyon, however, was Lewis with his sheet-iron saloon.²⁷

At this time, old Lubbock was said to have thirty-seven buildings and a population of about fifty, and Monterey was reported to boast of thirty-two buildings and a like number of people.²⁸ None of the promoters of either town desired a prolonged county seat fight, and all who were involved seem to have been men of good will. During the fortnight before the Christmas season of 1890 these men negotiated a compromise which would not only work for their personal gain, but would be of benefit to the people of both settlements. There was born in that Christmas season, in the compromise between the two factions, a spirit of cooperation for the good of all that has been the single most unique characteristic of the City of Lubbock. It has been a healthy spirit based on far-sighted and intelligent self-interest and dedicated to the mutual advantage of all. The historically minded who seek the reason for Lubbock's phenomenal growth and progress will find it, not in any tangible factors, since the whole South Plains area is remarkably uniform, but in the intangible spirit of cooperation that has pervaded the leadership of the town for over a half-century.²⁹

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LUBBOCK

On December 19, 1890, the two factions (F. E. Wheelock, John T. Lofton, James Harrison, Rollie Burns, H. M. Bandy, George M. Hunt, Henry C. Hiatt, and W. D. Crump from old Lubbock and W. E. Rayner, Howard Rayner, Joseph Lang, Van Sanders, W. A. Carlisle, and George C. Wolffarth from Monterey) mutually bound each other with bonds of \$5000 each to an agreement to establish a new town on a section acceptable to each party and move both of their towns to it on a share and share alike basis. The terms of this unusual agreement were relatively simple. Both parties agreed (1) to consolidate the two towns, (2) to select a suitable sec-

tion for a new town, (3) to designate Frank Wheelock as their mutual representative, (4) to move all the buildings from the "old towns" to the new site within a month, except "one small building in each town" which could remain and the Nicolett Hotel for which two months or any reasonable time necessary was allowed for the move, (5) to adopt the town plat used for the town of Monterey, (6) to divide the town lots equitably between the two factions, (7) to share equally the future cost of promoting the consolidated town.³⁰

Rather complicated arrangements were made in the agreement to insure that an acceptable section of land would be acquired, and an even more intricate scheme was devised for the equitable distribution of the town lots. In a quarter of a section in the center of the town, Rayner and his group got the odd-numbered lots in the west half and the even-numbered ones in the east half, Wheelock and his cohorts taking the even numbers in the west and odd numbers in the east of that central tract. In the area surrounding it, Rayner took all the even-numbered blocks and Wheelock the odd-numbered blocks. By this arrangement the blocks and lots of the town were completely checkerboarded in an alternate pattern so that neither group might later derive advantage from a lopsided development of the town.³¹

It took less than a month to locate and consummate the purchase of Section 1, Block O, in the center of the county for the new town, which was to be called Lubbock. This tract was purchased on January 12, 1891, from H. G. Ferris of Carthage, Illinois, who had acquired it directly from the state of Texas in 1877. It cost the promoters \$1920, which interestingly was exactly the maximum sum they had agreed upon among themselves in December.³²

Almost immediately the move from Monterey and old Lubbock began. Since most of the buildings were small, boxed houses, many of them were moved intact. One of the most vivid recollections of old-timers is connected with the moving

of the big Nicolett Hotel intact down the North Canyon and across the Yellow House to a site on the square of the new town.³³ This was an unusual, two-block square, since both Wheelock and Rayner had dedicated a block each to the public. From the square, east-west streets were laid off and numbered consecutively in both north and south directions, while the north-south streets were named for trees.³⁴

Portions of the business district around the square began to fill up as J. D. Caldwell's store was moved to the west side and Singer's to the north side; Ed T. Cox's barber shop, W. D. Phenix's blacksmithy, Wheelock's livery stable, G. W. Lee's laundry, Sanders and Lewis' liquor emporium, and other business houses were built.³⁵ The residential area surrounding the heart of the townsite began to be dotted with tents, small box houses, and an occasional frame dwelling, and within a short time wells were dug and a small forest of windmills arose on the plains. In March and April Wheelock and Rayner completed the paper work connected with the consolidation and each awarded written deeds to town lots to their followers and supporters. Rayner deeded lots, for the most part in quantities of ten each, to the following persons who had settled in or supported the town of Monterey:³⁶ Mrs. John O'Harrow,³⁷ W. E. Sanders, Sanders & Lewis, E. B. Covington,³⁸ Van Sanders, Sallie McKay Coleman, James I. Irvin, W. L. McCauley, George W. Fry, J. D. Caldwell, R. F. Kidney, W. F. Cobb, R. B. Robertson, W. R. Yates, Lucy Johnson, J. P. Kennedy, George W. Singer, M. C. Porter, J. O. Talbott,³⁹ S. S. Gholson,⁴⁰ W. F. Hendrix, J. B. Leggett, Tang Martin, R. A. Wilkerson, G. W. Shannon, W. A. (Gus) Carlisle,⁴¹ H. G. Welborn, H. Butler, S. H. Lockwood, E. Y. Lee, Sam B. Irvine, George W. Groves, William Tubbs, Isham Tubbs, W. C. Parker, G. L. Lee, E. W. Estes, Felix Franklin, Q. Bone, Joseph Lang, T. H. Lemond, George B. McCauley, E. H. Estes, R. H. Porter, and John W. Allen.

Wheelock also deeded a number of lots immediately after

the town plat was filed for record. To Lofton and Harrison he conveyed an undivided one-half interest in all the lots not deeded to original purchasers or supporters.⁴² The size and the interest of J. K. Turner, of Fort Worth, is not known, but Wheelock conveyed a number of lots to him.⁴³ The largest other supporter was W. D. Crump who had invested \$3000, and Wheelock deeded to him a substantial number of lots scattered around the city.⁴⁴ D. F. Goss and Rollie Burns had each put up \$1000 and received a proportionate share of lots.⁴⁵

Others to whom Wheelock assigned lots during the spring and summer of 1891, and who were probably residents or prospective residents, were J. C. Ferguson, D. B. Jackson, Robert Linn, S. P. Stubbs, E. B. Covington,⁴⁶ Mrs. John O'Harrow, M. M. Cox, T. R. Hunt, C. E. Lewis, George M. Hunt, W. V. Marshburn, W. C. Henderson, L. O. Hunt, W. C. Hyatt, W. P. Nelson, C. A. Goodwin, J. J. Reynolds, J. L. O'Bannon, R. H. Crump, W. N. Green, J. M. Lowry, A. W. Callahan, J. B. Green, H. M. Bandy, Sid B. Swink,⁴⁷ H. C. Knight, E. C. Knight, M. L. Hadley, J. B. Jones,⁴⁸ Walter Gaskill, W. S. Clark, J. B. Mobley, Elmer Stevens, G. M. Bales, V. G. Moore, Isaiah Cox, E. J. Pruitt, B. F. Johnson, A. J. Pharr, and D. M. Ealy.⁴⁹

ORGANIZATION OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT

Together Wheelock and Rayner transferred lots to approximately 100 settlers immediately after the town was opened. These, together with settlers on out-lying ranches and stock farms; cowboys, particularly from the IOA; and transients, or drifters or floaters in the local terminology, constituted a sufficient population to encourage the promoters to organize the county and nail down their town of Lubbock as the county seat before some other promoter might come in and start another rival town. A petition for organization was circulated around the county, the names of the necessary 150

qualified voters were affixed to it, and it was submitted to Judge Covington in Crosby County on February 9, 1891.⁵⁰

The election to organize the county was held on March 10, 1891, in which the town of Lubbock was selected as county seat and the following officers elected: G. W. Shannon, county judge; J. D. Caldwell, F. E. Wheelock, L. D. Hunt, Van Sanders, commissioners; William M. Lay, sheriff; Will F. Hendrix, county attorney; George Wolffarth, county clerk.⁵¹

From that time until the incorporation of the city in 1909, the county commissioners court was the governing body of the town as well as the county. It held its first meeting on March 19, 1891, at the home of William M. Lay, the new sheriff. The historian is unable to record any momentous decisions of that memorable meeting, for the chief item of business was the consideration of bids on county stationery. There was apparently a salesman in town, for the next day the court awarded the stationery contract for \$2268.05. Of course, the new county had no funds, so it was ordered that the bill be paid in eight percent, interest-bearing warrants. All other bills in this early period were also paid in this type paper, including the salaries and per diem of the members of the court, the ordering of which was sometimes the only item on the court's agenda.⁵²

For the most part, however, the court proceeded in a reasonably ordered fashion to organize the county's affairs. Will McCauley was appointed acting clerk until George Wolffarth had posted bond and qualified, and Will F. Hendrix was certified as county attorney. A school district was established embracing the whole county area, George Hunt, Isham Tubbs and W. V. Marshburn being named trustees. The records pertaining to Lubbock County which had been filed in Crosby County were copied and those of Hockley and Cochran counties, still unorganized and transferred to the jurisdiction of Lubbock, were secured from Hale County.⁵³

Four other important matters of business occupied the com-

missioners during that first year: (1) the establishment of roads, (2) the construction of a courthouse, (3) the levying of taxes, and (4) the sale of the county's four leagues of school land. The court designated four third-class public roads to be established by a jury of view running north, east, south, and west from the town square. The location of these roads and the surveying thereof were to plague the county for many years to come. Right-of-way was frequently shifted and changed, and the road overseer had difficulty getting the citizens out to work on the roads as was required by law, there being no federal or state supported and supervised program for highways.⁵⁴

On May 11, the court accepted bids on the construction of a jailhouse to be erected on the northeast corner of the square. This was to be Lubbock's first public building, but of much more importance — and uppermost in everyone's mind at the time — was a courthouse to adorn the center of town. The members of the court knew in general what they wanted, and on May 14 specified that it should be a building 48 feet wide, 56 feet long, and 24 feet high, costing between \$8,000 and \$12,000. Within a month these ideas were modified when the court accepted the plans submitted by the architectural firm of Gill, Woodward, and Gill of Dallas at a proposed cost of nearly \$12,000.⁵⁵

To raise the necessary funds for the operation of the government and the support of the school, the court fixed minimum values to livestock and property for the purpose of levying and collecting taxes. Four leagues (approximately 16,000 acres) of the public domain in Bailey County, granted by the state to Lubbock County for the support of the school, was ordered to be surveyed and sold. The survey was not immediately made, however, and the first sale was of the unlocated certificates at \$1.25 per acre. The sale was made on terms which were not complied with, and consequently the contract was nullified. During these early years the county

had to rely on such taxes as could be collected, and floated a bond issue to pay the cost of erecting a courthouse.⁵⁶

On August 10, 1891, the meeting place of the court was moved from Sheriff Lay's house to a building belonging to W. E. Rayner which was rented until the courthouse was completed. By the close of the year 1891, the county government was fully functional, and like the average Texas county of the time, in debt, unable to meet its current obligations at more than fifty cents on the dollar, and considering raising taxes.⁵⁷

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWN

With the completion of the organization of the county and the transactions transferring town lots to members of both factions, the new town of Lubbock began to appear to be relatively permanent. A few new settlers moved into the county in the late spring and summer of 1891, and in the town itself store buildings, houses, and windmills began to relieve the level plains horizons. The prompt action of the new county commissioners on affairs of vital importance, such as the courthouse, roads to Lubbock, and the county well and windmill, was encouraging.

A young attorney, Robert E. Lee Rogers, moved from the fading community of Estacado to begin a newspaper in Lubbock. The first issue of the Lubbock *Leader* hit the town square on July 31, 1891.⁵⁸ From its two pages emerge the barest details of the town as it must have been then. Singer's and Caldwell's stores were both advertised, as was the Nicolle Hotel, Sanders and Wolffarth's Livery Stable, Moore and Wheelock's Livery Stable, Sanders and Lewis' liquor emporium, and Hunt and Jones land office. Two attorneys, W. F. Hendrix and W. C. Henderson, both advertised that they also dealt in land and insurance, and a physician, C. G. Austin, M.D., notified the public that he planned to open a general practice in Lubbock and the surrounding area. Also

advertised was a barber shop, Ed T. Cox, proprietor; W. P. Phenix's blacksmith shop; and a laundry operated by G. W. Lee.⁵⁹

These business houses were scattered around the two-block square, Caldwell's store on the west side and Singer's, a small, frame building painted red, on the north side. Easily the most prominent structure in town, and for that matter, probably the largest hotel in West Texas at the time, was the Nicolett Hotel, on the south side of the square. A small, two-room jail, and a windmill and water tank occupied the square itself, and construction was underway on the large frame courthouse.⁶⁰

Lubbock, in that summer, had something of the character of a boom town. There was much activity, men were busy building, town lots were traded, and great ventures planned. The pot at the end of the rainbow contained not gold or silver or oil, but good land at cheap prices. And as in any other boom town, many of the enterprises blossomed and died, sometimes rather rapidly. In Lubbock, for instance, the physician failed to open his practice, one of the livery stables soon disappeared, and the saloon and liquor emporium closed.⁶¹ Dr. W. V. Marshburn, who had settled outside of Estacado, moved away; the proposed practice of Dr. Austin did not develop, and for several years the community depended upon the services of Dr. J. H. Wayland who came down from Plainview.⁶² J. P. Lewis, familiarly known as "Old Mahster," operated Lubbock's first and last saloon only a few months before local pressure forced it to close. The local pressure derived from two sources: the manager of the IOA Ranch, who found it to be too temptingly near his fences for his cowboys, and the organized church congregations already established in the town.⁶³

The character of Lubbock as a church town is almost implicit in its origin. Not only did a number of the first settlers move over to Lubbock from the Quaker colony, but the very active Church of Christ groups, represented by the Reverends

Smith and Bandy and their followings, made up a large proportion of the town's population. By July 1891 the Society of Friends had scheduled services every second Sunday; the Baptists, on the first Sunday of each month; and Christian services were held every Sunday. A Union Sabbath School was conducted every Sunday by J. B. Jones.⁶⁴ These congregations apparently met originally in the jail on the square as well as in the homes of members of the congregation, and at first the Union Sunday School convened in the jail house.⁶⁵

The jail house, a small "boxed" structure, also served the community as a temporary school and a sort of a social center. Minnie Tubbs, daughter of William Tubbs, organized a subscription school for the children of the first settlers in the spring of 1891 and conducted the classes, all ages meeting together, in the jail house. Although there were perhaps twenty-five children enrolled, rarely more than twelve or fourteen were in attendance at any one time.⁶⁶ The school's first session closed on July 24 with a giant ceremony that was the social event of the season. It was described for posterity as follows:

On Friday last, Minnie Tubbs closed a successful term of school at this place. The exercises began at noon and consumed the evening in nice recitations by all the scholars. Space forbids us making special mention, but will say that one and all did exceedingly well. At night a sumptuous supper was set, and all present made themselves at home — at the table. After supper the remainder of the program was carried out, interspersed with some beautiful vocal and instrumental music, by Miss Sylvia Hunt and Miss Grace Dockum, assisted by Messrs. W. C. Henderson and Albert Clark.

Miss Tubbs has great ability as an instructor, and deserves much credit for the good she has accomplished.⁶⁷

The community use of the jail house preceded the installation of cells; these arrived during the last week in July and were put in later.⁶⁸ With the cages in place, the jail ceased to be the community center, but the completion of the court-

house offered a much more attractive meeting place. For several years church congregations and other community groups continued to use the rooms of the courthouse. Dances were held there, a "Literary Society" was organized and met there, and an organ was even installed in one of the second floor rooms for church services and community singing.⁶⁹ This courthouse was an imposing building when it was finished. A large, two-story frame structure, its four square corners were topped by individual peak roofs, and a large cupola and steepled tower rose from the center of the building's principal roof.⁷⁰

All construction materials, of course, had to be hauled from the nearest rail points at Amarillo and Colorado City. While the official construction was in progress, many private residences and a few more buildings on the square were being erected. At the opening of the year 1892, therefore, the town had a more developed and promising appearance. In the *Lubbock Leader* in January of that year, advertisements were run by three mercantile establishments, two hotels, one blacksmith shop, a barber shop, a grain store, two livery stables, two land firms, and two lawyers.⁷¹ By December of 1892 the town supported three land agents, four attorneys, four mercantile establishments, a livery stable, the two hotels, a hack line to Colorado City, a drug store, and a candy and tobacco store.⁷² The following year, 1893, state occupation taxes were paid for one daguerean, one livery stable, one land agent, nine lawyers, and twelve mercantile establishments.⁷³ In 1894 there were two daguereans, one dentist, only six lawyers, a livery stable, and six stores.⁷⁴ Despite the ephemeral nature of some of the enterprises, Lubbock had made its start as the marketing center of a wide area.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTY

The growth of the city depended chiefly upon the development of the county and its resources. The county's chief

resource was land, and as the first flush of the boom spirit faded, the price of land in the county dropped rather steadily for a decade and a half.⁷⁵ In 1891, immediately following its organization, Lubbock County reported 360,126 acres of land appraised for tax purposes at \$725,673, or an average of \$2.01 per acre.⁷⁶ This average value held steady until 1896 on the tax rolls and then dropped sharply to \$1.26 per acre.⁷⁷ Since tax assessors are notoriously slow in lowering appraisals, it seems apparent that the actual average price of land had slipped down a little each year after the county's organization. It reached a low in 1899 with an average appraised value of 0.82 per acre,⁷⁸ climbing back to \$1 per acre in 1902,⁷⁹ and \$2 in 1905.⁸⁰

The value of town lots in the city reflects the same general decrease. Optimistically appraised at \$48,290 in 1892, it decreased steadily each year, reaching a low of \$30,005 in 1899.⁸¹ Despite the fall in land prices, the town and the county enjoyed a slow growth over the same period as reflected in the records of other property assessed. For instance, the value of cattle in the county increased from \$128,054 in 1891 to \$200,896 in 1899; sheep, from \$7,875 in 1893 (first year assessed) to \$10,105 in 1899; hogs, from \$55 in 1891 to \$101 in 1899; and goods and merchandise, from \$1530 in 1891 to \$6400 in 1899. Likewise, the number of carriages, wagons, and buggies increased from 76 to 142 in the same period.⁸²

The beginning of the development of agriculture in the county undoubtedly was responsible for Lubbock's slowly increasing prosperity during this period. Although most of the early settlers were engaged in stock raising, the disintegration of the livestock industry at this time apparently induced some to make the transition to farming. By the end of 1891 there were 16 operating farms in the county on which the chief product was sorghum cane. Of the 400 acres in cultivation in the county, 328 were planted to this crop, 24 acres were utilized for millet, 20 for hay, and the remainder for

oats, corn, wheat, sweet potatoes, peas, and beans. Of the total value of these crops of approximately \$4,500 the sorghum cane was \$3,585. It is interesting to note also that at that time 24 acres were in peach trees, 3 acres in an apple orchard, and 5 acres in a melon patch.⁸³

The following year, 40 farms were in operation, with 660 acres in cultivation and crops produced worth approximately \$5,000. The principal crop (93 percent by acreage; 89 percent by value) was still sorghum cane, and the number of orchards was increased to include peaches and plums. During the remainder of that decade, farming and stock farming increased steadily and provided the chief basis for growth of the town and the county.⁸⁴

Perhaps the best measure of the county's growth is the population. Unfortunately, exact figures between the decennial census (33 in 1890; 293 in 1900) are not available, but a rough estimate may be made based upon school land sales and the state poll tax, which was assessed on each male between the ages of 21 and 60.⁸⁵ For example, the federal enumeration in 1890 of 33 persons (25 males; 8 females) was made in June, before the influx of settlers taking up school lands. From June through December of that year, 60 persons filed on school land as actual settlers, and during 1891 15 more filed, making a total of 85 homesteaders.⁸⁶ For the year 1891 poll taxes were assessed for 94 men. Although this was a frontier area with a larger than average percentage of single men, that figure probably represents a total population of around 175 people in 1891.⁸⁷ The following year, 1892, there were 107 poll taxes assessed, and 70 children reported in the county. These figures may be combined for an estimated total population of 180 to 190.⁸⁸ On this basis, the 110 poll taxes assessed in 1893 would predicate a population of about 190; 93 poll taxes in 1894, a population of 160; 91 poll taxes in 1895, a population of 155; 78 poll taxes in 1896, a population of 135; 86 poll taxes in 1897, a population of 150; 101 poll

taxes in 1898, a population of 175; 127 poll taxes in 1899, a population of 220; and 170 poll taxes in 1900, a population of 290. The actual population reported in 1900 on the federal census was 293.⁸⁹

These figures are of course estimates only, but a general trend is indicated. The population of Lubbock declined during the mid-nineties and then jumped significantly during the calendar year 1899. The decline may be explained simply by the fact that although there was a small trickle of immigration to the county each year, a larger number of families abandoned their homesteads and moved away. The sudden increase through 1898 and 1899 was due, as was the original population of the county, to school land laws favorable to settlers.

The Land Act of 1887, under which most of the first settlers had moved to Lubbock, had provided that actual settlers could purchase up to 4 sections of school land at \$2 an acre (\$3 for agricultural lands) on an extended payment plan after the land had been classified.⁹⁰ There was a rash of forfeitures during the hard times of the early nineties, and in 1895 the legislature revised the land policy. The Land Act of 1895 provided that unsold and forfeited school lands should be reclassified, that the price should be lowered to \$1 per acre (\$2 for lands classified as agricultural), and that essentially the same terms of purchase were available to actual settlers only. The law permitted persons who were paying out the \$2 lands to cancel their contracts and refile (subject to reclassification) at the lower price.⁹¹

Thus, in Lubbock County virtually all of the land filed on under the Act of 1887 was forfeited, and many of the settlers who remained in the county refiled under the new act. Actually, most of the forfeitures occurred during 1892 and 1893, and some of the settlers continued living on the land during the interim period without making payments on it, while others moved and purchased adjacent or nearby sec-

tions of former railroad land at rates as low as eighty cents to a dollar an acre.⁹²

Following the passage of the Act of 1895, Lubbock County had to await the reclassification of its land. It was nearly three years before the overworked land office, in cooperation with the county tax assessor and county commissioners court, could complete the reclassification. Not unnaturally, some large land holders preferred that the lands be classed as agricultural lands, fixing the minimum price at \$2 an acre, while persons who were eligible to file on the school land were quite positive that Lubbock County's lands were fit only for grazing. Judge P. F. Brown wrote the Commissioner of the General Land Office, "Our people have been very much excited about this thing and at times it has been difficult to induce even the Co. Commissioners to be cool headed."⁹³

The county court ruled that all of the land in the county was grazing land, or \$1 land. A protest against this ruling was lodged with the General Land Office which, after an investigation and an explanation and reiteration from Judge Brown, ruled to accept the court's appraisal. After all, claimed the county court, the land in the county was exceedingly uniform. "What was true of one section was true of another." Thus, obviously (albeit speciously) all land was grazing land, and the court prayed that the Land Office would accept "our honest and unbiased report"!!⁹⁴

During 1898, 28 persons who had filed under the Act of 1887 refiled under the Act of 1895, and 72 persons filed on school land who had not filed in the county before. Of these 72, some, of course, had moved to the county sometime prior to 1898, but others came to Lubbock specifically to take advantage of the new act.⁹⁵ During the following year 47 additional persons filed on school land; of these it may be presumed that most were newcomers.⁹⁶ After 1899 the use of the School Land files to establish the trend of migration becomes inadequate, since vacant school lands became scarce, and rail-

road and former ranch land was increasingly put on the market. It might be noted, however, that 23 persons filed in 1900; 16 in 1901; 9 in 1902; and 4 in 1903. Again, most of these were newcomers to the county.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1950).

² Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, VIII, 816.

³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 190.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 1070-1078.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 253.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, 1070-1078.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 104, 337, 368, 549, 731, and 378.

⁸ For an interesting account of some of these county seat fights, see R. D. Holt, "Texas Had Hot County Elections," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, Volume XXIV, 3-26.

⁹ W. E. Rayner to Goss, Bandy, and Crump, July 25, 1890, Burns Papers, Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College. R. H. Porter, Abilene, was listed on the company stationery as president; L. R. Armstrong, St. Louis, as secretary; N. W. Reeves, Abilene, as treasurer; Breck Jones, as attorney; and W. E. Rayner as general manager.

¹⁰ Jerome R. Whitmore, *The History of Stonewall County* (MA Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1936), 13, 41-42, 51-52.

¹¹ Actually, the county court declared that Rayner was not the county seat in 1892 since it failed to obtain the two-thirds majority of the vote necessary for a site more than five miles from the center of the county, but the county business continued to be conducted there. Whitmore, *The History of Stonewall County*, 44.

¹² Bob Crump to Jean Paul, July 7, 1958, interview. Mrs. D. Van Pelt, *Life of William Dorsey Crump*, microfilm copy of a typescript, in Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College. Mrs. Van Pelt's information was based on interviews with Judge Crump in 1927 and 1928. For the genesis of the idea, Mrs. Van Pelt wrote: "In March 1890 he had an opportunity of coming to the plains. After his return he met H. M. Bandy and Judge Goss of Seymour, who had gone up to what is now Castro County. They were figuring on starting a town somewhere in the west. A few weeks after their trip, Judge Crump met them at Benjamin. The three men then made an agreement to start a settlement on the plains. Judge Crump favored the section that is now Lubbock County."

¹³ School Land File, 27897, Texas General Land Office; Lubbock County Deed Records, Vol. 5, p. 242.

¹⁴ Rayner to Goss, Bandy, and Crump, July 25, 1890.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958; Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 194-199. Burns' recollections at this point seem vague and somewhat confused in the details, although the general story is substantially correct. He does not mention Crump, Goss, and Bandy, or their activities; he describes Rayner,

who was obviously a big cattleman, as a "professional town promoter"; he was completely confused on the status of the Stonewall County town of Rayner; he fails to mention the townsite company which was formed, and he erred in his description of the later agreement between Wheelock and Rayner.

¹⁷ Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 196. Burns neither dates his trip to Fort Worth nor explains any of the financial arrangements made.

¹⁸ J. T. Lofton to R. C. Burns, August 5, 1890, Burns Papers, Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College.

¹⁹ It was later forfeited and resold by the General Land Office to other purchasers. Texas, General Land Office, *Abstracts . . .*, 627.

²⁰ Lubbock County Deed Records, Vol. 5, pp. 271, 277. Wheelock later returned his interest to Lofton and Harrison after the new town was established.

²¹ Lofton to Burns, September 20, 1890. No document has been found to explain the naming of the town; however, the choice was an obvious one. A federal post office, officially known as Lubbock, had existed since 1884, at Singer's store and in addition, because of the county name the area was generally referred to as Lubbock; it is not surprising therefore that the townsite promoters chose that name. Burns' share in the town was a one-sixth interest, for which he owed an unknown amount of money to Lofton, who offered to let him pay for it in quarterly installments. The cost of the improvements was estimated at \$4,200, for which Burns was assessed \$700 as his share.

²² Myra Ann Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock* (MA thesis, Texas Technological College, 1941), 8; Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958. Although the original hotel in Minneapolis was spelled Nicolet, the spelling used in Lubbock was Nicolett.

²³ Lubbock Post Office, "General Information and Interesting Facts about Lubbock, Texas, Post Office," (mimeo sheet, n.d.); Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958.

²⁴ Mrs. W. N. Green to Myra Perkins, September 21, 1939, as cited in Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*. In this party were the W. N. Green family, J. B. Green and his family, and S. W. Smith, a Church of Christ preacher.

²⁵ This section had been filed on by B. M. Goble on June 27, 1890, who transferred his interest to W. F. Cobb from whom Howard Rayner purchased it. (Lubbock County Deed Records, Vol. 5, pp. 236, 251). Title to this section was relinquished to the state after the compromise.

²⁶ According to Max Coleman, (*From Mustanger to Lawyer*, A, p. 65), every settler who moved to Monterey was given ten town lots. The establishment of Monterey was briefly described in Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 195-196; Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*; Addie Leona Morrison, "History of Lubbock County, Texas," (MA Thesis, Colorado State College of Education, 1939); and other sources of Lubbock history.

²⁷ Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958; Max Coleman, *Mustanger to Lawyer*, A, 61-65; Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 7-10.

²⁸ Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 7-8, as based on her interviews with Mrs. Frank E. Wheelock and W. D. Crump in 1939.

²⁹ This is, of course, the opinion of the author of this section of the *History of Lubbock*. The spirit that marks the heritage of Lubbock is best seen in the cold light of realistic appraisal. Cooperation was based on per-

sonal gain rather than practical idealism, but Lubbock has been fortunate that its leaders have pretty consistently preferred the long range goal to the short term profit, and have worked together toward those ends with a minimum of friction.

³⁰ This agreement is recorded in the Lubbock County Deed Records, Vol. 5, pp. 387ff.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Lubbock County Deed Records, Vol. 5, pp. 412ff.

³³ Perkins, Pioneer Lubbock, 10-11, citing interviews with pioneers of the town. Frank Bowles told her that some freighters from Colorado City were employed to move the building. Mrs. Frank Wheelock told Miss Perkins that only portions of the hotel were dismantled for the move and that even part of the furniture remained in the rooms.

³⁴ Original town plat in Lubbock County Deed Records.

³⁵ Perkins, Pioneer Lubbock, 12-13; Lubbock *Leader*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 13, 1891, in the Museum, Texas Technological College. This is the only issue of Lubbock's first newspaper available.

³⁶ Lubbock County Deed Records, Vols. 5 and 6. No attempt is made here to cite the page number of each transaction which can be obtained easily from the Index to the Deed Records in the County Clerk's office. Each of the deeds was examined for date and content. It was impossible to determine exactly, of course, which of these people had actually settled in Monterey and actually moved into the consolidated town, but virtually all were recorded as residents of Lubbock County and the similarity of these deeds makes it apparent that, if not original supporters of Rayner, they were at least early boosters of the consolidated town. All the deeds cited above are dated in the spring of 1891 with a few exceptions in August and December 1891.

³⁷ Mrs. O'Harrow was the only settler to hedge her bets, acquiring lots from both Wheelock and Rayner.

³⁸ Covington was the county judge of Crosby County and the man who would order the county seat election. The town of Rayner in Stonewell County had originally been designated the county seat by the organizing judge there.

³⁹ J. O. Talbott was from Tarrant County.

⁴⁰ Gholson was a Crosby County rancher who later moved to Lubbock.

⁴¹ Carlisle was also given Rayner's power of attorney, and acted as his agent to handle his business affairs in Lubbock.

⁴² Lubbock County Deed Records, Vol. 6, p. 27.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 176.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 19.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 1, 142.

⁴⁶ Wheelock had not overlooked the Crosby County judge, either; it is not improbable, however, that Covington actually purchased lots from both promoters.

⁴⁷ Swink was Covington's court clerk.

⁴⁸ Jones surveyed and platted the town.

⁴⁹ These names, like those above, were obtained from the Lubbock County Deed Records, Vols. 5 and 6. Because Wheelock was more active in promoting the town, it is quite difficult to determine with any accuracy which of these sales were made to outsiders for speculative purposes, which to

actual or prospective settlers, and which to original supporters. Because of the financial support of Lofton and Harrison, and the substantial investment of Crump and others, more of Wheelock's assignments were actual sales than inducement donations as in Rayner's case. All of the deeds cited above were made in 1891, though several transfers of that year were omitted from the list because the grantee did not appear to be an actual settler. It is hoped that there are not too many inaccuracies in the compilation.

⁵⁰ Crosby County, Commissioners Court, Minutes, February 9, 1891. Local tradition, traceable to Rollie Burns, J. D. Caldwell, and a few other old-timers, avers that there were not actually sufficient qualified voters in the county for organization; consequently not only were all transient cowboys requested to sign the petition, but the names of several of the IOA horses were inscribed as well. A thorough search has been made for a copy of this petition in the courthouses of Lubbock and Crosby counties and in the state archives, but it has not been found. In all probability it is no longer extant, and the question of whether the election was properly called will never be settled. As noted on page eighty-eight, in 1891 only 94 poll taxes were assessed in the county.

⁵¹ Lubbock County, Commissioners Court, Minutes, March 30, 1891.

⁵² *Ibid.*, March 19, 20, 1891.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, March 30, April 22, May 11, 1891.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, May 12, June 8, August 11, November 17, 1891, and numerous later entries.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, May 14, June 8, 1891.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, May 13, June 9, August 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and September 12, 1891.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, October 1, 2, November 13, 14, 17, 21, and December 16, 1891.

On January 20, 1892, the court met for the first time in the new courthouse.

⁵⁸ Lubbock *Leader*, July 31, 1891. Unfortunately, no other issues of this paper are extant but presumably it was consolidated with another venture, *The Texan Press*, in October 1892, as the *Texan Press Leader*, and was published weekly until January 1899, under the editorship of J. W. Hunt. Voyle Vaughn, *A History of Journalism on the South Plains* (Master's thesis, Texas Technological College, 1937), 15. Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 29-30, citing an interview with J. D. Caldwell, July 16, 1941, states that Rogers moved from Burnet. A single copy of the combined papers, dated December 3, 1892, in the files of the Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College, indicated that they were consolidated in October 1892, and that Hunt's *Texan Press* was established in Estacado on August 30, 1890.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ J. J. Dillard, "Early Days on the Plains," Lubbock *Avalanche*, February 22, 1924; April 4, 1924; J. B. Mobley, "Early Days on the Plains," Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 14, 1923; E. J. Lowrey, "The Story of Lubbock, for Fourth Grade Teachers," (mimeographed copy, [Lubbock], 1954).

⁶¹ Texas, Comptroller, *Annual Report, 1892*, "Occupation Taxes," 94-95; Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 23, 1937, Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 198.

⁶² Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 23, 1937; Mrs. Olive Fluke to Jean Paul, interview, July 24, 1958.

⁶³ Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 197-198; R. C. Burns, "Early Days on the Plains." Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 7, 1923.

⁶⁴ Lubbock *Leader*, July 31, 1891. According to Myra Perkins, *Pioneer*

Lubbock, 5, the county's first religious services were conducted in Singer's store by H. M. Bandy, the Church of Christ minister, on May 24, 1890.

⁶⁶ Mobley, "Early Days," December 14, 1923; Crump interview, July 7, 1958.

⁶⁸ The late E. J. (Pinkie) Lowrey was Lubbock's best known local historian. A school teacher himself, he made an especial effort to compile an accurate record of this first school in Lubbock. The above information is based on a mimeographed account prepared under his direction. This jail house school is mentioned in many of the interviews and reminiscences of Lubbock's pioneers. See especially Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958; Mrs. Albert Taylor to Jean Paul, interview, June 7, 1958; Mrs. Lou Stubbs to Sylvan Dunn, interview, August 27, 1957; Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 47-49.

⁶⁷ *Lubbock Leader*, July 31, 1891.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, July 31, 1891; Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958.

⁶⁹ Fluke interview, June 7, 1958.

⁷⁰ Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 13 and picture following p. 45; Lubbock County, Commissioners Court, Minutes, Aug. 11, 12, 1891, (Vol. I, pp. 24-26). The center tower was later blown off during a severe sandstorm and was never replaced. Part of the funds from the sale of the bonds paid for the construction of the jail.

⁷¹ *Lubbock Leader*, January 15, 1892, as cited in Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 14. This issue of the paper is not currently available.

⁷² Texas, Comptroller, *Annual Report*, 1892, "Occupation Taxes," pp. 94-95; (Lubbock) *Texan Press-Leader*, December 3, 1892, photostatic copy, Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College.

⁷³ Texas, Comptroller, *Annual Report*, 1893, "Occupation Taxes," 86-87. The number of stores is based on occupation tax receipts of \$15 and may be an overestimate.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1894, pp. 80-81. The number of stores is based on occupation tax receipts of \$20.25 and may be an overestimate.

⁷⁵ There are many factors responsible for this fall in land values, including the general drought of the nineties, the sag in cattle prices, the panic of 1893, etc., and Lubbock County was not the only area to suffer. It was, however, a matter of vital concern to the new county.

⁷⁶ Texas, Comptroller, *Annual Report*, 1891, pp. 111-115. The present investigator compiled a chart of the property assessments in the county from 1887 through 1910.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1896, pp. 88-94.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1899, pp. 114-119.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1905, pp. 151-161.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1905, pp. 151-161.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 160-164; 1899, pp. 114-119. A decade later they were appraised at \$665,027.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1891, pp. 111-115; 1899, pp. 114-119; 1893, pp. 118-120. It should be noted that none of these increases in appraisal values were steady increases. There were drops in all values in the period 1893-1896, reflecting the general economic trend of the times.

⁸³ Texas, Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics and History, *Fifth Annual Report*, 1891-1892, pp. 201-202. According to J. J. Dillard, *Lubbock Avalanche*, February 22, 1924, Jerry C. Burns and G. D. Groves may be credited as the first real farmers of the county. Both had raised

farm crops as early as 1890 and continued farming in the county for many years.

⁸⁴ Texas, Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics and History, *Sixth Annual Report, 1892-1893*, pp. 212-213. Unfortunately precise data are not available for the later years of the decade. A history of agriculture in the county will appear in the second part of this work.

⁸⁵ The Constitution of 1876 had authorized such a tax, and the Legislature had levied one of \$1 each in 1876, which was reduced to fifty cents in 1882. Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, VIII, 1079; IX, 2789. The amount of this tax was reported annually for each county by the Comptroller.

⁸⁶ See list of names in an earlier section of this work.

⁸⁷ Texas, Comptroller, *Annual Report, 1891*, pp. 111-115.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 160-164; Texas, Dept. of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics and History, *Fifth Annual Report, 1891-1892*, p. 202. An average family size of three children is assumed.

⁸⁹ Texas, Comptroller, *Annual Report, 1893-1900*. The population figures should be used as indicative estimates only, and the poll tax figures are as accurate as one may assume the tax assessor's reports to be.

⁹⁰ Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, IX, 391.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, X, 793.

⁹² Texas, General Land Office, *Abstracts . . .*, 617-651; School Land Files, Texas General Land Office. Each school file for Lubbock County was examined individually.

⁹³ P. F. Brown to A. J. Baker, October 14, 1897, School Land Classification file, Texas General Land Office. It is an interesting anomaly that the ranchers, who owned large tracts and desired to peg the minimum value of land at \$2, generally wanted the school lands classed as agricultural; while the farmers, potential farmers, and small settlers, generally wanted the lands classed as grazing lands.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ School Land Files, Texas General Land Office. Those who refiled were: Acuff, M., Anderson, F., Boles, G. M., Bowles, J., Burns, J., Burns, R. C., Carlisle, W. A., Clark, W. S., Coleman, J. C., Crump, Bob, Crump, W. D., Gholson, S. S., Groves, Geo. O., Jones, J. B., Lane, Christie, Lay, W. M., Leggett, J. B., Sanders, W. E., Shannon, G. W., Stevens, J. W., Stubbs, C. F., Tubbs, Isham, Tubbs, Wm., Tubbs, W. O., Vaughn, W. H., Wheelock, F. E., Wood, J. D., Wood, M. A.

Those who filed initially in 1898 (many of whom actually moved to the county a year or more earlier) were: Acuff, T. A. (December), Akerson, N. M. (November), Alley, A. W. (June), Bacon, W. A. (July), Barnett, T. J. (October), Beal, H. D. (May), Beal, H. D. (July), Becton, A. M. (July), Blackburn, L. P. (October), Bledsoe, W. E. (May), Boatman, J. W. (August), Boone, W. T. (February), Bowles, F. (July), Boyd, O. F. (September), Bryant, J. W. (March), Brown, J. T. (July), Brown, J. T. (April), Butler, George H. (May), Butler, Chas. (August), Carter, K. (August), Claxton, W. N. (October), Crump, Dave, Evans, Joseph (October), Dalton, J. W. (August), Earhart, E. P. (August), Earhart, J. B. (October), Earhart, J. P. (October), Edsall, H. V. (July), Fox A. (February), Fox, J. N., Gholson, Lee, Graham, H. S., Green, W. C. (July), Hill, P. B. (June), Honeycutt, Alfred, Humble, W. W. (October), Hunt, Geo. M. (September), Igo, G. C. (April), Jay, D. M. (April), Jones, G. D. (June), Kerlin,

J. R. (February), Lang, Joseph (March), Lemond, J. W. (December), Lemond, R. West (August), Leo, W. M. (July), Lockwood, C. L. (September), McDonald, F. (February), Mitchell, Chas. P. (March), Nairn, W. G. (July), Neel, W. H. (June), Norfleet, W. R. (November), Petty, W. T. (October), Pipkin, A. E. (September), Reed, Albert L. (May), Reed, H. B. (February), Sherman, Joe (September), Spath, C. E. (October), Winn, Gus (October), Winn, J. W. (May), Winn, W. M. (May), Wolfarth, Eastin (October), Wolfarth, Geo. C. (March), Young, A. B. (June), Young, W. (June).

⁹⁸School Land Files, Texas General Land Office. Those who filed in 1899 were: Acuff, Lee (April), Acuff, P. B. (December), Anderson, J. M. (January), Arnold, H. L. (July), Bacon, J. F., Bledsoe, R. L., Blue, W. D. (September), Bradford, C. M. (June), Bonner, R. B. (September), Boyd, H. T. (July), Bussey, W. G. (October), Butler, Emory (May), Caraway, J. K. (January), Caraway, P. R. (July), Clark, J. W. (December), Dalton, Jess (September), Gibson, W. W. (August), Gordon, M. G. (November), Graves, R. W. (September), Henshaw, W. E. (August), Hart, J. J. (October), Hart, S. A. (October), Jack, Thos. R. (June), Johnson, Geo. W. (August), Johnson, J. H. (December), Johnson, W. B. (October), Kerlin, S. G. (April), Lane, S. W. (May), Mabray, Jim (April), Mayfield, Geo. L. (June), Nelson, J. P. (February), Nuckles, W. A. (April), Penney, P. B., Prunty, W. M. (October), Rush, Chas. (June), Shackleford, J. A. (March), Simpson, R. L., Smith, G. P. (July), Spiegelhalter, F. J., Taylor, Albert (February), Tubbs, J. A. (February), Tubbs, Thad (February), Wier, Jas. W. (September), Wiley, Mrs. A. E. (October), Worthington, J. W. (April), Wright, B. S. (September), Young, F. D. (November).

5

The New Century

Seymour V. Connor

AT THE TURN of the century there were nearly three hundred people in the county, which included approximately seventy to eighty families, most of whom maintained homes in the town of Lubbock.¹ Lubbock, then, had the aspect of a typical American rural community, chiefly different in that it was newer than most. The streets were unpaved, muddy bogs after the rare wet spells, but dry carpets of dust most of the time. Some of them followed the straight rectangular courses plotted for them on the map, but there were scores of trails, meandering and angling all over town. The courthouse square remained the focal point of all activity in the town. There the four-cornered frame courthouse, its central tower long absent, stood watch over the jail and windmill on its premises and over the small and scattered business district around it. A public watering trough by the windmill was for very many years the town's nearest approach to a water system, and public barbecue pits had been dug on the east side of the square. A line of locust trees, interspersed with hitching posts and tie rails surrounded the seat of government. The old Nicolett Hotel

still shared domination of the landscape with the courthouse, but to a modern observer the most striking thing would undoubtedly have been the small forest of windmills, all turning and pumping at the same time.²

Nearly every home had its own well and windmill, although a few families still hauled water from their neighbor's or the public well. Behind most of the houses were outhouses, barns, and well-houses for storing meat and butter and cooling watermelons. On the rear of the lot were chicken houses and cow sheds. Most homesites covered three or four town lots or more, and it was unusual for more than two houses to be built on the same block. Garden plots and cow lots were customary appendages to each household, and there were a few pig pens. Livestock frequently ran loose about the town, and dogs—rarely tied or penned—increased in number each year to the point that they were considered the town's number one nuisance.³

Although homes were scattered all over the original town section, the principal residential district originally was east of the square. In later years, especially after the development of the Overton Addition in 1907, the town's first major real estate operation, the residential area shifted. Originally, too, most of the homes were square, boxed houses (constructed of vertical one-inch planks) with two or four connected rooms and a lean-to porch, all of which was generally supported on foundations of cedar posts and roofed with corrugated iron. As the town matured, more elaborate frame houses were constructed, and by 1910 a few brick homes had been built.⁴

There was, of course, no electricity. Houses were lighted by candles, and, for the most part, kerosene (coal-oil) lamps. Most of the heating and cooking was done with coal stoves, but when coal ran short—and not infrequently during the summer months—cow chips and corn cobs were used.⁵ The typical cook stove, sometimes fitted with a water heater for the Saturday night baths (taken like a dose of bad tasting

medicine in a No. 3 tub in a pantry off the kitchen), was a cast iron, four-burner, flued through blackened stove pipes out the kitchen wall near the ceiling. A sheet metal or asbestos pad underneath slightly curved, cast-iron legs protected the wooden floors from the heat. The standard floor was unpainted pine, turned a light grey from frequent scrubbing with hard water and harsh soap. Hooked rugs and an occasional wool carpet covered parlor and bedroom floors, and chintz and flour-sack curtains hung over the standard, four-light windows that were only rarely fitted with weighted sash and were frequently mounted horizontally — to be slid open rather than raised.⁶

When the vigorous West Texas wind swept the prairie sand whistling and grating across the open plains and into town, dust blew and billowed inside these houses almost as much as in the streets. The dust storm (or sand storm as it was called) was an inescapable phenomenon of the region which by all accounts grew worse each year as more and more of the sod was turned into ploughed fields. It was generally in the spring and early summer that the wind carried these ubiquitous particles of earth into every nook and cranny. During the winter, the wind blew "straight from the North Pole," frequently causing sudden temperature drops of twenty to forty degrees and halting all outdoor activity. Everyone remembered the terrible winter of 1886-1887 which had ruined cattlemen and farmers throughout the country, but the weather during the next two decades apparently did not reach that intensity. A three-day blizzard occurred in December of 1898, and another severe cold spell killed thousands of cattle and covered the ground with three feet of snow in the winter of 1904-1905. In Lubbock, as all across the western United States, strong wind storms and tornadoes were feared for the tremendous damage that they wrought, and the town had its share of storm cellars. Another dreaded hazard accompanying the windstorms was the grass fire or prairie fire. Although the

town itself was relatively safe from burning, because the grass in and around it was cleared off and worn down, prairie fires were rigorously fought by the entire community whenever they occurred. Severe grass fires swept the area in 1899 (a thirty-mile wall of flame that consumed all the pasture from Olton to Hale Center), and in 1905 (a fire which roared down the Yellow House Canyon from Hockley County killing hundreds of cattle and extinguishing itself in the water outside of town).⁷

It was believed that most of the fires inside the town, in which the dry wooden buildings disappeared rapidly, were caused by lightning, plains thunderstorms being accompanied by unusually virulent electrical disturbances. A volunteer fire department was organized shortly before the city's official fire department was established after incorporation and was summoned to the disasters by the sound of gun shots.⁸

Fire, windstorms, severe weather, and an occasional fuel shortage were in the main the chief hardships of the early settler. Although there had been a shortage of medical facilities earlier, after the turn of the century Lubbock seems to have been in as good a position medically as other towns its size and age.⁹ The chief practitioner at that time was Dr. J. A. Pharr, who served as county physician and county health officer, and in 1901 the beloved Dr. M. C. Overton arrived in Lubbock as a young physician.¹⁰ These men, together with Dr. G. S. Blake, bore the brunt of the smallpox scare which struck the South Plains in 1900 and 1901. Cases were isolated in Plainview in the spring of 1900 and the following year near Lubbock. While treating the family of F. A. Anderson, Dr. Pharr contracted the disease himself, and Dr. Overton took his place as temporary health officer. Pharr recovered, and when the little "epidemic" reached its height in the summer of 1901, breaking out among patrons of the Nicolett Hotel, Pharr was able to assist Overton and Blake in treating the sick. The physicians were given a free hand by the county com-

missioners court to combat the disease, and they established a "smallpox camp" on the outskirts of town where the victims were isolated and quarantined. Their efforts seem to have brought the contagion under control, for there are no other records of it. Dr. Blake was named county health officer for the following year and was authorized to continue placing any suspicious cases in quarantine, but apparently none occurred.¹¹ The crudeness of Lubbock's early medical facilities was offset by the skill of its physicians. During this first decade of the new century, the practices of doctors Overton, William Leo Baugh, and J. T. Hutchinson were firmly established in the town, and a sanitarium and clinic was opened by doctors G. S. Murphy and J. N. Stoops.¹²

Despite the unusually long distance to the nearest railroad, active freighters and merchants kept the townspeople well supplied with food. Staples of the average diet were, of course, locally butchered beef, lamb, mutton, pork, ham, and chicken. Before the open ranges had been broken into farms, wild game, particularly deer and antelope, abounded. Rabbits were eaten frequently during the winter months, but the ground squirrels, called "prairie dogs," whose burrows surrounded the town, were not considered edible.¹³

Hunting was not limited to game animals. Wolves, "lobos," and coyotes were a menace—hunted professionally for the cattlemen and for sport by the townspeople. Indeed, one of the most popular early amusements was the wolf hunts which often lasted two or three days, young people of both sexes participating under the chaperonage of older married couples, and camping at night under the spectacular, star-bright plains heaven.¹⁴ Other amusements of the community were not quite so unique, but one that has faded into the past was ice skating in the winter on the surface lakes and tanks that dot the country side, and "nearly everyone had a pair of ice skates."¹⁵ Roller skating was tried, but was not as popular in the early days as it later became. Traveling rinks, on board floors and under

a tent, passed through Lubbock in the summertime, but apparently stayed only a short while.¹⁶ Other traveling entertainments included itinerant carnivals, and the beloved Molly Bailey circus.¹⁷ The Lubbock Band, which was organized in 1891, played at all of these affairs. It consisted originally of two violins, three guitars, and a bass viol, but its organization was flexible and depended principally on the instruments played by its members. A bandstand was built on the square, and in addition to playing for dances, parties, and special events, the band gave fairly regular concerts and benefit performances.¹⁸

As early as 1907, a moving picture show was exhibited.¹⁹ Other amusements included baseball, football, bicycle riding, and racing. In a land of horses, it was not surprising that people enjoyed matching their favorite mounts. Foot races were frequently run on present Avenue H, and bicycle racing was not uncommon. Wrestling became popular after the turn of the century, but apparently there was little interest in boxing.²⁰ Square dances were held on almost every occasion and were greatly enjoyed, not infrequently lasting all night. But dance halls and other forms of "ballroom" dancing seem generally to have been frowned upon. In 1906 the commissioners court ruled that the courthouse could be used for any form of public entertainment except dancing. Picnics may have been the principal form of entertainment during this period and were held nearly every week by one group or another during good weather, at choice spots in the Yellow House Canyon. Watermelon parties and later ice cream parties were always popular.²¹

Roundup time offered another excuse for a community get-together, and frequently all-day barbecues, picnics and general outings, complete with son-of-a-gun stew and other trimmings associated with the occasion, closed the annual roundup. As the country became more settled and turned from ranching to farming, with the range fenced in small

patches, rodeos became a popular spring and summer amusement. According to one pioneer the first rodeo in Lubbock was held on July 4, 1902.²²

The Fourth of July and Christmas were the big holidays in pioneer Lubbock. Big barbecues were usually held on the square on the Fourth. The meat was cooked all day over open trenches, and everyone attended the dinner, which was followed by a program and usually ended in a square dance. On July 4, 1901, the citizens of Lubbock held a mammoth celebration which practically all the residents of Lubbock, Crosby, and Hale counties attended. There were races, a bronc-busting exhibition, and a huge barbecue picnic.²³

The Christmas celebration, of course, topped everything. For many years community parties were held at the courthouse, but the first Christmas party, before the courthouse was built, took place in a blacksmith shop.

When the first Christmas came, the only public place available for a celebration was a blacksmith shop with a dirt floor. Of course, our games and entertainment had little action so we would not raise too much dust. George M. Hunt played the role of Santa Claus, C. F. Stubbs the part of declaimer, and Flu Anderson and Mrs. Green as entertainers. Christmas hymns were sung by Mrs. Green, alto; A. J. Clark, tenor; Flu Anderson, bass; and Mrs. Wheelock as organist and soprano.

All the tree decorations were handmade. Yes, Christmas was in the hearts of these pioneers and willingness was in their hands. Many a cookie and warm red mitten as well as homemade dolls went out to gladden childish hearts. Also, many treasures were brought out from the sacred depths of old family trunks and passed out to brighten hearts instead of molding away in darkness, unseen and unused. Yes, we really had the first Christmas in old North Lubbock, before the present town was organized.²⁴

Not always in this treeless country were the standard Christmas trees available. Some years ladders were stacked and decorated, at other times wooden frames were built, and once a boat was used. The community parties invariably included exchanges of gifts, a Santa Claus, singing, and a pro-

gram. After the turn of the century and following the establishment of separate churches, the community affair splintered into small groups as church and private parties.²⁵

Although the overall impression of early Lubbock is one of a quiet, pastoral community, the town was not without the characteristic elements of frontier rowdyism. An analysis of the charges brought in the justice of the peace court which functioned for the townsite is revealing, particularly with respect to the large number of fist fights that developed on the town square. Among the participants in these "affrays" were many of the town's leading citizens. During the first fifteen years, a total of 68 charges were filed for fighting, affrays, and simple assaults. The usual fine was one dollar and costs, and some citizens were habitual offenders. Five charges were leveled at various times for unlawfully drawing a pistol, and one man was fined for pulling a knife. Popular offenses against the laws of the state, sixteen charges being filed, were gaming, card playing, and shooting craps in a public place. Other charges filed in the justice court were malicious mischief (7), loud and vociferous language (4), drunkenness (4), fence cutting (2), horse theft (4), cattle theft (1), forgery (1), assault with attempt to murder (2), murder (1), and refusal to work on the public roads as required by a now-forgotten law (12).²⁶

This minor violence did little more than flavor the life of the town, and in this Lubbock was in no way different from other small towns. The two great influences on the social and cultural life of the town were the churches and the school. While both of these institutions had very definite social overtones, typical of any pioneer American community, each of them fulfilled their separate functions creditably and to the satisfaction of the citizens.

One of the most interesting aspects of Lubbock's development is the history of its churches, and a unique feature of this is the fact that although there was almost immediate congre-

gational development, it was a number of years before separate church buildings were erected and the union choir and Union Sunday School were abandoned. First the jail and then the courthouse were used by all denominations for church services, and in the earlier years, the principal groups alternated their services in the second floor of that building.

As late as 1905 Methodist services were being held on the first and third Sundays in the courthouse and Baptist services on the second and fourth. The Church of Christ scheduled preaching once a month and services every Sunday at a different hour.²⁷ By the beginning of 1908, Lubbock was able to boast three church buildings (Methodist, Baptist, and Church of Christ) and four other congregations (Cumberland and U. S. Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Christian.)²⁸

Despite the fact that virtually everyone in town belonged to one or the other of these congregations and participated actively, evangelical revival meetings were common and were usually enjoyed by the entire community. Revivals usually lasted about two weeks and were conducted by visiting preachers who stayed in the homes of the sponsoring congregation. They were held at least once a year and were interspersed during the year by "union" meetings of all the congregations together. After about 1900 other sects held camp meetings in Lubbock under tents on the south side of town. Nazarene and Holy Roller meetings were always heavily attended.²⁹

It is interesting that the rather intense religious feeling of the community apparently led to little interdenominational strife or jealousy, and the various cooperative efforts of the congregations reflect a spirit of unusual harmony. Even the auxiliary organizations seem to have worked closely together. Each congregation had its own "ladies aid" society, which met regularly, studied the Bible, prepared "improvement" programs, and sponsored a variety of entertainments, including bake sales, ice cream suppers, quilting parties, box suppers,

and picnics. Further religio-social life was offered by young people's groups attached to the denomination's congregation, such as the Epworth League and the Baptist Young Peoples Union.³⁰

Church societies were not the only organized activities in town. The best remembered and the most active group in town was the Literary Society, organized as early as 1891. It grew out of and was connected with the school, apparently formed by an informal "mothers club" of school age children. For a time the Literary Society held meetings every Saturday night, at first in the courthouse and later in the schoolhouse, giving programs consisting of declamations, musicals, recitals, and even dramas. It was divided into two groups, the Hustlers and the Rustlers, which alternated giving the programs. One occasion, so well enjoyed that it was repeated several times, was the substitution of an adult spelling bee for the regular program. The Literary Society was not restricted to adults, and a large part of its membership consisted of school children. There was also a children's literary society, known as the "Brigade," which met regularly for several years, a Junior League, a Mothers Club at the school, and a dramatic society, called the Hawthorne Club, which produced amateur theatricals.³¹

Although most of the organized groups were associated with the school or the churches, a professional medical society was established by the physicians of the adjoining counties and was meeting regularly by 1908 in first one community and then another under the name, "Hale, Swisher, Briscoe, Floyd, Crosby and Lubbock County Medical Society."³² This organization was succeeded in Lubbock by the Lubbock-Crosby County Medical Society, organized on January 23, 1909.³³

Of more immediate influence on the community was an organization called the Lubbock Commercial Club, founded on August 22, 1907, with a membership of sixty business and

professional men.³⁴ The forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce, its purpose was to promote the growth of the town. John R. McGee was its first president, and Walter Posey served as secretary-treasurer until 1909 when it had developed sufficiently to warrant a full-time paid secretary. Don Biggers, later to become a well-known publicist in Texas, was employed.³⁵ The Commercial Club established permanent committees for railroad promotion, advertising, and entertainment, all of which, especially the railroad committee, were to have a marked effect on Lubbock's growth. In the spring of 1908, the Club issued a pamphlet advertising Lubbock and the surrounding area.³⁶

The formation of this club was not unique to Lubbock; such clubs had sprung up all over West Texas and an association of Commercial Clubs of West Texas was formed in Abilene.³⁷ Nor was the boosting and boasting of Lubbock's citizens much different from the claims of all the other new towns in the West. Typical of this is the following paragraph:

What have you done or said for the good of Lubbock this week? You should be as enthusiastic for the advancement of the town as you would be for your own business, for it is upon the strength and growth of your town that the increase of the business you are in depends to a very great degree.³⁸

In one respect, however, Lubbock was different from the scores of other anxious towns in the area. Although it had less to offer the prospective settler, chiefly because of the lack of railroad facilities, it had a spirit of harmonious cooperation which existed among the town's leaders for half a century and was to lead to the building of a beautiful city out of a relatively unattractive plains village. For example, to meet the need for a cemetery, a group of townspeople formed the Lubbock Cemetery Association, contributed funds of their own, gave concerts, entertainments, and suppers, and raised the money to establish and beautify the town's first cemetery.³⁹ Also typical was the Library Association which functioned in

the same way.⁴⁰ The "Trades Days" held regularly during the first decade of the century reflect the cooperative spirit of the businessmen in town. Two or three times a year, usually in the summer, and for a time on the first Monday of each month, merchants declared a special sale, issued joint handbills advertising their wares, and tried to coax visitors to come to the "Hub." These affairs soon attracted people from seventy-five to one hundred miles away and because the crowds were frequently too large for the town's facilities, the women's clubs united to provide a special lounge for visiting women and children.⁴¹

A striking example of the town's unusual spirit is the way Lubbock's businessmen banded together to solve the first great problem the town faced. W. E. Rayner, whose share of the combined town in 1890 had been every alternate lot in the heart of town and alternate blocks on the outskirts, still retained ownership of a very large number of business lots downtown after the turn of the century. Rayner's attempt at town promotion in Stonewall County had failed, but he had great faith in the future of Lubbock, although he continued to reside on his ranch in Stonewall County and in the town of Stamford. A successful rancher, he felt no personal need to sell his Lubbock lots, and apparently decided to hold them until the town's growth would make them much more valuable. Therefore, during this early period in Lubbock's history, he consistently refused to sell. His retention of these lots created a problem that threatened to choke the town. Since the lots were only twenty-five feet wide, every businessman who wanted to expand found himself faced with an unobtainable Rayner lot on each side of him. Or, if he wanted to build a business house on a corner, he found one of Rayner's alternate lots blocking his erection of anything more than a small building. Newcomers to town had similar problems. Essentially forty to fifty percent of the business property in the heart of town was unavailable to businessmen.

Rayner seems to have turned down nearly every individual offer made to him, regardless of price. Like the proverbial Texan who refused to sell an oil lease on his land, saying, "If it's worth all that much, I guess I'd better keep it," Rayner apparently felt that the renewed efforts to buy justified his decision against selling. To Lubbock businessmen, however, the situation rapidly became critical. In the words of one, "things were pinchey," and a few men began talking of moving away. How could the town grow, it was argued, if the property to grow on was not available?

The answer was found in the organization of the Lubbock Townsite Company on May 16, 1906. "Just about everybody in town bought some shares in it." R. M. Clayton was president, Walter Posey, vice-president, and H. B. Reed, Frank Wheelock, G. H. Rush, J. W. Winn, and George C. Wolfarth were on the board of directors. The purpose of the company was to force Rayner to sell his lots, or to establish a new town. A committee called on the Stonewall County rancher, explained the circumstances and their determination to break the bottleneck on Lubbock's growth. It must have been something of a surprise to the company when Rayner agreed to sell and priced his holdings at a reasonable figure. "It wasn't that he was trying to hold out for an exorbitant price; he just hadn't wanted to sell at all." The company then put the lots on the market at a small profit to the shareholders, and "they sold like hotcakes"—principally to the stockholders themselves. By 1909 the company had disposed of its holdings and been liquidated.⁴²

Except for the problem of the town lots, the economic development of Lubbock and Lubbock County was fairly steady after 1900. From 1901 to 1909 the appraised value of town lots increased from \$38,381 to \$313,170; the average price of land in the county from \$0.98 per acre to \$3.28 per acre; the number of carriages, wagons, and other vehicles from 244 to 588; the value of goods and merchandise from \$13,500

to \$74,225; and the state poll tax from \$105.50 (representing 211 males between the ages of 21 and 60) to \$257 (representing 514 adult men).⁴³

The town had recovered nicely from the decline of the nineties, and was not hard-hit by the Panic of 1907, although the merchants were forced by their creditors and wholesalers to go on a cash basis, temporarily closing their credit accounts to the townspeople in 1908.⁴⁴ A good reflection of the financial history of the town can be found in the history of the newspapers whose advertising support was so closely related to the prosperity (or lack of it) of the area. The *Lubbock Leader* (founded in 1891, sold in 1892 to M. M. Cox and the *Texan Press*, sold again to J. W. Hunt and moved to Plainview in 1899) had had a tenuous career. Lubbock was without a paper for nearly a year, but J. J. Dillard and Thad Tubbs undertook the establishment of a new weekly, with some misgivings, in 1900. On May 4, 1900, the first issue of this venture hit the streets—almost a complete surprise to the entire town. The name was chosen for appropriateness. According to Dillard: "We wanted to bring the printing equipment in and circulate a paper before any information leaked out, and do it suddenly—like an 'avalanche' hits."⁴⁵

The paper was an immediate success and its continued growth and prosperity was a reflection of the times. A comparison of the description of Lubbock in the first (May 4, 1900) issue of the *Avalanche* with a description in a large "Special Edition" (January 31, 1908) reveals an interesting summary of nearly a decade of expansion.

In 1900 Lubbock had:

The only newspaper in the county, one good public school for nine months of the year, two large general merchandise stores, one drug store, one hotel, one barber shop, one blacksmith shop, one wagon and feed yard, two doctors, two lawyers, one real-estate and insurance firm, [and] scores of honest, upright people who are anxious to see the town build up.⁴⁶

In 1908 Lubbock had:

Two national banks with a capital of \$50,000, three daily mails, and an excellent public school employing six teachers, with a nine months session; a \$5,000 gin plant, an A-1 telephone service with 225 subscribers—long distance telephone connections north via Plainview, Tulia, and Amarillo, and south via [Gail] . . . two large hardware stores, five general merchandise stores, two barbershops, the best newspaper on the plains, one racket store, two wagon yards, two livery stables, two blacksmith shops, one machine shop, one saddle and harness shop, one grist mill and grain crusher, one furniture store, two auto garages, a brass band, an opera company, a meatmarket, two jewelry stores, two restaurants, a bakery, a shoe shop, a bicycle shop, a second-hand furniture store, and two grain stores.⁴⁷

The town's growth cannot be separated from that of the area, which was due chiefly to the continued development of farming and the consequent utilization of the rich soil of the South Plains. By 1908 most of the town's citizens believed that Lubbock's future was as a farming country and that "the big herds [of cattle] are a thing of the past. . . . Farming is of as much or more importance to us now as the cattle business was a few years ago." Many pages of the "Special Edition" of January 31, 1908, are filled with almost miraculous accounts of the farming possibilities of the country.⁴⁸ Cotton, which was to become almost the sole significant crop of the county, had already demonstrated what it could do on the plains, although the first enterprising farmers who planted it were considered foolish at the time.⁴⁹ Three men have received credit for pioneering Lubbock's basic industry: S. S. Rush, G. O. Groves, and Will P. Florence. According to one account, Groves planted several acres of cotton in 1896; it made a large stalk, fruited heavily, but failed to open because of early frost.⁵⁰ S. S. Rush brought cotton seed sealed in a canning jar from his home in Freestone County and planted ten acres in 1900. He lost a half-bale/acre crop to stray cattle that fall, but planted forty acres the following year which

was picked by cowboys of the area and made twenty-six bales. Also in 1901 Will Florence planted ten acres and made four bales.

In 1902 only 4 bales were made in the county, but in 1903, 47 bales were produced, and in 1904, 110 bales more than doubled the previous year's crop. But it had to be hauled over a hundred miles to the gin in Colorado City. Once again the townspeople of Lubbock joined together for their individual profit. A mass meeting was held in the courthouse in 1904 and the decision was made to build a gin in Lubbock. Frank Wheelock undertook to supervise its establishment, and the townspeople subscribed funds to build it. The machinery was shipped by rail to Canyon City and freighted overland to Lubbock. Located just east of town, it was a cooperative enterprise of the Lubbock citizens, marking the real beginning of Lubbock as a cotton center. Seven hundred bales were ginned the following year, and cotton production has, excepting a few bad years, gone up rapidly ever since.⁵¹

That the heavy machinery for this gin had to be hauled by wagon over a hundred miles points up the greatest difficulty Lubbock faced — its great distance from any railroad and the difficulty of transportation and communication. Throughout the first two decades of its history the specter of "projected" railroads haunted the town and its founders. The original break between Rayner and Crump in 1890 over the location of Monterey had resulted largely from a difference of opinion about which site would be most attractive to a future railroad line. In 1893 there were rumors that the Texas Central Railroad was going to build west. A mass meeting was called, and \$35 was contributed by the citizens of Lubbock to send Rollie Burns and W. D. Crump to Waco to try to interest the railroad officials in putting Lubbock on their route.⁵² Although the rumors had some substance, the line was never extended, and Lubbock's representatives were, of course, unsuccessful.⁵³

Despite Lubbock's anxious desire for a railroad, and scores

of insubstantial rumors during the next decade, it was not until 1904 that anything more than a shadow appeared on the horizon. In that year a promoter named J. G. Govedy offered to build a feeder line from the Santa Fe terminal at Canyon to Lubbock for \$10,000 and forty sections of land. His offer seems not to have been considered seriously in Lubbock.⁵⁴ The following year another rumor stirred the editor of the *Avalanche* to propose that the citizens send a committee to meet with the "Tallmadge railroad syndicate" to ask that Lubbock be considered.⁵⁵ This was apparently in connection with the proposed Dallas and New Mexico Railway Company whose vice-president, E. P. Spears, suggested the possibility of building from San Angelo to Lubbock.⁵⁶

In 1906 a real estate promoter from Wisconsin, Henry Russell, who had sold some land on the South Plains, offered to build a railroad to Lubbock if the citizens would secure for him a right-of-way three hundred feet wide. His proposition was largely ignored, but served to stimulate interest.⁵⁷ An unusual promotional proposition was announced in 1907 by James W. Swayne who said he would build a line from Fort Worth to Roswell at his own expense and require no bonuses at all if the people of the area served would guarantee him a percentage of the increase in land values after the line was built.⁵⁸ Bonuses, of course, were the life blood of railroad promotion. Most railroad companies expected and demanded that each community to be served by a new line pay the company a bonus, sometimes in the form of money, sometimes as right-of-way property, sometimes some of both. As a general rule the bonuses were reasonable, since the cost of building a railroad line was quite expensive and could not be covered from profits of operation, and since towns on railroad routes invariably profited. Not infrequently, however, railroad promoters demanded, and sometimes got, excessive and exorbitant bonuses. Such a proposition for an unusually large bonus was made the citizens of Lubbock in 1907 by S. G. BonDurant,

president of the Seaboard Northern Construction Company for a proposed line from Stanton to Lubbock. The editor of the *Avalanche* averred that the town would pay a reasonable bonus, but no more, and BonDurant announced plans to run his line eight miles east of town. It was a brief tempest in a teapot, for the line was never more than a paper promotion.⁵⁹

Paper railroad schemes did not solve Lubbock's immediate transportation and communication problems. In addition to the freighters who operated out of Lubbock to Amarillo and Colorado City, an enterprising man named H. W. Hale, of Gail, operated a passenger and mail stage coach line to Big Spring. The fare from Lubbock to Gail, via Tahoka, was \$4 one way. To Big Spring from Lubbock it was \$6.50. There was also a Lubbock, Lockney and Estelline stage line in operation in 1905.⁶⁰ It was that year that Phelps White, a big rancher west of town, and several others brought an automobile to Lubbock and tried to get some of the citizens interested in an auto line to the railroad at Canyon via Plainview. There was little enthusiasm at that time, but two years later Rollie Burns, Frank Wheelock and others started an auto bus line to Amarillo. Four two-cylinder, chain-drive Buicks were purchased in Amarillo where Burns and his associates learned how to drive. The first trip to Lubbock from Amarillo took two days. "Later we got to where we could make the trip in a day," said Burns, "provided we got an early start and did not have any trouble; we usually had trouble, however." In September 1907 Wheelock's interest was sold to other associates, and Burns recalls that later he acquired the whole enterprise. The lack of roads, mechanics, and service stations, and the temperamental disposition of the early automobiles made the project a financial failure and it was discontinued when the Santa Fe was extended to Lubbock.⁶¹

In the face of assertions to the contrary, the automobile had come to Lubbock to stay. Burns took orders for the sale of the two-cylinder Buicks, J. J. Dillard established an agency

for the Jackson car, B. F. Daugherty sold Schats, and other models available were Ramblers, Bushes, and Brushers. By 1909 there were over a hundred automobiles in Lubbock County.⁶²

By that time, also, there were fifty miles of telephone lines in the county. Telephone connections were made to Lubbock from Canyon in 1902, and in 1906 Ed and Charles Alexander established a local telephone exchange. When it was completed, additional long distance connections were made through Gail. The Alexanders operated the exchange for several years, forming the Staked Plains Telephone Company which was chartered by the city after incorporation.⁶³

Railroad schemes came thick and fast in 1908 and 1909. The West Texas and Northern, which never got off paper, projected a line from Stanton to Lubbock in the spring of 1908.⁶⁴ The following year the Gulf, Texas and Western, successors to the Dallas and New Mexico line, announced plans to build from Jacksboro to Lubbock. Construction was begun on this line at Jacksboro; by October 1909 forty miles (to Seymour) was in operation, and by June 1910 thirty-five more miles to Olney were operative. This was not another bogus scheme, and the company's plans to terminate in Lubbock and locate its shops there caused great excitement. The town was never faced with raising a bonus for this railroad, however, because the projected line was not completed beyond Salesville.⁶⁵

Even greater enthusiasm attended the promotion of the Altus, Lubbock and Roswell line by Ed Kennedy of Houston. Kennedy was a well-known railroad man who had built a large part of several railroads for others and cherished the dream of building a line for himself.⁶⁶ In 1907 he proposed the construction of a line from Altus, Oklahoma, through Lubbock to Roswell, New Mexico. This was a bona fide plan, and Lubbock citizens pledged an alleged \$52,500 plus 150 town lots as a bonus. After receiving bonus pledges from

other towns on the proposed route, Kennedy attempted to interest a Chicago company in constructing the line, which he then called the Roswell and Eastern.⁶⁷ Although he failed to secure sufficient support, he did not abandon the idea. The line was reorganized as the Altus, Lubbock, and Roswell, and the citizens of Lubbock took a very active part in it. Many townspeople bought stock in the company, which selected Lubbock for its general offices. Ed Kennedy and his brother William were president and vice president. Frank Wheelock was second vice president, H. E. Chapman, secretary, and O. L. Slaton, treasurer. By 1909 right-of-way had been secured, crossing the Fort Worth and Denver at Memphis, and construction was begun. The line as planned was never completed, however. In Lubbock County the route was graded from the city limits to the northeast edge of the county before work was stopped the following year.⁶⁸

Despite its merits, the Altus, Lubbock, and Roswell lacked sufficient financial strength, and when the plans of the Santa Fe system for the South Plains area were matured, there was little point in building the Altus line. As early as 1905 the directors of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe system apparently decided to extend a branch line from its Panhandle and Santa Fe network into the developing agricultural region of the South Plains. Under the charter of the Pecos and North Texas, which the Santa Fe owned, this branch was begun, reaching Plainview early in 1907. At this time the Santa Fe system was operating two separate, unconnected Texas lines—the Panhandle and Santa Fe, serving North Texas and the Panhandle and feeding to the main line; and the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe, serving central and East Texas and feeding to Houston and the Gulf. The western terminus of this system was Coleman. A connection from Coleman to the rest of the system was obviously desirable and logical, and was planned to cut diagonally across the South Plains from Clovis, New Mexico, on the Belen cut-off then under construction,

to Coleman, passing through Texico, Lubbock, and Post. Actually, plans for such a connecting link had been laid as early as the eighteen-eighties, but were deferred because of the financial distress of the nineties. In 1900 the company began reconsideration, and at that time three possible connections between the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe and the main Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe were suggested. Preliminary surveys were run in 1904, but no announcement of the route selected was made. The company officials were swamped by propositions of scores of West Texas towns anxious that the line pass through their locality. Offers of bonuses, and other forms of pressure had little or no effect on the selection of the route. Since the line's cost would run into several millions of dollars, the company was interested in building along the most practical, shortest, and inexpensive route. According to one historian, the representatives of the various towns were "frankly told that the location of the route was not for sale and that construction would follow the most practical line. The decision to build via Coleman, Sweetwater, Snyder, and Lubbock was not difficult to reach, because there were marked superiorities."⁶⁹ This route was surveyed in 1907; right-of-way was acquired in 1908, and in June 1909 grading contracts were let on the section from Lubbock to Clovis. Opened to traffic from Coleman to Lubbock in December 1911, the "cut off" was completed to Clovis in March 1913.

In the meantime, while the long cut-off route was under construction, it was decided to tie the Panhandle and Santa Fe to it by extending the Pecos and Northern Texas from Plainview south to Lubbock. This single extension would link the Panhandle and Santa Fe, the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe, and the main Santa Fe lines into one operating system. Work was commenced on the Plainview-to-Lubbock branch in the spring of 1909, and with its completion in September it became Lubbock's first railway connection.⁷⁰

Thus the building of a railroad to Lubbock was actually a

part of a logical plan and not the result of any of the promotion schemes which were advanced during that period. Nevertheless, the Santa Fe's decision to extend the Pecos and Northern Texas from Plainview to Lubbock was unquestionably influenced by the strong representations on the town's behalf made by a number of its leading citizens, chief among whom was Monroe G. Abernathy, a Lubbock realtor who apparently served as the town's liaison with Santa Fe officials.⁷¹

The people of Lubbock were asked to provide a right-of-way and a site for the depot. Mass meetings were held in the courthouse, and fund raising committees were appointed.⁷² Work on the line was "going full blast" by May; the tracks reached the town in September; and on September 25 the first work train entered Lubbock. Freight service was established that week, and on October 25, 1909, the line was fully opened for passenger service as well.⁷³

Naturally, a mammoth celebration was staged. Many people went to Plainview to ride the first train into Lubbock. The newspaper issued a special edition to commemorate the event, and the town's burgeoning optimism knew no bounds. Real estate men advertised wildly-advancing land prices and settlers were urged to converge on Lubbock from all corners of the land to take advantage of the prosperity that was to come. Many thought Lubbock was destined to be the railroad center of the Southwest—for at that time there was every expectation that the cut-off to Clovis would be finished within a year, and the plans for the Altus, Lubbock and Roswell were still active.⁷⁴

It was without doubt the surging good spirit of 1909 that led the people of Lubbock to incorporate the town. For a number of years, and in a somewhat desultory fashion, incorporation had been discussed. From time to time the editor of the *Avalanche* had suggested it be done. Some of the reasons offered for incorporation are interesting:

Why not incorporate and do away with the stray dogs, fast

auto driving on the streets, etc. A black box carried slowly towards the cemetery will be the result of fast auto driving if not corrected.

Let's incorporate and clean up the town.

Let's incorporate, have a system of waterworks, and arrest all the town cows and dogs found prowling on the streets, and boys, too, after bed time.

Incorporate the town of Lubbock and do away with using the town section for a cattle and hog pasture.

We have heard nothing lately of incorporation for school purposes . . . it should be agitated and presented at the next meeting of the commissioners court.

Lubbock would be a clean town if it was incorporated . . . and there would be about forty-eleven fewer dogs to mar the peace and dignity of the town, too.⁷⁵

Incorporation of the town was, in reality, a natural step for the town leaders to take. With a population of about 1800, the town had no municipal government and consequently no water mains, sewage lines, fire or police departments, nor any of the paraphernalia that normally attaches to a town. Such governmental functions as there were the county commissioners court performed. For example, the only public water supply in town was the windmill and trough on the courthouse square, the maintenance and upkeep of which devolved directly upon the county. When the telephone system was installed, it was the county which granted the original charter in 1905 and rechartered it in February 1909. It was the county commissioners who gave Rollie Burns and his associates the right to use the town's streets and alleys for the proposed Light and Water Works in 1906, and again in February 1909 invested this franchise in the partnership of J. W. Watts and C. A. Rush. Likewise, as poles were erected for both electricity and telephone lines, it was the commissioners court that decided which side of the streets and alleys would be used by the two companies.⁷⁶

Therefore the movement for incorporation seems to have had the general support of most of the citizens. It may be sup-

posed that the Commercial Club took the lead and that several of the town's lawyers guided the process. As prescribed by law, an election was held on March 16, 1909, in which eighty-four votes were cast in favor of incorporation and forty-six against.⁷⁷

Lubbock had become a city!⁷⁸

FOOTNOTES

¹ Unfortunately, since the town was not then incorporated, its exact population cannot be determined. The federal census, enumerated in June 1900, tabulated 172 males (85 adults) and 121 females in Lubbock County.

² Lubbock *Avalanche*, Aug. 30, 1907; Miss Grace Hurd to Jean Paul, interview, July 6, 1958; Mrs. Roscoe Bayless to Jean Paul, interview, June 10, 1958; Dr. William Leo Baugh to Jean Paul, interview, June 9, 1958.

³ Mrs. Eppie Barrier to Jean Paul, interview, July 30, 1958; Katie Bell Crump to Jean Paul, interview, July 9, 1958; Mrs. Roscoe Bayless to Jean Paul, interview, June 11, 1958; Lubbock *Avalanche*, Special Edition, January 31, 1908.

⁴ Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958; Katie Bell Crump interview, July 9, 1958; Bayless interview, June 11, 1958; undated newspaper clipping quoting Mrs. I. L. Hunt, Southwest Collection; Lubbock *Avalanche*, Special Edition, January 31, 1908.

⁵ Not only were the streets and cow lots kept tolerably clean by this happy utilization of nature, but many a family spent an occasional Sunday afternoon out on the prairie with the wagon gathering fuel. It was reported that a wagonload of cow chips would sell for three dollars. (Liff Sanders to Jean Paul, interview, July 5, 1958).

⁶ For this composite description the interviews previously cited, as well as fragments of scores of others, were used.

⁷ E. J. Lowrey to Jean Paul, interview, August 4, 1958; Fluke interview, July 24, 1958; Katie Bell Crump interview, July 9, 1958; Sanders interview, July 5, 1958; (Mrs.) B. W. Thorp, "Early Days on the Plains," Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 28, 1923; Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 6, 1909.

⁸ Sanders interview, July 5, 1958. No serious town fires were reported in the early newspapers available or were recalled by any of the pioneers interviewed. The volunteer fire department apparently never became as well organized during this period in Lubbock as it did in many Texas towns. (Chief) W. E. Twitty to Jean Paul, interview, August 27, 1958.

⁹ The removal of William Hunt and W. V. Marshburn, mentioned earlier, had left Lubbock without a medical practitioner during the middle eighteen-nineties. Prior to Dr. Pharr's arrival (exact date unknown) Lubbock depended on Dr. Wayland from Plainview.

¹⁰ For a biographical sketch of Overton, see Connor (ed.), *Builders of the Southwest*, 166-169.

¹¹ Lubbock County Commissioners Court, Minutes, March 21, 1900 (I, 314); April 11, 1901 (I, 352); July 8, 1901 (I, 366); August 14, 1901 (I, 373); and December 30, 1901 (I, 381).

¹² Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 28, 1936; Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 24; Baugh interview, September 16, 1954; June 9, 1958. A description of early medical practice is given by Dr. L. L. Graves in the following section of this work.

¹³ Barrier interview, July 30, 1958; Sanders interview, July 5, 1958.

¹⁴ Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 77; undated clipping quoting Mrs. I. L. Hunt. During the early years, bounties were regularly paid on wolf and coyote scalps, and occasionally on rabbit hides. (Numerous entries in Minutes of the Lubbock County Commissioners Court.)

¹⁵ Mobley, "Early Days," Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 14, 1923.

¹⁶ Bayless interview, June 11, 1958; Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 9, 1907.

¹⁷ Mrs. Elmer Conley to Jean Paul, interview, July 24, 1958; Bayless interview, June 11, 1958.

¹⁸ Undated clipping, Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College, quoting an interview with Mrs. George C. Wolfarth; Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 16, 1907, October 25, 1907, and numerous other issues mentioning band concerts. The newspaper accounts refer to performances in a band hall which may have been a different location.

¹⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 9, 1907.

²⁰ Wiley Puckett to Jean Paul, interview, July 25, 1958; Rufus Rush to Jean Paul, interview, August 5, 1958.

²¹ Lowrey interview, August 4, 1958; Bayless interview, June 10, 1958; Mrs. M. L. Sheperd to Jean Paul, interview, July 23, 1958; Lubbock County Commissioners Court, Minutes, December 25, 1905 (I, 592-593).

²² Lowrey interview, August 4, 1958; Fluke interview, July 24, 1958; Barrier interview, July 30, 1958.

²³ Dillard, "Early Days," Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 18, 1924; Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958; Shepherd interview, July 23, 1958.

²⁴ Mrs. W. N. Green, as quoted in Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 85.

²⁵ Shepherd interview, July 23, 1958; Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958; Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 3, 1903, January 5, 1906.

²⁶ Justice Criminal Docket, Precinct No. 1, Lubbock County, September 1891-May 1907, located in the basement of the old courthouse, Lubbock, in November 1959. Any JP Criminal Docket is likely to be filled with such reports. The most interesting thing in this instance is the number of leading citizens who were involved and the sharp contrast with the general, peaceful demeanor of the town.

²⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 20, 1907, October 4, 1907, September 27, 1907.

²⁸ Liff Sanders to Jean Paul, interview, June 20, 1958, Bayless interview, June 10, 1958; Lubbock *Avalanche*, Special Edition, January 31, 1908. A most informative account of the organization of congregations can be found in Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 56-60 (Church of Christ), 61-63 (Baptist), 64-65 (Methodist), 65-66 (Presbyterian). Since a later section of this history of Lubbock by Dr. Merton Dillon will deal intensively with church and religious life, it does not seem necessary to go to great detail here.

²⁹ Shepherd interview, July 23, 1958; Sanders interview, June 20, 1958; Bayless interview, June 11, 1958.

³⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, February 7, 1908; May 13, 20, 1909; Shepherd interview, July 23, 1958.

³¹Lowrey interview, August 4, 1958; Conley interview, July 24, 1958; *Texan Press-Leader*, December 3, 1892; undated clipping in Southwest Collection quote by Mrs. George C. Wolfarth; undated clippings in Southwest Collection quote by Mrs. I. L. Hunt; Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 6, April 10, May 6, 1908.

³²Lubbock *Avalanche*, February 21, 1908.

³³Lubbock-Crosby County Medical Society Minute Book, Southwest Collection.

³⁴Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 30, 1907. Its membership roll was as follows: C. H. Burrus, W. W. Royalty, J. T. Bullock, N. R. Porter, B. F. Daugherty, W. R. Hampton, Van Sanders, George L. Beatty, A. A. Peoples, J. B. Mobley, E. P. Earhart, George C. Wolfarth, S. A. Richmond, J. E. Murfee, R. C. Dunn, J. L. Dow, W. D. Benson, B. O. McWhorter, J. W. Dale, Douglas Pounds, D. W. Puckett, H. B. Earnest, W. D. Crump, W. S. Posey, C. C. Lane, Alvis Blake, Fred Boerner, R. C. Hampton, G. A. Rush, W. L. Handley, C. F. Stubbs, Dr. M. C. Overton, R. E. Penney, M. E. Merrill, P. B. Penney, W. H. Vaughn, H. K. Porter, J. W. Agnew, R. A. Barclay, J. D. Caldwell, W. H. Glynn, George R. Bean, H. C. Ferguson, J. J. Dillard, Jno. R. McGee, L. W. Roberts, C. W. Alexander, T. W. Stocking, W. A. Carlisle, C. E. Parks, H. R. Kern, W. S. Norton, K. Carter, J. H. Johnson, A. L. Reed, Cliff Hunt.

³⁵There was apparently a predecessor of this club, for on September 8, 1905, the editor of the *Avalanche* wrote: "What about our Commercial Club? Has it died? Let us resurrect it and give new life to it and Lubbock." Unfortunately, no other information on the first venture has been found. Biggers, who stayed in Lubbock for a number of years aiding with railroad promotion and with the establishment of irrigation in the area, had already written (under the pseudonym, Lan Franks) one excellent (and now extremely rare) book of quasi-history entitled *History That Will Never Be Repeated*, extolling the virtues of West Texas, and was to write another, *From Cattle Range to Cotton Patch* on the basis of his experiences in Lubbock.

³⁶Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 14, 1907; February 28, March 13, 1908.

³⁷*Ibid.*, January 10, 1908.

³⁸*Ibid.*, October 4, 1907.

³⁹Conley interview, July 24, 1958; Lubbock *Avalanche*, November 22, 1907, and other issues.

⁴⁰Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 14, 1907.

⁴¹Perkins, Pioneer Lubbock, 86-87; Bob Crump interview, July 7, 1958; Fluke interview, July 24, 1958.

⁴²It is a genuine pleasure for the historian to record this particular episode in human relationships in which such an intense clash of interests was almost completely devoid of bitterness of any kind. According to those who knew him, Rayner had nothing but the most cordial feeling for the people of Lubbock, and conversely, the men of Lubbock had a sincere respect for Rayner. Furthermore, the Lubbock Townsite Company performed its function smoothly, with fairness to all concerned, and there is no evidence there was ever a complaint raised or a factional disturbance developed. The sources for this event include the charter of the Lubbock Townsite Company, No. 15766, Office of the Secretary of State (Texas); and the

following interviews: Walter S. Posey to Seymour V. Connor, July 28, 1959; William Flowers to Seymour V. Connor, July 29, 1959; Clarence P. Yates to Seymour V. Connor, July 29, 1959.

⁴³ Texas, Comptroller, *Annual Report, 1901*, 146-151; and Texas, Comptroller, *Annual Report, 1909*, charts. It is of some interest to note that in 1908 the value of town lots in Lubbock County was \$223,790; in Hale County it was \$775,749; and in Potter County it was \$4,126,890. The value of goods and merchandise that year in Lubbock County was \$54,150; in Hale County, \$218,030; and in Potter County, \$555,085.

⁴⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, announcements in the January, February, and March, 1908, issues.

⁴⁵ An excellent account of the paper's history by Opal Dixon appeared in Section 8 of the Anniversary Edition of the *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959. Perkins, Pioneer Lubbock, citing a letter from J. J. Dillard (July 5, 1941) and the *Lubbock Evening Journal*, May 7, 1941, has a very complete relation of the paper's establishment.

⁴⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 4, 1900.

⁴⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche*, "Special Edition," January 31, 1908. Parts of two features are assembled in the above quotation which is therefore not absolutely verbatim. It is interesting to note that the relative prosperity attracted the re-establishment of the *Lubbock Leader* by John Dale and his sons M. L. and G. C. Dale sometime about 1905 and 1906, and on occasions the *Avalanche* generously bragged that Lubbock advertisers were able to support two newspapers. This second *Lubbock Leader* printed its last issue on November 22, 1907; its subscription list was acquired and fulfilled by the *Avalanche*; and the *Leader* essentially was absorbed by its better established rival. (Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 16, November 29, 1907; March 9, 1954.)

⁴⁸ Lubbock *Avalanche*, "Special Edition," January 31, 1908.

⁴⁹ A local tradition relates that when one of the first crops was hauled to Colorado City to be ginned and marketed, the farmer was branded a liar ("Anybody knows cotton can't grow on the plains.") and arrested for robbery.

⁵⁰ Lowrey, *Story of Lubbock*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Conflicting accounts give its location as the 1700 block of Avenue A and the present fair grounds at Mackenzie Park.

⁵² Willie Mae Hawthorne, *A Short History of Lubbock*, typescript, 1929, in Southwest Collection, quoting Rollie Burns. Lowrey, *Story of Lubbock*, states that J. K. Millwee also went to Waco on this trip.

⁵³ The Texas Central, a former subsidiary of the Houston and Texas Central had been purchased by Hettie Green in December 1892. It was 177 miles of track, from Ross to Albany, but the Greens apparently had plans for extending it, which never materialized. The purchase of this line at a figure better than twice its estimated value was apparently an attempt by Mrs. Green to satisfy a grudge against C. P. Huntington who earnestly desired to acquire it. Such high level maneuvering by two of the nation's biggest railroad financiers was far over the heads of Lubbock's "\$35" ambassadors, who returned home disappointed. The line was never extended, but consolidated with the Texas-Midland and made into a model railroad by young E. H. R. Green who moved from New York to Terrell to manage it. (S. G. Reed, *A History of the Texas Railroads*, 217-219, 270-272.)

⁶⁴ Hawthorne, *Short History of Lubbock*, 13. The figure quoted was ridiculously low, even for a bonus.

⁶⁵ *Lubbock Avalanche*, September 8, 1905.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, September 15, 1905. This company, which was chartered in 1900, acquired a short piece of right-of-way out of Dallas and began grading on a seventy-mile stretch to Jacksboro before going into receivership. When it changed hands at the receiver's sale there was a short flurry of excitement, but its new owners merely held the charter a few years before selling it in 1908 to a group which later actually constructed 100 miles of line as the Gulf, Texas and Western from Seymour to Salesville. (Reed, *History of the Texas Railroads*, 430.)

⁶⁷ Hawthorne, *Short History of Lubbock*, 13-14.

⁶⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche*, September 14, 1907.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, November 15, 1907.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, September 29, 1905.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, August 18, 1905; September 27, 1907; Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 234.

⁷² Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 35.

⁷³ Texas, Comptroller, *Annual Report, 1909*, chart of property assessment; Owen McWhorter to Jean Paul, interview, July 15, 1958; *Lubbock Avalanche*, October 6, 1905, January 12, 1906; Lubbock County, Commissioners Court, Minutes, November 17, 1905 (I, 555), Feb. 9, 1909 (II, 94).

⁷⁴ *Lubbock Avalanche*, March 6, 1908.

⁷⁵ Reed, *History of the Texas Railroads*, 430; *Lubbock Avalanche*, September 9, 1909. See also above, note 56.

⁷⁶ In 1905 Kennedy began the promotion of the Houston, Sabine, and Red River Railway, was able to get right-of-way options and pledges of liberal bonuses, but could not raise sufficient capital to construct the line. Later he built an interurban line from Port Arthur to Beaumont, the Beaumont, Sour Lake and Western, and the Altus Oklahoma and Western, and attempted in 1936 to promote the ambitious Corpus Christi, San Angelo and Roswell. Reed, *History of the Texas Railroads*, 507-508.

⁷⁷ Hawthorne, *Short History of Lubbock*, 14; *Lubbock Avalanche*, September 20, 1907.

⁷⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche*, May 13, August 26, 1909.

⁷⁹ L. L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1950), 360.

⁸⁰ *Lubbock Avalanche*, October 25, 1907; April 24, 1908; June 3, June 10, 1909; Reed, *History of Texas Railroads*, 300, 302-303, 400-401; Waters, *Steel Trails*, 358-363.

⁸¹ George R. Bean to Jean Paul, interview, August 8, 1958. There are dozens of other mentions of Abernathy's activities in other interviews, but his exact role, as well as the extent of the town's attempts to influence the Santa Fe are not clear. When the line was built the towns of Abernathy and Monroe (New Deal) were named for him and the railroad switch, Swastika, was named for the cattle brand of his famous wife Mollie, one of the staunchest pioneers of the area.

⁸² With the source material available at the time of this writing it has not been possible to ascertain whether a cash bonus was also required and in what amount it was. Many people remember the fund raising activities and some are certain that there was a cash bonus involved as well as right-of-way purchases.

⁷³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 13, September 30, October 25, 1909.

⁷⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 13, 1909, and subsequent issues, including the undated "Railroad Edition."

⁷⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 1, 1905; August 23, 1907; January 17, 1908.

⁷⁶ *Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide* (Galveston, 1912), 123; Lubbock County Commissioners Court, Minutes, 1891-1909 (I, 1-650 II, 1-110). The franchise to Rollie Burns is dated December 25, 1906, in vol. I, 592-593; to C. W. Alexander and George T. Curtiss on November 17, 1905, I, 555; to Watts and Rush, February 8, 1909, II, 92; and to the Staked Plains Telephone Company, February 9, 1909, II, 93.

⁷⁷ Lubbock County Commissioners Court, Minutes, March 24, 1909 (II, 110). There is a surprising dearth of information about the movement for incorporation. None of the old-timers interviewed had any specific recollections about it, and it has not been possible to determine who started the movement or whether there was any specific reason for it. No records exist bearing on the problem other than the certification of the election by the commissioners court. Unfortunately many of the town's early records, together with the papers of the Commercial Club, are reported to have been destroyed by a flood which pervaded the basement of city hall. It may be inferred that the absence of details in the memories of the many people still living who were present at the time is a good indication that there was no organized group either for or against and that the election was not "hotly" contested, despite the rather strong vote against it.

⁷⁸ Lubbock was chartered under Title XVIII, Chapter 2, of the Revised Civil Statutes of The State of Texas (1895), which provided an operative statutory charter. As prescribed by law, Lubbock held a city election the second Tuesday in April to select the mayor and council, and the council met and organized on April 12, 1909. The date March 16, 1909, is usually accepted as the date of incorporation, but according to article 587 (above) the town was not chartered until the election was certified by the county judge and recorded, which was done on March 24. The process was not complete until the council meeting of April 12.

6

Government, Finance, and Public Services

Lawrence L. Graves

THE FIRST official act of the newly incorporated city of Lubbock was to hold an election. Scheduled for April 6, 1909, the event stirred up mounting interest as the day for it approached. Frank Wheelock, in recognition of his many years of leadership in civic affairs, stood unopposed as the only candidate for mayor and received all 168 votes recorded. But when the election judges came to count the ballots cast for men to fill the five aldermen's positions, they found that no candidate dominated the field. A total of only 11 votes separated the 10 candidates for office. The winners, who made up the first city council, were Dr. M. C. Overton, C. E. Parks, P. B. Penney, G. A. Rush, and Sam C. Spikes. Jace A. Hyatt won the post of city marshal over Ed Hutson and A. L. Tinker.¹

The city council held its first meeting at ten o'clock on the morning of April 12, 1909, in a two-story frame building on North First Street in what is now the 1100 block of Main Street. Thus began an unbroken series of meetings carrying down to the present day. If one sifts through the records of

these sessions of the city council, bound up firmly in strong canvas-backed ledgers, he is almost overwhelmed by the prosaic nature of the great majority of the matters taken up. Reports of committees, appointment of officials, levying of taxes, listening to complaints about this or that—these were the never-ending concerns of the councilmen week after week and year after year. But when they are all added together they comprise a fascinating record of the emergence of a modern American city.

At its first session the city council elected W. M. Shaw city secretary, a post he was to hold until 1915. Ten days later the council adopted rules of order for its proceedings, and by that time was deeply enmeshed in the details of establishing the city government. The council chose a seal for the city on May 13, 1909. It was to consist of two concentric circles. Within the inner one was to be a five-pointed star, and between the circles was to be inscribed, "The City of Lubbock, Lubbock Co., Texas."²

The city council set up the Lubbock Corporation Court in June 1909 under authority granted to cities by the legislature. The judge of the court was officially titled the City Recorder, although usually referred to as the Judge of the Corporation Court. The court was given the same jurisdiction as justices of the peace over criminal acts, with authority over those accused of misdemeanors, breaches of the peace, and infractions of city ordinances. The Judge of the Corporation Court may also issue subpoenas, attachments, and other writs, warrants of arrest, and search warrants. The court's jurisdiction is limited to cases with a possible fine of \$200 or some lesser penalty. If the punishment extends to possible confinement, the case goes to County Court. The council appointed L. M. Knight as City Recorder and provided that fines or forfeitures should be paid into the city treasury.³

Under the first city charter terms of elected officials ran for two years, with either two or three councilmen being elected

in April of each year, and the mayor being chosen in odd-numbered years. Frank Wheelock served as mayor from 1909-1915, longer than any other man since that time. He was followed by W. F. Schenck, an attorney, who served from 1915-1917. J. K. Wester, an educator and former Lubbock superintendent of schools, followed Schenck in 1917 but resigned later that same year. C. E. Parks, a grain and real estate dealer, was elected to fill out Wester's unexpired term. He was then elected twice more in his own right, serving in all from November 1917 until April 1922. Percy Spencer was elected in April 1922, to conclude the period. After serving their two-year terms, councilmen usually stood for re-election, although about the only recompense they received was a certain amount of prestige and the satisfaction of having had a hand in the progress and development of the city. At first there was no cash reward for attendance at city council meetings, but beginning in April 1911, the council set the fee for each attendance at a regularly-scheduled meeting at \$3, with \$1.50 for each called session. The mayor earned \$4 for each regular session, and \$2 for each called session.⁴

Year by year the business of the city increased in complexity as well as in volume, until it became obvious that changes were necessary in the framework of government. Under the original charter the city council had met periodically for the transaction of business, with no particular official responsible for any one department of city affairs. Committees of the city council were appointed by the mayor to handle the various departments such as streets and alleys, water and sewage, and finances. While the city was small the number of items requiring attention was correspondingly manageable. But this condition soon vanished. In 1915 the city secretary was removed from his post and charged with misappropriation of funds. It developed that he had failed to establish the special fund accounts needed to insure payment of water, sewer, and paving obligations as they fell due. Part of the trouble lay in lack of

supervision. Attempting to tighten its control, the city council in the fall of 1916 began to require monthly reports from various officials. The city secretary was forbidden to issue any warrant in payment of a bill, except regular salary warrants, unless the claim had first been approved by the council. The secretary was required to report monthly on the amount of money received, the source, and the amount paid over to the city treasurer, as well as the amount of money on hand. The city treasurer was ordered to report the amount of money received from the city secretary, the amount paid out during the previous month, and the amount of money in each special fund. The city marshal, the night watchman, and the water and sanitary collector all were obliged to report the amount they had taken in as fines or collections. Even the manager of the water plant and the driver of the fire truck were expected to report the amount of gasoline used and other materials purchased.⁵

These actions were not enough, and by January 11, 1917, the city council was discussing the advisability of changing from an aldermanic to a commission form of government. The council set up a committee of fifteen citizens, ten of them members of the Chamber of Commerce, to draw up a new charter for the city. On January 29, 1917, the committee reported a charter consisting of three chapters, one providing for a city commission form of government, the second calling for a city manager, and the third containing a plan for city development. The council accepted the charter as drafted and ordered about 750 copies printed for circulation among the voters of the city. In March the voters, by a solid majority, rejected each of the three chapters of the proposed charter. The contemplated change was seemingly too revolutionary and had been proposed too suddenly for people to be sure of the wisdom of agreeing to it. There was also an undercurrent of feeling in the city that those sympathetic to the West Texas Utilities Company were trying to change the government in

order to get rid of the municipal electric plant then in the process of being established. Aldermen whose terms had over a year to run were no doubt unenthusiastic about making a change that might remove them from office. Much of this concern dissipated when Alderman J. R. King moved from the city and resigned his place on the council. This left only four councilmen, one for each of the four new commissioners' posts to be created.⁶

The issue lay dormant for a few months, but when in August 1917 M. T. Jacobs, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, asked the council to submit a new charter to the people, the mayor agreed and scheduled an election for September 15 on the question of whether a new charter should be drawn up. The vote was 191-13 in the affirmative, and at the same time the voters balloted for a committee of 15 men to draw up the new charter. The city council set an election date and ordered that when the charter was ready copies of it should be sent to each qualified voter. This time there was no slip-up, and on December 27, 1917, the present city charter was adopted by the resounding vote of 289-47.⁷

When the city council met two days after the election, it turned itself into a city commission by simply drawing names to determine the commissioners' numbers. L. H. Simpson, Raleigh Martin, L. H. W. Terry, and E. C. Priest became commissioners one, two, three, and four, respectively. The new commissioners also decided that Simpson should be commissioner of public utilities; Martin, commissioner of streets and public property; Terry, police and fire commissioner; and Priest, commissioner of finance and revenue. Lubbock's first city manager was M. S. Ruby. Appointed April 30, 1918, he filled the position until 1925. By 1922 his salary was \$1800 a year, supplemented by another \$1800 he earned as superintendent of the city water and light plant.⁸

Almost from the day the city was launched as an incorporated body the city fathers found themselves confronted by

that perennial problem of American governments: money. Schools, water works, and sewage-disposal facilities had to be built. Streets required paving and sidewalks had to be built. Fire fighting equipment must be bought, and a myriad of unforeseen expenditures were constantly cropping up. When the city's basic facilities were in place the surging population almost immediately required their enlargement and extension. Taxes and a mounting debt seemed to be inescapable accompaniments of urbanization.

The basic tax structure of the city was formulated by the city council in June 1909. Only three taxes were at first specifically provided for, although provision was made for future tax ordinances as the need might arise. The levying of a maximum tax of 25 cents per \$100 valuation on all real and personal property in the city was authorized each year for the general fund. In addition a \$1 poll tax on every male resident between 21 and 60 years of age was provided for. The city council was required to set the tax rate on or before the second Monday in February of each year. By the first of April of each year the assessor and collector of taxes (at that time the city secretary) was to have ready a list of all taxable property in the city.⁹ Since the city had not been incorporated when the year began, the city council planned to collect taxes for the first year only on the period from July 1, 1909, to the end of the year. The council set the first tax rate for the general fund at $\frac{1}{8}$ of 1 percent on all taxable property, and at 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per \$100 of taxable value for the street fund. All of this became merely academic, however, when the Attorney General ruled that the council could collect no taxes at all for 1909 since the city had not been incorporated for the full period.¹⁰

No doubt the citizens revelled in this escape from the burdens of taxation, but their period of grace was short-lived. As soon as the new year began, the city council set the tax rate for the ensuing year at $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 percent on all real and personal property in the city, with the proceeds to go into the

general fund. The same rate was fixed for the street fund. The council also laid an annual occupation tax on each occupation or profession subject to such a tax under state law. The amount collected, however, was to be only half that collected by the state. A board of equalization was appointed each year to pass on the tax roll as drawn up by the city secretary, and to hear complaints of citizens against the valuations assessed against them.¹¹ In setting up these taxes on occupations the council was not only tapping a source of revenue but also echoing the moral judgment of the legislature. A variety of businessmen were taxed, ranging upward from the \$3 the state taxed merchants whose annual purchases amounted to \$2000 or less. Land agents and lawyers were taxed \$5 annually, fortune tellers, those selling on commission, and auctioneers had to pay \$10, and bankers, brokers, and dealers in securities paid \$50. From there the rates ranged steeply upward as the morality of the business seemed to diminish. Circuses whose tickets cost \$1 were taxed \$250 for each performance. Every menagerie, wax works, or exhibit of any kind where there was an admission fee had to pay \$10 daily, unless it happened to be for the benefit of the arts or sciences or for a benevolent society. Any persons staging dog fights, fights between bears and dogs, or between bulls and other animals were forced to pay \$500 for every performance.¹² Even if the city collected only half these amounts, it represented a burden on even desirable businesses.

Within a matter of months the tax rate had to be raised. In July 1910 the voters approved a \$25,000 bond issue for the construction of a waterworks, as well as an issue of \$55,000 for sewer construction. To create sinking funds to pay off these bonds, tax rates were set at 8 cents per \$100 for the water works bonds, and 17 cents per \$100 for the sewer bonds. This raised the total tax rate to 65 cents per \$100 valuation, after the levy for public improvements was dropped. The rate held steady at 65 cents through 1917, but in 1918 it nearly

doubled, rising to \$1.20 per \$100 valuation when the municipal light plant was built and as the general fund had to be tripled to meet mounting expenses.¹³

For a number of years the financial operations of the city remained on a rather modest scale. In 1911 the total assessed valuation of property in the city, for tax purposes, was \$2,540,123. Of this \$2,124,818 was in real estate and only \$415,305 in personal property. From this, plus the \$193 brought in by poll taxes, the city realized for 1911 a total of only \$16,721.68 in tax revenue. This income was not enough to sustain even the city's modest scale of operations, and by March 1911 the city found itself without funds, so that the city council was forced to authorize the mayor to borrow \$500 to meet current expenses. From that time forward the city was to find it necessary to borrow money in various ways and in increasing amounts to pay its bills and finance new projects.¹⁴

By the summer of 1916 the city's total indebtedness stood at \$84,000. It began what turned into a long-continued rise when the city council voted to issue \$25,000 in funding warrants to be used for street improvements, purchase of the block where city hall now stands, and construction of a city hall. An increase in the tax rate was foreshadowed by the fact that in 1916 the assessed valuation of property in the city stood at almost the same figure it had in 1911, being only \$2,643,680. Even though this figure had risen to \$3,393,645 a year later, it still was not enough to meet the cost of increased expenditures. From 65 cents per \$100 valuation in 1917, the tax rate for the city rose to \$1.20 in 1918. It remained at this level in 1919, but in 1920 rose to \$1.25, where it stayed for the next several years.¹⁵ The tax rate certainly could not be considered crushing during these years, but it was proportionately much higher than it would be in later periods when a substantial income was realized from operation of municipal undertakings such as the city light plant.

The involvement of the country in World War I seemed

to coincide with an acceleration of the city's spending rate and a consequent rise in its debt. By January 1917 the city council contemplated erecting a municipal electric plant and issued \$10,000 in funding warrants at six percent interest to get part of the money to buy the required equipment. In July it was necessary to borrow another \$20,000 from local banks at eight percent interest to complete work on the new electric plant and on a new waterworks also being erected. In December 1919 the voters approved an issue of \$100,000 in bonds for the city's first street paving project, and also endorsed the issuance of \$10,000 in bonds for improvements to the water system.¹⁶

As the needs of the municipality continued to increase, several more bond issues were required within the next few years. In July 1922 the voters demonstrated their confidence in the city administration by overwhelmingly approving still another bond issue, voting \$100,000 to rebuild, extend, and improve the sanitary sewer system. An additional \$50,000 went towards improving the water works.¹⁷ It became obvious that the existing limits on taxation were too restrictive and within a year the city commission was conducting an election to authorize lifting the tax ceiling to 2½ percent of the taxable value of property. In its judgment this was necessary because of "The fact that this city is sorely in need of street improvements and other benefits and that same can not be obtained on the present tax limit. . . ."¹⁸ Once more the voters followed the commission's leadership and voted the increase. In November 1923 still another bond issue, far larger than any yet proposed, carried handsomely, this time for \$500,000. Of this amount \$360,000 was earmarked for paving, drainage, and permanent improvement of the city's streets. Another \$75,000 was set aside for the building of a new city hall. \$50,000 went towards improving the light and power system, and the remaining \$15,000 went for extension and improvement of the water works.¹⁹

Collecting money to pay for these increasing expenditures was quite another matter. Absentee owners of property within the city had little interest in paying for public improvement projects, since they were often only holding their land for the speculative rise. Suit often had to be instituted against them to force payment of taxes. And even those property owners who lived in the city were sometimes reluctant to pay. They were unaccustomed to paying for services they had always performed for themselves, and only slowly became seasoned to the yearly ordeal of paying taxes. On one occasion Judge George L. Beatty appeared before the city council and suggested that he pay only half his taxes. The council replied laconically that it had no authority to make such an arrangement and instructed the city secretary to collect the full amount. On another occasion Beatty wrote to Austin complaining that the city council had wrongfully inflated property values in order to secure the necessary revenue. In rebuttal the council sent Mayor Wheelock to explain the true situation to the Attorney General.²⁰

Strong measures were sometimes required to harvest the taxes. In April 1917 the city council instructed City Attorney W. D. Benson to file 100 suits in district court for the collection of delinquent taxes. Ten months later he reported he had collected some \$6000, with another \$3000 still unpaid.²¹ On one occasion, in July 1917, the city council went so far as to issue an ultimatum to users of the city water and sewer lines. Water users were notified that their service would be shut off on July 15 if their bills had not been paid by that time. Those who were as much as three months behind in payment of their sewer bills would be disconnected by the same date.²²

Since the city was usually in a state of financial embarrassment, it generally had no funds with which to extend its water and sewer lines. Often the city council would authorize private individuals to construct such lines in conformity with city regulations. The city would then take over these lines,

canceling the water or sewer rentals of the builder until he had been reimbursed for his cost of construction. In this way the property holder received these necessary services, while the city was saved the expense of paying interest on money it would have to borrow to do the job.²³

In 1922 the city commission discovered to its horror that the city tax rolls from 1910 through 1920 had never been properly verified by the tax assessor as required by law, and thus could not legally be collected. It lost no time in adopting the tax rolls in proper form and instructing that those taxes be collected which had not yet been paid.²⁴

There were special provisions for those who could pay their taxes but had failed to do so, as well as for those who could not pay. The customary penalty was ten percent, attached to a year's taxes not paid by February 1 of the year after they became due, with six percent interest added for good measure.²⁵ In special cases, such as widows and old persons unable to bear the burden, the city council remitted such taxes for that year. Taxes on city sanitariums were also customarily either reduced or cancelled in return for their care of charity cases during the year.²⁶

STREETS AND SIDEWALKS

When Lubbock first became a city it had no paved streets and could boast only of intermittent wooden sidewalks in front of its places of business. The streets lay thick with a powdery dust that boiled up in clouds under the steel-rimmed wheels of the carts which thronged the area around the courthouse square. Then, after a rain the dust turned into pools of ankle-deep mud through which pedestrians had to wade. If it was not deep enough for a horse or an occasional man to drown in, as was the case with some other cities early in their careers, still it was bad enough. With this problem the city council grappled valiantly and frequently, although it took years for a solution to be reached.

For years paving the streets was out of the question. One substitute was sprinkling them with water, which would at least make people feel something was being done, even if the results were hard to discern. During its first summer of operations the city council was urged to buy a street sprinkler and put it to work, but regretfully the council decided it had no money to spare for the purpose. From time to time, however, the council did contract to have the streets sprinkled. Usually the results were unsatisfactory and the contractor soon quit, probably because the money ran out.²⁷

A better and more permanent form of improvement for the unpaved streets came when caliche was dumped into some of the worst holes. In 1910 P. F. Brown received \$200 for two thousand loads of caliche to be used in surfacing the streets. A year later rock from the sewer excavations was used to help improve several downtown streets, although the city council refused to heed the pleas of the editor of the *Avalanche* that a heavy roller be bought to pack it down more firmly. In 1916 the county agreed to give the city the caliche taken from its courthouse excavation. To spread this out and to help keep the streets in better condition, the city council voted to buy two teams of mules and the necessary equipment. The city also bought dirt and stone from several other construction projects, including the Methodist Church and the new Lubbock Sanitarium. This policy ended in 1917, after which the city would agree to accept loads of dirt and caliche to be dumped on its streets, but refused to pay anything for it.²⁸

A good share of the money available to the city was consumed by the grading, dragging, and filling of holes in the streets which was constantly necessary. A little more than a month after it first met, the city council was instructing the city marshal to clean out the ditches around the courthouse square. Three months later the council agreed to spend \$250 on street repairs, thus beginning a long series of such appropriations. The amount of money available to the street fund

came to several thousand dollars yearly. In 1912 it was \$3,827.87, and by 1917 had risen to \$4,906.12. But these amounts proved insufficient, and in May 1915 the city council voted to borrow \$2000 to be devoted to street improvements. A year later \$10,000 more was borrowed for further street grading, building of crossings, and other improvements. The contract went to W. A. Myrick, who in turn subcontracted part of the job to G. T. Moore, who cut through several new streets and graded 20 miles of city streets at \$175 a mile.²⁹ To the growing number of automobile owners in the city, grading was perhaps the most important phase of the work being done on the streets. High-wheeled wagons in time produced a crown in the center of the road on which the lower-slung automobiles would get hung up. A great deal of work was necessary to reduce these crowns and make streets passable for cars.

As the population of the city continued to increase, so too did the demands for paved streets. Not only would these be a great convenience, but many people believed they would add greatly to the prestige of what they were convinced would soon become the outstanding city on the plains. The first paving contract ever let by the city went to the Panhandle Construction Company of Plainview in January 1920. The company received \$295,334.75 for the job and promptly moved its offices permanently to Lubbock. Twenty blocks in downtown Lubbock were to be paved, using three-inch brick on a five-inch concrete base. Broadway was paved from Avenue F to Avenue K, Main Street from E to K, Texas Avenue from 9th to 14th streets, and short stretches of Avenues G, H, and J close to the courthouse were also paved. Each street was 72 feet wide, except Avenue J, which was only 55. The city paid for its share with the proceeds from a bond issue of \$100,000 which was approved by the voters in December 1919. The balance, except for \$23,000 which the county paid as its share for paving around the courthouse, was assessed

against property holders whose land adjoined the new paving.³⁰

Substantial as it was, this first paving venture was only a preliminary to one undertaken in 1923 during the excitement over the possibility of obtaining Texas Technological College for the city. The college sparked a project of general civic improvement. As soon as it became known that the locating committee for Texas Tech would visit the city, the city commission agreed to appropriate \$3000 for work on the streets. A month later, in June 1923, the commission met with a group of businessmen to discuss the problem presented by the poor condition of the streets all over the city. The conferees recommended an election to authorize raising the tax limit from \$1.50 to \$2.50 on each \$100 of property valuation so that bonds could be sold to pay for street paving and installation of storm sewers. Later in the year 312 people petitioned the city commission to enlarge the scope of the proposed bond issue in order to pay for improvements to the municipal electric system, extension of the water works system, and construction of a new city hall. The enlarged bond issue carried, with \$360,000 authorized for street paving and storm sewers. If the city were to win the college the first students would be greeted by a series of freshly-paved streets leading out to the scene of their endeavors.³¹

An interesting, if unworkable, type of tax emerged from the struggle to put the streets into some more tolerable condition. In 1911 the city council adopted a road tax. The fifty-fourth ordinance stipulated that "All males between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five are liable to, and it's their duty to work on, repair and clean out public roads, streets, and alleys. But no minister, invalid, members of volunteer guards organized under the title of 'militia,' nor members of any volunteer fire company in active discharge of their duties as firemen shall be required to work."³² In case he could afford it, a man might provide a substitute — if the substitute were able-

bodied and the officer in charge of the work would accept him. Five days of eight hours each was the maximum amount of labor required yearly, which could be satisfied by payment of two dollars in cash. Each man summoned was required to carry with him an axe, hoe, pick, mattock, shovel, or other tool as directed. In later years the council provided merely for the yearly payment in cash of a three-dollar street fund tax, which no doubt angered only those with an addiction to hard labor.³³

Lifting pedestrians out of the mud or dust they had been accustomed to flounder about in was certainly as important as making provision for the increasing number of vehicles—especially since there were relatively so many more pedestrians then than now. If they had realized how many hours they would be required to spend grappling with the problem of putting down sidewalks, many candidates for city office would probably have hidden their lights under the proverbial bushel rather than stand for election. As it was, they could not evade the problem once in office. Editor Dow spurred them on with frequent and incisive comments in his newspaper. And Dr. J. T. Hutchinson must have been typical of many others when he carried a lantern so he wouldn't fall through the broken planks in the board sidewalks and break a leg while going to and from his office at night.³⁴ Businessmen added their requests for sidewalks to the general cry, and under this combined appeal the city fathers soon took action.

The city council first attacked the problem of providing sidewalks in November 1909 when it passed an ordinance placing the minimum width of sidewalks in the business districts at fourteen feet and those outside of it at no less than four feet. This got very few sidewalks built, however. In May 1911 the council adopted a basic ordinance covering the building of sidewalks. This made it the duty of the property owner to put in a walk in front of his property whenever the city council adopted an ordinance or resolution requiring it. After

the city engineer had filed specifications with the city secretary, it was the duty of the mayor to notify the property holder of his obligation to build the sidewalk. If he failed to comply within thirty days the city would build the walk and assess the pro-rata share of the costs against each property-holder concerned. The ordinance was voted on by the people on September 20, 1911, and almost unanimously approved (the vote was 125-3).³⁵

Once it had adopted its ordinance governing the construction of sidewalks, the city council began to pass resolutions and ordinances requiring they be put in. Slowly the original town began to be crisscrossed with walks. In 1911 and 1912 the Amarillo firm of Wilmering and Mullen completed a sizable contract, with the city guaranteeing them at least \$5000 worth of concrete work. In 1914 and 1915 J. B. Pryor undertook large sidewalk-building contracts, and from time to time lesser projects were completed. On occasion private citizens submitted petitions asking that sidewalks be constructed. In 1914 Dr. O. F. Peebler presented such a request and received prompt action by the city council. A few months later E. P. Earhart submitted a similar appeal and once more the council acted with dispatch. Sometimes these petitions were requests for the city to handle the putting down of sidewalks in front of property owned by those signing the petition. But often the demands came from property holders adjoining vacant lots being held by absentee owners for speculation. Action by the city government was the only way to get such improvements as sidewalks, curbs, and crossings.³⁶

As in most small towns, the streets in early Lubbock were haphazardly named. The designation of streets running east and west was fairly logical. North First Street was the one just north of the courthouse square, while North Second Street lay immediately north of that, and so on. South First Street was immediately south of the square, and South Second Street was next to it on the south, and so on. But there

was no discernible pattern for streets running north and south. North Singer Street ran into the middle of courthouse square and took up again on the other side as South Singer Street. Chestnut Street (now Avenue G) lay just to the east of the square, Cedar Street (now Texas Avenue) lay to the west of the square, and other north-south streets were named for trees such as Ash, Holly, and Mesquite. None of them were marked, and a stranger had to be guided by visual signals or reference to prominent landmarks. In 1918 the city commission heard the request of a Mr. Christianson for the numbering of streets and houses, but took no action, since it had no information as to the probable cost. When the Chamber of Commerce made a similar request in 1920, the commission turned the matter back to it for further study. A year later the chamber's secretary, Curtis A. Keen, requested a three-man committee from the city commission to meet with a committee from the chamber in order to draw up a plan for numbering the streets. On February 8, 1921, this joint committee presented its recommendations to the commission, which at once adopted them.⁸⁷

The new street designations followed a simple and orderly progression modeled on the system used by New York, Washington, and other cities, making Lubbock an easy city in which to find one's way. The northernmost street in the city was that one just north of the Sanders addition to the original town, and was to be 1st Street; 2nd Street lay just to the south and so on until each street had been given a number. The easternmost street as shown by the original plat of the town was designated Avenue A, Avenue B was directly to the west, and so on until each avenue had been designated. Each block was numbered progressively upward, beginning with the 100 block in each case. Within each block, houses were numbered consecutively, with even-numbered ones on the north side of each street and the east side of each avenue. Some grumbling was heard because streets honoring pioneers had been scrapped, but majority opinion, led by the newspaper and the Chamber

of Commerce, seemed to think the change would help Lubbock and would make it appear more like a real city. The city treasury was as usual empty, and so a plan was at once devised whereby the women of the town would solicit propertyholders for the \$7.50 necessary to buy one street sign. If one man gave the entire amount he could then solicit the shares of other individuals on his block, if there were any others. Orders were sent in groups of 25 to the firm supplying the signs, and by early May 1921 the first ones had been received and were in place.³⁸

Besides giving each avenue a name beginning with successive letters of the alphabet, after lettered avenues alone were no longer sufficient, one other change was soon made. In May 1923 the city commission ordered 11th Street changed to Main Street, and 12th Street to Broadway.³⁹ This was merely bowing to popular usage because at least as early as 1909 the street lying just to the south of the courthouse square had been referred to as Broadway.

The main incentive for haste in getting the streets and houses numbered was the desire for free mail delivery in the city. In 1922 the new postmaster, H. C. Duering, met with the city commission and outlined the conditions that would have to be met before free mail delivery could begin. In addition to designating streets and houses so postmen could find them, hard-surfaced walks were (and are) necessary in areas with a traffic hazard. An inspector brought in by the postmaster reported the city would need 84 street crossings and 40 alley crossings, in addition to the sidewalks built by property owners to connect them. In October the Junior Chamber of Commerce adopted the slogans "Free Delivery in 90 Days," and "Say It With Sidewalks," women's clubs were redoubling their efforts to get street signs up, and the *Avalanche* was urging the citizens to show their pride in Lubbock and get free mail delivery. But the 90 days lengthened into a year before

enough had been done to get free mail delivery, which began in October 1923.⁴⁰

ELECTRIC, TELEPHONE, AND TELEGRAPH SERVICES

Citizens of half a century ago usually retired early. Not only was there little entertainment to be found, but the lighting was bad. The kerosene (coal oil many people preferred to call it) lamp or lantern was universally used and provided almost the only light there was until electricity came to the city. In June 1909 the county granted a twenty-year franchise to J. W. Watts and C. A. Rush for their partnership, the Lubbock Electric Light and Power Company. Apparently they could not begin construction within the sixty-day deadline set by the commissioners, because in June the *Avalanche* was still calling for construction of the electric light plant that had been promised several months before. A month later the paper reported that construction of such a plant had been organized and that work on it would soon begin.⁴¹

Lubbock's first electrical power was supplied from a plant built by Rollie Burns and several local associates who had profit and civic service in mind. These men formed the Lubbock Light and Ice Company and on August 3, 1909, received their charter from the city council to build and operate a light, heat, and power plant and system. By the terms of its charter the company was required to furnish service without discrimination as to quality or quantity to any consumer within five hundred feet of its wires. The city could require it to serve a new part of the city whenever the anticipated fees would pay ten percent of the cost of the poles, wire, and other equipment. Rates were high as compared with those of today. The city paid \$120 a year for the several arc lights it had installed, and a rate not to exceed fifteen cents per kilowatt hour for all other power it was supplied. The company was allowed to charge private consumers no more than twenty cents a kilowatt hour, with a minimum charge of a dollar a

month. The city council declared that it reserved the right to revise these rates when it could be shown they were exorbitant and that a lesser rate would pay a reasonable rate of return on the capital stock of the company. The franchise was to run for twenty-five years, although the council indicated it had its eye to the future when it reserved the right to buy out the company at a price agreeable to both parties and after six months' notice.⁴²

The Lubbock Ice and Light Company built its plant on the north side of North First Street (now 300 Main Street) near the railroad tracks. The original structure, built of concrete blocks, measured 40 by 120 feet, and cost \$50,000 including its machinery. Power was supplied from a 100 hp. engine coupled to a three-phase, sixty-cycle generator of 2300 volts. By May 1910 the firm had about 120 miles of lines in the city, servicing some 1200 lights, and had installed a new generator and 150 hp. engine. Its ice plant had a capacity of 30 tons of ice every 24 hours, made from water drawn from the company's own well and then distilled. When ice deliveries began in May 1910 a 100 pound block of ice cost 80 cents, a block between 100-300 pounds cost 60 cents a hundred pounds, and one of 300 pounds only 50 cents a hundred. By June 1910 the Lubbock *Avalanche* was reporting proudly that Lubbock ice was now being shipped to such places as Brownfield, Lamesa, Post City, and Tahoka. A more unpleasant item concerned the removal of the promoter and manager of the light company, a man named Ellis, on charges of misappropriation of company funds.⁴³

Expansion of the electric company was slow and rates were high. The company had a high capitalization, its personnel were inexperienced, customers were few, and poles and other materials had to be brought in from a distance. At first the company offered service for only part of the night, and not at all during the day, although it declared its willingness to furnish daytime service if there were enough demand for it.

Apparently this arrangement was fairly satisfactory, at least until electric motors and other equipment requiring power came into use.

The original stockholders of the Lubbock Light and Ice Company failed to realize their hoped-for profits from the venture, and in March 1913 sold out to two brothers, C. A. and R. C. Malone. They renamed the business the Malone Light and Ice Company. The city council granted the company a fifty-year extension on its charter in return for a pledge to charge its customers only seventeen cents a kilowatt hour and to provide all-night service. The company still failed to make ends meet, however, and on November 7, 1915, the brothers sold their electric plants in Lubbock, Lockney, and Plainview to the Texas Utilities Company.⁴⁴

Complaints against the poor service and high rates of the electric company continued to increase as time went on. By March 1916 these protests had become so loud that the city hired L. A. Hitchcock to read the electric company's meters for the months of March, April, and May to determine whether electric bills were too high. Much of the difficulty came from the fact that the Lubbock plant had broken down and power had to be brought in expensively by wire from Plainview. Matters failed to improve much and by October a joint committee of city and county officials had scheduled a meeting with the utility company's local manager, a Mr. Drum, "in regard to the light Co. giving the city and county better service, and better rates."⁴⁵

On December 21, 1916, the city council met in city hall with Drum, the company's vice president, who came down from St. Louis, and Judge H. C. Randolph of Plainview, its general attorney. The council asked for a reduction from the prevailing rate of 15 cents per kilowatt hour. The utility company representative offered to reduce the rate slightly, but not to the level of those in effect in Plainview. The utilities men were then asked to leave the meeting, and within five

minutes the council had voted to accept a proposal to build and equip a municipal electric plant.⁴⁶ In all probability the utility executives were chagrined at the action of a dusty little country town only half the size of Plainview in plunging ahead into a venture they regarded as foolhardy and doomed to failure. If they had been right, Lubbock in a year or two would have been hopelessly in debt to the Fairbanks-Morse Company, which agreed to accept revenue bonds of the city in payment for the machinery it supplied.

It took nearly a year for the city to get its electric plant in operating condition, and not until late in September 1917 was the machinery tested and accepted from the suppliers. In the meantime the Texas Utilities Company had tried to sell its Lubbock facilities to the city. If the attempt had been successful, Lubbock might today be served only by a municipally-owned electric plant, since the city council would have been reluctant to grant another franchise to a private company.⁴⁷

The first city electric plant was built on Avenue J between 4th and 5th streets. M. S. Ruby served as the plant's first manager. At first it was limited in size and did not even supply the power for the street lights. But as the years passed the facilities for generating power were expanded. In 1920 a new and larger building was erected at the light plant, and in 1922 the city traded in its original unit to the Fairbanks-Morse Company for a new one of 200 horsepower, at a cost of \$15,745, less the \$5,000 allowance for the old machinery.⁴⁸

The growing need for street lights brought on at least part of the necessity for electric service. Within a few months after the city was incorporated the Lubbock *Avalanche* was calling for a few street lights and suggesting that at the very least one should be placed at each corner of the square. Over a year passed before the city and county agreed to share the expense of placing lights around the courthouse. By May 1911 the Lubbock Ice and Light Company had put in four arc lamps of twelve hundred candlepower and under its contract

had yet to install two more. This gave light to most of the downtown business district, although it left the rest of the city dark.⁴⁹

Nothing more was done until 1913, when the city secretary, W. M. Shaw, drew up a plan for lighting the streets. Under this, each church was asked to buy and erect a light pole. The city would then pay for the electric current necessary for its use as a street light. Unfortunately, the city fathers felt themselves pinched for funds and decided to limit their lighting system to a line running from the Sante Fe depot to and around the courthouse square.⁵⁰ If it did nothing else this at least demonstrated the importance of the railroad in early Lubbock.

During the next few years extension of the street lighting system, referred to in those days as the ornamental lighting system, progressed sporadically because of the city's chronic lack of funds, combined with the effects of the First World War. In 1914 the city and county shared the expense of replacing the old arc lights around the square, and three years later again collaborated in revamping the lighting system under a cooperative scheme. In 1917 the county bought twelve light poles and fixtures at \$38 each, to be installed around the courthouse square. Forty other poles were paid for by subscriptions from leading groups and individuals in the city and put up by the city. For all fifty-two poles the city agreed to furnish the electricity. In September 1918 the city commission was forced to agree to remove the wire used for street lighting in the residential district and apply it to connecting homes with the municipal electric system. Wartime shortages had made it practically impossible to get wire for civilian use. Although the city installed a number of additional street lights early in 1919, the *Avalanche* continued for several years to complain that an important city like Lubbock needed more.⁵¹

Telephone service had come to Lubbock even before its incorporation. C. W. Alexander organized the Staked Plains

Telephone Company and operated it for several years. The company's offices and switchboard were located on the floor above the Lubbock State Bank, on the corner of what is now Broadway and Texas Avenue. The telephones were of the crude wall type with a crank that had to be turned vigorously several times in order to generate enough electricity to signal the switchboard operator, but even so they were a great convenience to the townspeople. On April 1, 1910, the Staked Plains Telephone Company sold its franchises in Lubbock and Hale Center to the Southwestern Telegraph and Telephone Company. The *Avalanche* reported that Southwestern planned to use Lubbock as a basing point from which to extend its lines into other towns in the far western part of the state. The company planned to follow the Sante Fe into successive towns as the railroad built into new areas.⁵² In 1911 the telephone company completely rebuilt its facilities in Lubbock, putting in a new switchboard and giving faster service to Dallas and Fort Worth. The company moved its poles from around the courthouse square and placed them in the alleys. It eliminated other unsightly wires by combining them into single cables reaching into the different parts of town.⁵³ From that time on the telephone company was in a position to expand with the growth of the city.

Telegraph service was a welcome newcomer to the city in January 1910. Prior to that messages had to be telephoned to Plainview and transmitted from there. The telegraph company used the right of way and other facilities of the railroad company, which led the *Avalanche* in November 1911 to complain about the lack of night telegraph service between 5:30 p.m. and 7:30 a.m. and to suggest that people ask the Western Union Company for improvements, especially an up-town office.⁵⁴

Express and mail were first brought to Lubbock in mail hacks drawn by mules. With the coming of the railroad these services were naturally transferred to it in the interest of

greater speed. The Wells-Fargo Express Company office was located for several months in the Sante Fe depot. But early in 1910 it was moved to a building next door to the Clyde Hotel on South Singer Street (Avenue H), after which express wagons loaded with packages rumbled up the streets after the arrival of every train.⁵⁵

VOLUNTEER FIRE FIGHTERS

Situated as it was in a dry and windy climate, Lubbock was faced with the constant threat of fire. Many people believed the unorganized volunteers who fought fires in the days before incorporation of the city provided insufficient protection, and increasing demands came for the formation of a volunteer fire department on a regularized basis. As was its custom, the Lubbock *Avalanche* took the lead in these pleas. Editor Dow urged the establishment of a fire department as well as fire limits within which only brick or stone buildings might be built.⁵⁶ When a disastrous fire swept through Midland in October 1909 the paper reported the fact and commented that if Lubbock were to suffer such a fire it would be impossible to stop it, especially with the wind blowing. "Let some enterprising citizens get together and start the ball to rolling. We are sleeping over our rights in this matter," concluded the editor.⁵⁷

The citizens faced the problem. On August 9, 1909, a group of about thirteen men met and organized a volunteer fire company. Fortunately, there were no fires of any consequence during the next few months, since unfortunately the membership of the fire company dwindled away. Early in November a second meeting was necessary to form a new organization. Those present chose Charlie Frederick, a barber, as chief, and made S. C. Wilson his assistant. W. B. Powell was elected president, C. E. Parks, vice president, and S. R. Pierce, secretary-treasurer. The department was divided into two companies. Steamer Company Number One had C. A. Pierce as captain and R. E. Penney as foreman. It had thirty-

two members signed up, whose responsibility it was to handle the city's pumper. The other company was called Chemical Company Number Two, with Fred C. Pearce as captain and E. E. Peoples as foreman. Its thirty members were supposed to handle the chemical engine. The volunteers agreed to meet the first Wednesday night each month, and set their practice sessions from four to five every Friday afternoon.⁵⁸ Civic service seemed glamorous, at least for the moment.

This initial burst of enthusiasm lasted only briefly, and the officers of the company were hard put to keep the organization together. Frederick soon left town and was replaced by W. E. Twitty. He and L. H. Simpson alternated as chief every other year until 1919, when Twitty began a five-year period as head of the department until it was reorganized in 1924.⁵⁹ The zeal of the volunteer firemen seemed to rise and fall, and the chief was lucky if he could find fifteen men to handle the equipment. In July 1911 a reorganization meeting was held. John F. Robinson was elected chief; R. T. Penney, assistant chief; and W. M. Shaw, secretary. Seemingly the reorganization did not last, because by the time of the Lubbock Mercantile Company fire in November, the *Avalanche* was suggesting a further reorganization.⁶⁰ By the fall of 1913 when the department revised its rolls, only Chief Twitty, Assistant-Chief Simpson, Secretary-Treasurer Shaw, and ten men remained in good standing in the volunteer company. When the United States entered World War I many volunteer firemen went off to war and the department was even more badly broken up. The fire chief called for a few good men to come out and sign up as firemen, and complained that one of the difficulties was in getting men who would stay and help roll up the hose and get the fire engine back to the station. Too many men went home as soon as the flames were out, leaving a few to do the clean-up work.⁶¹ Handling the hose during a fire was muddy and dirty work, and in winter it was even more disagreeable. Men could hardly be blamed

for being reluctant to risk ruining their clothes and possibly suffering an injury while responding to an alarm.

The first fire fighting equipment was bought in 1909. In May of that year W. M. Shaw circulated a subscription list, but raised less than \$500 of the \$1200 to \$1500 needed to buy a fire engine. In August the city council debated whether to buy an engine, then decided to wait until the mayor could find out if the citizens would assist the city with voluntary subscriptions. Two days later the council accepted the offer of the Howe Engine Company of Indianapolis to send a gasoline fire engine on approval. At the same time they asked the Eureka Fire Hose Company of New York to ship a chemical fire engine with two cylinders of thirty-five gallons capacity each, together with a thousand feet of two and a half inch hose. The bill of some \$2700 for this equipment, which arrived early in October, was shared by the city and citizens who had donated to the subscription fund.⁶²

After the fire engines arrived the city council discovered it had no fire house in which to keep them. The mayor set up a committee to build one, with the result that the city's first fire station was located in a small building behind a real estate office at the site on Broadway where the F. W. Woolworth store now stands. Since this building had room for only one piece of equipment, the pumper was moved there from a private garage where it had been kept, while the chemical engine sat in a room at the rear of city hall on Main street. In 1913 the city built a small shed on the courthouse square to house a hose cart where it would be close to the business district.⁶³

For the first few years, fire fighting was rather haphazard. Although there were a number of loyal volunteers who could always be depended upon to respond to the alarm, enthusiasm tended to wane. Anyone who showed symptoms of wanting to become a fireman was sure to be urged into the department. Fortunately, there were few fires in the city, but whenever the alarm was sounded the volunteers had to hurry to the fire

station to try and move their equipment. The original pumper was pulled to the fire either by hand or hitched behind one of the many dray wagons that always seemed to be nearby. Former chief Twitty recalls that the apparatus was so heavy and cumbersome that it was used only a few times. The pump on this first engine was run either by a gasoline engine, which failed to function most of the time, or worked by hand by means of levers. In any event, there was no water supply beyond the few gallons in the trough on the courthouse square or in the small tanks many homeowners kept to irrigate their gardens. The chemical engine was also too heavy to be gotten to fires and sat unused in the fire station. Its two tanks held a solution of soda and water, in which was suspended a lead bottle of sulphuric acid. When the bottle was overturned to allow the acid to combine with the soda and water, the resulting solution produced a hose pressure of about 100 pounds per square inch. But it was just about as well to let the building burn unmolested as to pour on the acid water and have it eat up whatever it came in contact with. Most buildings burned down when they did catch fire. Matters improved a great deal when the waterworks came into operation in 1911, and forty-one fire hydrants were put in place along its mains. The firemen for the most part relied on hose carried on their hose cart, since they could get more pressure from the water mains than they could from their fire engine. They had about eight hundred feet of hose, so that any blaze within that distance of the water mains could be fought.⁶⁴

The first fire in Lubbock's business district came on Friday night, October 27, 1911, when the concrete block building occupied by the Lubbock Mercantile Company burned. The building, on the southwest corner of the square where Montgomery Ward's is now located, housed not only the dry-goods firm, but Spikes and May, grocers, several law offices, including that of J. E. Vickers, offices of Doctors Baugh and Overton, a dentist's office, an abstract office, a millinery shop, and

the temporary quarters of the Citizens National Bank. All were gutted by the fire, which had apparently begun in merchandise stored in the basement. The fire department was unable to save the building but did prevent the Palace pharmacy next door from burning, although it was damaged when the burning building's roof fell in on it. The *Avalanche* estimated the loss at about \$175,000, of which only \$40,000 was covered by insurance. Five months later a fire in the business district again broke out, resulting in damage estimated at \$45,000. The J. M. Radford Grocery Company was virtually destroyed by the fire, which had apparently started in the feed room of the Seitz Grain and Coal Company, which occupied part of the building. Again there was no water to fight the fire, since the mains of the newly-completed water works had not as yet been filled. In November 1921 the building of the Texas Utilities Company was gutted by fire with a loss estimated at \$100,000, and in May 1923 a \$75,000 blaze destroyed the building of the *Avalanche* Publishing Company.⁶⁵

Improvement in the city's fire-fighting equipment came slowly. The aldermen at first wanted to buy a team of horses, but the firemen cannily refused the offer. They declared they would pull their equipment by hand until they could have a gasoline-powered truck. In 1912, they got hold of an old Buick chassis with a two-cylinder motor and rigged it up as a fire truck.⁶⁶ But it seldom ran, and when it did it could carry only four or five hundred feet of hose. Primary dependence still had to be on the hand-drawn hose cart until in 1916 the city bought a new American La-France, chain-driven pumper with solid rubber tires. The city council then chose R. H. Hurst from among seven applicants for the job as driver of the truck. The driver was required to stay at the station day and night, with sleeping quarters being provided there for him. Later a relief driver was employed to spell the regular driver at mealtime and on Sundays. In 1922 a major addition to the department's equipment was made when a chain-driven

American La-France 750 gallon per minute pumper with pneumatic tires was bought. This equipment, still in use, cost the city \$12,750. Probably just as important to the firemen was the purchase of \$200 worth of hats, coats, and boots for the "fire boys," as the council referred to them.⁶⁷

The city council took various other steps from time to time to bolster the fire-protection and fire-fighting systems. Early in 1910 fire limits were prescribed for that part of the city lying within the main business district. In the future no wooden building could be built or repaired in this area. By 1914 continued interference with the "fire boys" on the part of the public was responsible for an ordinance forbidding the turning in of false fire alarms by telephone, blowing a whistle, firing a gun, or any other means. Interfering with any of the fire-fighting equipment was also made a misdemeanor. Climbing up the tower housing the fire-alarm system and ringing the bell was evidently a favorite sport, for this too was prohibited. This tower had been built on the courthouse lawn in 1913 when the county gave the city permission to erect it to house a fire-warning bell. It was used for two or three years, until a runaway team of horses partially demolished it. Alarms could also be sounded by blowing the whistle at the light plant after messages were relayed by telephone. In 1921 the city installed a new fire siren whose piercing shriek could be heard all over town.⁶⁸

By 1915 the city's growth made it necessary to have a fire marshal. His duty was to investigate every fire in the city causing property loss, and to inspect business buildings each month to insure compliance with fire regulations. His salary was set at \$60 a year and he was to report directly to the mayor and city council. Automobile traffic soon became both a problem and source of assistance to the department. In 1917 Roche Newton was appointed a special policeman to prevent drivers of automobiles from running their vehicles over fire hose at the scene of a fire. Some months later another ordi-

nance gave each fireman the powers of a policeman while a fire was in progress. This enabled any volunteer fireman to commandeer a passing car and have it take him to the fire.⁶⁹

By 1922 the operation of the city's volunteer fire department was assuming sizable proportions. The budget for that year was set at \$3350, which included \$1200 salary for the fire truck driver and his relief, and \$250 the city commission appropriated to send the department's delegation to the annual state firemen's convention. It did not include the \$3 voted by the commission to be paid to each fireman for every fire he attended. In recognition of the growing scope of the fire department's activities it was changed from a completely volunteer organization to one with some members paid by the city. Chief Twitty and two other men were employed full time.⁷⁰

The volunteer fire department did much more than fight fires, however. For several years the members formed a crack racing team that won prizes at fairs and conventions on the South Plains. The race consisted of the team's running a hundred feet to a hydrant while dragging a small hose cart. They then unreeled the hose, coupled it to the hydrant, and put the nozzle on. The first team to get water through the hose was the winner. From about 1912 to 1919 the Lubbock departmental team won many championships on the South Plains. At celebrations in Lubbock, such as on the Fourth of July, the department paraded and held water fights. It also sponsored dances, and held at least one firemen's carnival in the downtown district of the city. This carnival, held in July 1912, featured a carnival show, band concerts, sports events, refreshment stands, and all of the glitter and excitement that traditionally go with such an event. In 1920 the tenth annual Panhandle Firemen's Convention was held in Lubbock from August 23-25. The firemen celebrated with a large parade, drills and water fights, baseball games, and a banquet. Eighteen fire companies from surrounding communities participated. Each year a delegation was sent to the state firemen's conven-

tion, with at least part of its expenses paid for by donations from the city council and the Chamber of Commerce. On February 3, 1921, a few days before a reduction in fire insurance rates for the city was announced, Lubbock insurance agencies held a banquet at the Manhattan Parlor restaurant in honor of the firemen.⁷¹

LAW AND ORDER

Lubbock was founded a generation too late to be classed with the fabled, wide-open, lawless towns of the west. Instead, it was a quiet village whose peace was little disturbed by the hard-working farmers and cowboys who came in on Saturdays and holidays. Certainly much of this public tranquility may be traced to the type of early settlers who founded the town and built the surrounding farms and ranches. From its earliest days, the community had a sizable number of Quakers, Methodists, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, and other denominational representatives who set its moral tone. The population was almost completely Anglo-Saxon and there was no industry to bring in differing racial and social groups. Thus there were no conflicting customs, habits, and languages to cause misunderstandings and discord. As late as January 1917 when a census of the city's population was taken, only sixteen Negroes were reported, and no Mexicans at all. Parents who moved into town so their children could go to school wanted a wholesome environment. An indication of a rather strait-laced moral climate in the city came in the spring of 1910 when the county commissioners called a prohibition election. At a well-attended mass meeting on the courthouse lawn the night before the election, Frank Wheelock, Judge Robinson, C. E. Parks, George R. Bean, W. H. Bledsoe, Reverend Liff Sanders, and other leading citizens spoke out in favor of prohibition. The next day the city voted 350-88 for banning liquor sales and thus joined the rest of the county in keeping the area legally dry.⁷²

Law enforcement was, however, necessary and over a period of years the city slowly developed a corps of officials and a body of regulations to meet the need for law and order. For the first few years of its existence as a city, Lubbock depended upon a city marshal as its only peace officer besides a night watchman. Jace A. Hyatt became the first city marshal, holding the post until he was defeated in the city election of April 1911. C. L. Fry served for the next four years, was defeated in 1915 by C. A. Holcomb, and in turn defeated Holcomb in the election of 1917.⁷³

The duties of the marshal were the usual ones of a police officer. He kept watch over the business district, saw that city ordinances were enforced, collected the city road tax, and carried out any special missions of the city council. For a time the marshal was on duty during the day, leaving the business houses unprotected at night. Naturally, the businessmen protested. The city council then voted in December 1911 to pay \$10 a month towards the salary of a night watchman if the businessmen would pay the rest. Just what his total salary was is uncertain, although it was no doubt rather small, since no great amount of prestige went with the position. In 1913 the city council eliminated the position of night watchman. Instead, the city marshal was to be on duty at night, with a corresponding increase in salary to \$75 a month. Apparently this system failed to work satisfactorily either, because in 1916 the city council appointed Floyd G. Lewis night watchman at a salary of \$50 a month, with the city paying \$19.50 of this and the merchants and businessmen of the city the rest.⁷⁴ Until the establishment of a city police force large enough to take over his duties, the night watchman was a familiar figure on Lubbock streets as he tried the doors of business houses and kept an eye out for prowlers abroad at night.

For several years the services of a marshal and a night watchman were enough to keep the city safe, and no separate police department was created. In 1911 the city council took

the first hesitant steps towards setting up a police department when it passed an ordinance providing for the appointment of two policemen for one-year terms. No salary was provided for, but they were authorized to receive all the fees that might be collected from defendants in criminal cases where a policeman had made the arrest.⁷⁵ The income from such an arrangement probably was not sufficient to attract men to these jobs for long, and no more was heard about them. In 1919 the city commission ordered the mayor to hire two special policemen at once, although for what emergency was not specified. In March 1921 the increasing difficulty in enforcing the city's traffic regulations resulted in the city commission giving the mayor the authority to hire a traffic policeman whenever he thought it necessary. Then in May the commission appointed C. S. Middleton as Lubbock's first chief of police and gave him permission to recommend two policemen. The chief's salary was set at \$150 a month, out of which he was to furnish his own horse. Each of his subordinates received \$100 monthly. Appropriately enough, Lubbock's first policeman was a traffic officer, Wallace Hornsby, appointed by Middleton late in June 1921 at a salary of \$4 a day whenever he worked. Middleton resigned in August and G. C. Hufstедler took his place. Hufstедler promptly appointed C. C. Roy, T. V. McKinney, J. A. Hyatt, and E. L. Ellison as the city's first regular police force.⁷⁶

The growth of the city and the corresponding increase in its problems stand revealed in the ordinances the city fathers were forced to adopt in a never-ending stream. One of their first actions, taken in November 1909, was to place a curfew against minors on the streets after nine p.m. Peddlers, hawkers, carnival and theater operators, traveling shows, and pawn-brokers posed a somewhat greater problem. In 1913 the city council adopted an ordinance taxing peddlers \$15 annually, requiring them to give honest weight and to keep their wares sanitary. A year later the regulations tightened when the mar-

shal was given authority to regulate and control hawkers, exhibitors, and similar businessmen.⁷⁷

A rather embarrassing situation resulted from action of the city council in 1916 whereby it prohibited any wild west show, street carnival, or similar exhibition from appearing west of the Santa Fe's main tracks. A year later the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce signed a contract for an appearance by a carnival show in the city in conjunction with the annual county fair. To confine it to an area east of the railroad would practically ruin any chance of making a profit. Despite the petition signed by 167 persons protesting repeal of the ordinance, the council did repeal it. A week later, after the carnival and the fair were over, the council met and reinstated the ordinance.⁷⁸

Pool halls were even more of a nuisance in the eyes of the citizens and a frequent source of complaint. The city's lone pool hall was located in 1909 on South Singer Street next to the Clyde Hotel. The establishment was doomed when in March 1914 the county voted overwhelmingly to ban such places. Out of 386 votes cast, 265 were for banning pool halls, and only 121 wanted them kept. In the city itself the vote was 219 for prohibiting them, and only 100 in favor of keeping them.⁷⁹

By the time World War I broke out automobiles were becoming more and more numerous on city streets, and several dealers were selling Fords, Buicks, and other popular makes of the day. The *Avalanche* had been calling for some regulation of them and gloomily predicting death and destruction if action were not taken. In 1914 the city council set the speed limit at twelve miles an hour, which was probably about as fast as most vehicles could travel in the city anyway, given the condition of the streets and the stage of development of automobiles. Cars were required to have at least one lamp burning at night, and to have a red tail light. On signal from the driver, or leader, of horses, cars were required to stop and

wait until the animals had passed. In 1916 the council adopted regulations requiring drivers to keep to the right side of the street, to keep their mufflers closed at all times, and to pass on the left only.⁸⁰

There were remarkably few ordinances adopted in early Lubbock for close control of the citizens, which in itself was a tribute to the moral tone of the city. The council did provide, thriftily enough, that any man convicted before a jury in corporation court and committed to the city jail in lieu of payment of fines and costs levied against him, should be put to work on the public streets or alleys. For every day worked, the convict was to gain a credit of fifty cents against the fine and costs charged against him. No female was to work on the streets. Only after the convict had satisfied his fine and costs in full would the city pay witnesses and arresting officers—and then only half of such costs.⁸¹

Public nuisances received due attention also. Peddlers and hawkers were prohibited from displaying their wares, selling them, or holding auctions on any public street or in any alley. Besides a curfew on minors, the city council prohibited loitering around either the railroad freight or passenger depot. Later the council took action against any male between the ages of eighteen and sixty who was able to work but who was found without steady employment, or who frequented pool halls, depots, garages or other public places when not working, or who sold trinkets on the streets or from house to house or put on sleight of hand or other exhibitions. Anyone convicted of these offenses was subject to a fine of up to \$100 for the first offense and double the first fine for the second and subsequent convictions.⁸²

In 1922 the city commission reflected the public concern over Hollywood goings-on in general and the affairs of Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle in particular when it passed an ordinance strictly regulating the showing of movies or plays in the city. Banned were any obscene or immoral scenes, those tend-

ing to corrupt good morals, as well as any person of notoriously immoral or criminal character. Specifically outlawed were pictures of Arbuckle or Clara Smith Hamon. Indicating their earnestness in the matter, the commissioners attached a fine of \$100 for the sale of each ticket to any such performance involving these actors. Thus, even though Arbuckle's plea to re-enter the movies had been granted by the movie industry's censor, Will Hays, after the scandal over the death of a young actress had quieted down, the morals of Lubbock would be protected against his influence.⁸³

For a new city in a developing region, Lubbock experienced relatively little crime, although the *Avalanche* sometimes complained about petty stealing and the mischief of children. In 1911 the paper morosely reported there was a gang of boys in town who were "blazing their way to trouble land every day they lived."⁸⁴ It seemed that they had pelted a visitor to the city with eggs and had soiled his clothing, apparently having mistaken him for someone else. Boys might be expected to engage in escapades such as this, to hitch rides on freight trains, and to get into other minor mischief such as stealing melons. But when girls got caught stealing chickens in the summer of 1909, the editor wagged a stern finger at them. Girls involved in this sort of thing would not get a second chance to redeem themselves, whereas boys might.⁸⁵ On another occasion Editor Dow commented that although Lubbock had a curfew law, many parents could not tell where their children were at night. "If they did know what some of the officials of the town do, they would be horrified and ashamed." "Mother," asked the editor, "do you know where your daughter is every night in the week, or are you merely guessing that she is at the home of your best neighbor and as safe as if at home?"⁸⁶ Yet Dow thought that in general the boys and girls were well behaved and there was little delinquency.

Bootlegging in the city became apparent almost as soon as the city reaffirmed its decision in 1910 to stay dry. In August

1910 the *Avalanche* reported the presence of a deputy U. S. Marshal in the city to relieve Lubbock county sheriff Flynn of one C. F. May and take him to Amarillo to be bound over to a federal grand jury on charges of bootlegging. A year later the paper reported the grand jury had at its last sitting returned five bills of indictment, four of them against bootleggers. The editor, in his best fatherly manner, declared the people of Lubbock did not want whiskey and if men wanted to peddle it and stay out of jail they had better stay out of Lubbock.⁸⁷ He might also have pointed out, as one old-time resident once did, that in those days it was legal to buy liquor elsewhere and have it shipped in, whereupon there would be plenty of people to help drink it.

When prohibition went into effect on a national scale the supply of liquor became much more of a problem, both for consumers and law-enforcement officials. The Lubbock police department quickly became active in trying to suppress dealings in alcohol, as did the county sheriff. In the early twenties the *Avalanche* carried frequent reports of bootleggers arrested either by Chief of Police Hufstedler or Sheriff H. L. "Bud" Johnston. Automobile chases may not have been conducted at such high speeds as nowadays, but they were just as earnest, with the officers shooting at the fleeing cars and the suspects racing up side roads and down city streets as they dumped their liquor overboard. Evidently the supply of liquor was not as available as it is now, for the officers often got on the track of stills operating in the vicinity. These were generally pretty small operations, however. In 1922 the sheriff seized a 30-gallon still and 250 gallons of mash near Idalou. That same year the Lubbock police force watched a house where they suspected liquor was being made, found where the stuff was being hidden, and then raided the place. On another typical foray the sheriff captured a Negro operator in the city and dispossessed him of 20 gallons of "choc" beer, whiskey, and a quantity of the two mixed together. They also

took the retail dispensing apparatus the man used in conducting his alley business—a glass with some raisins in the bottom of it. The problem of illegal liquor was not conquered, of course, and on one occasion chief of police Hufstедler remarked that since he had made it almost impossible to peddle liquor, the drinking of flavoring extracts was increasing.⁸⁸

A survey of offenses committed in the county from 1909-1923 reveals the usual type of misdeeds: theft, assault, drunkenness, and disturbing the peace. To judge from the number of cases brought into county court, gambling was apparently the most constant offense. And in a day when relatively more people owned guns than they do now, carrying a pistol was rather frequently detected. Usually several cases a year showed up, with a total of over 50 such offenders brought into county court between 1909-1923. The offender received about the same punishment as nowadays, a \$100 fine or slightly more. When such a case came to his attention in 1919 Editor Dow remarked that he could not understand why a man would risk a \$125 fine for carrying a concealed six-shooter, when he could carry a shotgun for nothing.⁸⁹

A few more serious crimes occurred during the period being surveyed here. On October 19, 1912, a Saturday evening, night watchman William E. Taylor, shot and killed Thomas M. "Poker Tom" Collins and J. J. "Jug" Reynolds. Collins was a grading contractor for the Santa Fe railroad then building south from Lubbock, while Reynolds had been engaged in several business ventures in Lubbock. Taylor was released on \$1000 bond and brought to trial a month later for killing Collins. Quite evidently the jury was doubtful as to whether Taylor had acted in self-defense against the pair, because it took them three hours to return a verdict of not guilty. The *Avalanche* commented that this had been one of the most interesting trials in many days and the courtroom had been crowded at each session. Taylor's trial for killing Reynolds was transferred to Lynn county.⁹⁰

Editor Dow and others had good reason to warn against the carrying of pistols. On a Saturday afternoon in 1923 Ed George shot and killed W. H. "Wint" Vaughn. George had been employed by Vaughn, a prominent farmer southwest of Lubbock. About a year previously the two had quarreled and George had left the farm. On the day of the killing the two had gotten into a fist fight on Avenue I near the Citizens National Bank. George stepped back, drew a .45 revolver from his belt and shot Vaughn, who was vainly trying to extract a .38 revolver from his belt holster. Vaughn, shot in the abdomen, still managed to wrest the gun from George and fire after him as he fled. Vaughn was taken to a sanitarium where he died two days later.⁹¹

The crime that aroused the city more than any other during this period occurred in 1921. About four o'clock on the morning of February 25, two masked men carrying pistols entered the Santa Fe passenger station and approached telegraph operator J. E. Craft. One of them ordered him to open the safe. When Craft merely laughed and said he did not have the combination, one of the men shot him through the chest. Three young Lubbock men, Huliet Connally, his brother Ed, and Jesse Bond, were arrested later in the morning by Sheriff Holcomb. Feeling ran high in Lubbock until the men were taken to Amarillo that night for safe keeping. Bond, caught first, confessed to his part in the crime and declared that Ed Connally had planned the whole thing and gotten guns for the two younger men. Huliet Connally had fired the shot that killed Craft. Within ten days (Sunday, March 6) the trio had been tried and convicted. The Connally brothers received ninety-nine year sentences, while Bond got fifty.⁹²

Evidently the efforts of Lubbock's regularly-appointed law enforcement officers were not enough to satisfy some puritanical-minded citizens who took it upon themselves to assist them in various ways. James L. Dow, editor of the *Avalanche*, used the columns of his newspaper to lay about him with a fine

and indiscriminant hand in flaying wrongdoers. He reflected the general concern over the nation in the early twenties in taking parents to task for the immoralities of youth. "They allow their girls to frolic till a late hour with young men, and auto ride till late in the night, and they seem to care nothing about them than to turn them 'hog wild' and let them ramble," he lamented.⁹³

In addition to bootleggers, who received a generous measure of condemnation, gamblers received the lash of Dow's pen. In 1922 the newspaper reported that a gambling craze was currently raging in the city. People taught their children to play cards; clubs and lodges maintained places for gambling; and professional gamblers infested the city. One of the big troubles, in the opinion of the editor, lay in the fact that law enforcement officers could not get cooperation from the public in catching offenders and bringing them to justice. He urged the moral element in the city to get behind city officials and break down the strongholds of the gambler and bootlegger, which went hand in hand.⁹⁴

Aid soon came to the police in the form of voluntary organizations of interested citizens. On March 28, 1921, a Law and Order Club was formed with fifty-four members, including Dow. The editor reported that the reason for the club was the presence of professional gamblers, possibly five or more of them, in the city. Young men and boys went out to work on farms, lost their money to the gamblers, and as a result turned to robbery and other crime. Indirectly, said Dow, the recent murder of the railroad station agent, J. E. Craft, was at least partly responsible for the formation of the new club. He was referring to the fact that Ed Connally said in his confession that he owed \$286 and hoped to get enough to repay it. The Law and Order Club, which had the backing of Lubbock ministers, was also concerned with the number of speeders, thieves, immoral women, and loafers on the streets at night and in all-night restaurants.⁹⁵

Less enthusiastically received, at least by some, was the Ku Klux Klan which appeared in Lubbock during the resurgence of nativism that occurred across the country in the early 1920's. The klan was operating in the city by 1921, and characteristically the editor of the *Avalanche* used the opposition to it expressed by some people to declare that the lack of proper prosecution of lawbreakers arrested by the police lay with the people. If they would elect men who would enforce the laws and give crime a black eye, matters would improve. But as long as men were given minimum sentences, or turned completely loose, there would be little inducement for officers to catch gamblers, bootleggers, and the like.⁹⁶

The klan exercised a kind of twentieth-century vigilantism against violations of the narrow moral code of klan members on the part of certain residents of the city. Frequenters of lovers lane near the Lubbock cemetery might on occasion expect to receive a stern warning to mend their ways. And violators of the moral code were warned to leave town if they knew what was good for them. Sometimes klan members attended court sessions to indicate their support of police and prosecutors and disapproval of their opponents.

The klan also gave other expressions of its sentiments. Once a procession of klansmen entered a local church and left a donation as an expression of approval of the pastor's work. On a Saturday night in April 1923 the klan left a letter at the *Avalanche* office in praise of its own actions. The letter was addressed to Grandma Brown, who was described as trying to reach her daughter in Fort Worth. The klan also gave her \$20 in "appreciation of true American womanhood." The letter said in part:

Furthermore, we wish to inform you that real men who believe 100 percent in the tenets of the Christian religion, white supremacy, the protection of our pure womanhood, the upholding of the constitution of these United States, or any state thereof, by at any and all times, any time or anywhere, assisting the duly

elected officers of the law in the enforcement of same, make this donation.

We believe in the separation of church and state forever, free press, free speech, free public schools and the much needed local reforms.⁹⁷

The letter was signed by Lubbock Klan No. 199, Realm of Texas of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Lubbock City Council Minutes, April 12, 1909, hereinafter cited as City Council Minutes; J. E. Vickers to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 13, 1959; Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 8, 1909. Other candidates for alderman were J. J. Dillard, B. O. McWhorter, John F. Robinson, G. M. Royalty, and S. M. Wilkinson.

² City Council Minutes, April 12, May 13, 1909.

³ *Ibid.*, November 19, 1909; Nat D. Heaton, Judge of City of Lubbock Corporation Court, to Lawrence Graves, interview, September 22, 1959.

⁴ City Council Minutes, April 12, 1909, April 4, 1910, April 10, 1911, April 9, 1912, April 7, 1913, April 9, 1914, April 9, 1915, April 10, 1916, April 9, 1917; Lubbock City Commission Minutes, April 6, 1918, April 12, 1920, April 7, 1922. Hereinafter cited as City Commission Minutes.

⁵ City Council Minutes, October 9, 1916.

⁶ *Ibid.*, January 11, 29, March 21, December 29, 1917; Vickers interview, October 13, 1959.

⁷ City Council Minutes, August 13, September 19, November 23, December 29, 1917. Those elected to draw up the new charter were: James L. Dow, H. A. Davidson, E. B. Green, R. K. Henderson, J. O. Jones, E. L. Klett, J. D. Lindsey, J. H. Moon, John Norris, C. E. Parks, Walter S. Posey, W. F. Schenck, Percy Spencer, Roscoe Wilson, and George C. Wolfarth.

⁸ City Commission Minutes, December 29, 1917, April 30, 1918, April 22, 1922.

⁹ City Council Minutes, June 5, 1909.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 5, September 14, October 13, 1909.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, January 10, March 15, 1910.

¹² *Complete Texas Statutes . . .* (Kansas City, 1920), 1275-1278.

¹³ City Council Minutes, July 26, 1910; City Commission Minutes, January 17, 1922.

¹⁴ City Council Minutes, March 1, December 23, 1911.

¹⁵ City Council Minutes, July 18, 20, August 24, 1916; City Commission Minutes, July 6, 1918, June 29, 1920, June 17, 1921, January 17, 1922, September 10, 1923.

¹⁶ City Council Minutes, January 9, July 5, 1917; City Commission Minutes, December 8, 1919.

¹⁷ City Commission Minutes, June 8, 1922.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1923.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, October 11, 1923.

²⁰ City Council Minutes, July 14, October 10, 1910.

²¹ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1917; City Commission Minutes, February 28, 1918.

²² City Council Minutes, July 9, 1917.

²³ *Ibid.*, July 9, December 15, 1917.

²⁴ City Commission Minutes, January 17, 1922.

²⁵ City Council Minutes, November 24, 1916; City Commission Minutes, January 27, 1920.

²⁶ City Council Minutes, January 13, December 8, 1913; February 9, 1914, January 11, 1915.

²⁷ City Council Minutes, September 13, 1909, April 10, June 26, August 14, 1911.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, September 12, 1910, February 1, 1916, April 16, 1917.

²⁹ City Council Minutes, May 21, August 17, 1909, December 9, 1912, October 8, 1917, July 1, 1915, July 20, December 2, 1916.

³⁰ City Commission Minutes, October 28, 1919, January 8, April 20, 1920; Paving Index (typescript, in the Street Department, City Engineer's Office, Lubbock, Texas); Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes, April 12, 1920 (III, 333).

³¹ City Commission Minutes, May 19, June 16, October 11, 1923.

³² City Council Minutes, May 8, 1911.

³³ City Commission Minutes, February 12, 1918.

³⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 12, 1910; Dr. J. T. Hutchinson to Barbara Campbell, March 6, 1954. This tape recording, as well as ones of interviews with Dr. William L. Baugh and Dr. Charles F. Wagner, was made in 1958 from a wire recording made in 1954 under the direction of Dr. William H. Gordon. These interviews form part of a large group of tape-recorded interviews made with the pioneers of Lubbock by the staff of the Southwest Collection and are an invaluable source for the early history of Lubbock.

³⁵ City Council Minutes, November 11, 1909, May 27, September 21, October 12, 1911. Property owners were notified by publication in the newspaper and by registered letter. Hearings were scheduled until all property holders had been given a chance to appear.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, July 11, November 13, 1911, January 12, March 9, 23, June 8, December 14, 1914, August 9, 1915.

³⁷ City Commission Minutes, March 12, 1918, February 10, 1920, January 6, 1921.

³⁸ City Commission Minutes, February 8, 1921; Lubbock *Avalanche*, February 17, May 5, 19, 1921.

³⁹ City Commission Minutes, May 25, 1923.

⁴⁰ City Commission Minutes, August 30, September 21, October 13, November 14, 1922, January 2, September 14, 1923; Ernest Ohnemus to Lawrence Graves, interview August 5, 1959.

⁴¹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 10, 1909; Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes, February 8, 1909 (II, 92-93).

⁴² City Council Minutes, August 3, 1909; Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 8, 1909.

⁴³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 9, 1909, May 26, 1910, June 30, 1910; Lubbock *Enterprise*, January 11, 1910; George P. Rush, *The Formative Years of Lubbock, Texas, 1909-1917* (Master's Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1934), 39. The plant had originally been expected to cost \$25,000, and stockholders had to be levied upon to pay for the additional cost above that.

⁴⁴ City Council Minutes, March 27, 1913; A Brief Outline of the Expan-

sion and Development of Plains Division—Texas-New Mexico Utilities Company (typescript in possession of the Southwestern Public Service Company, Lubbock, Texas), 1.

⁴⁵ City Council Minutes, July 13, 1914, October 9, March 18, December 21, 1916; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, August 26, 1956.

⁴⁶ City Council Minutes, December 21, 22, 28, 30, 1916; Vickers Interview, October 13, 1959.

⁴⁷ City Council Minutes, May 24, September 28, 1917. From that time on Lubbock was competitively served by both utilities companies.

⁴⁸ W. E. Twitty to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 5, 1959; Contract with the Fairbanks-Morse Co. dated July 27, 1922, in City Commission Minutes.

⁴⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 5, 1910; Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes, December 26, 1910 (II, 282-83).

⁵⁰ City Council Minutes, January 12, 1914.

⁵¹ City Council Minutes, December 31, 1917; City Commission Minutes, September 10, 1918; Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes, April 14, 1914 (II, 581), December 10, 18, 1917 (III, 184, 186), Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 20, 1919.

⁵² Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 31, 1910.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, December 14, 1911.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1909, November 30, 1911; Lubbock *Enterprise*, January 11, 1910.

⁵⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, February 10, 1910. T. H. Braden was the express company agent in 1910.

⁵⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 19, October 7, 1909.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1909.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1909; Twitty interview, October 5, 1959.

⁵⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, November 11, 1909; W. E. Twitty to Jean Paul, interview, August 27, 1958.

⁶⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 20, November 2, 1911. Members at the re-organization were: C. L. Adams, R. F. Anderson, David Benckert, J. T. Bullock, C. M. Crosby, Charlie Meyers, Charlie Pierce, W. B. Powell, A. M. Rankin, S. H. Robbins, Ed Robinson, Jim Robinson, W. W. Royalty, H. L. Simpson, E. H. Twitty, J. A. Wilson, and L. B. Wright.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1913, October 17, 1918.

⁶² Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 27, October 21, 1909; City Council Minutes, August 17, 19, October 16, 1909; Twitty interview, October 5, 1959.

⁶³ City Council Minutes, November 11, 1909; Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes, May 12, November 10, 1913 (II, 499, 531); Twitty interview, August 27, 1958.

⁶⁴ Twitty interview, October 5, 1959; Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 8, 1911, February 12, 1914.

⁶⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, November 2, 1911, March 7, 1912, November 18, 1921, May 8, 1923.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1912; Twitty interview, October 5, 1959.

⁶⁷ Twitty interview, August 27, 1958; City Council Minutes, February 25, October 7, 1916, April 16, 1917; City Commission Minutes, October 12, November 27, 1922.

⁶⁸ City Council Minutes, March 7, 1910, March 9, 1914; Lubbock *Avalanche*, November 13, 1913, April 28, 1921.

⁶⁰ City Council Minutes, November 15, 1915, July 5, 1917; City Commission Minutes, February 12, 1918.

⁷⁰ City Commission Minutes, March 15, 1921.

⁷¹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 4, 1912, August 12, 26, 1920, February 10, 17, 1921; City Council Minutes, March 9, 1914, March 17, July 31, 1917. In 1914 the city council turned down a request of the firemen to be allowed to hold another carnival.

⁷² City Council Minutes, January 29, 1917; Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 26, June 2, 1910.

⁷³ City Council Minutes, April 10, 1911, April 7, 1913, April 9, 1915, April 9, 1917.

⁷⁴ City Council Minutes, December 11, 1911, April 14, 1913, July 14, 1916; City Commission Minutes, December 21, 1922.

⁷⁵ City Council Minutes, January 9, 1911.

⁷⁶ City Commission Minutes, November 25, 1919, March 22, May 6, June 28, August 4, 1921.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1909, October 13, 1913, May 11, 1914.

⁷⁸ City Council Minutes, September 11, 1916, September 10, 17, 1917.

⁷⁹ Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes, March 18, 1914 (II, 567); Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 12, 1914.

⁸⁰ City Council Minutes, November 9, 1914, July 20, 1916; Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 23, 1914.

⁸¹ City Council Minutes, August 8, 1910.

⁸² *Ibid.*, May 28, October 11, 1915; May 28, 1918.

⁸³ City Commission Minutes, August 14, 1922; Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 26, 1922.

⁸⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 21, 1911.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, August 26, 1909.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, November 23, 1911.

⁸⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 1, 1910, November 23, 1911.

⁸⁸ Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 6, 1921, February 17, December 12, December 22, 1922, January 9, March 1, March 6, 1923.

⁸⁹ Lubbock County Clerk's records, Clerk's Criminal File Docket, I, 69-147, II, 1-166; Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 26, 1919.

⁹⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, October 24, November 28, 1912.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, February 20, 1923.

⁹² *Ibid.*, March 3, March 10, 1921.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, August 4, 1921.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, October 20, 1921, February 3, 1922.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 3, 31, 1921.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, December 30, 1921.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, April 17, 1923.

7

Health, Medicine, and Sanitation

Lawrence L. Graves

LUBBOCK is basically a healthful city. Its climate is dry and it has no large swamps or bodies of stagnant water to breed insects. And its altitude of approximately 3250 feet above sea level prevents intense heat in summer. Nevertheless, health and sanitation were enduring, and sometimes perplexing, problems for the growing city.

The city council quickly realized the need for officials charged with protecting the health of the city. In July 1909 it created the post of city physician, electing Dr. G. S. Murphy to the office at a salary of \$100 annually. Early the next year the council established the position of city health officer, who was required to be a competent physician of recognized standing and who had more authority than the city physician because he had the powers of a peace officer and could enforce his orders with the threat of arrest. As one of his principal duties the health officer was required to enforce the regulations regarding slaughter houses, and to inspect and approve meats offered for sale in the city. The post was not a lucrative one, and when Dr. R. M. Johnson was appointed to it in 1911, his salary was only fifteen dollars a month.¹

The city scavenger proved to be one of early Lubbock's most important officers. At one of its earliest meetings the city council appointed J. W. Graves to the place and defined his duties with some care. His major responsibility was the cleaning of all privies at regular intervals, for which he received a fee based on a sliding scale determined by the size of the residence or business house. For a private residence he received fifty cents a month. Boarding houses and business houses paid a dollar and a half a month; wagon yards and school houses, two dollars; and hotels and the courthouse, three dollars. He was required to use sufficient lime for disinfectant purposes, and could make his rounds only at night. Dead animals within the city not only offended the sensibilities of the citizens, but were a menace to health. The scavenger was required to remove such carcasses promptly to the city dump. For each horse, mule, or cow carted off his fee was a dollar, while for each hog, dog, or calf, it was fifty cents. The councilmen anticipated, correctly, that there would be complaints against having these services performed, and so they provided that failure to have scavenging work done, or refusal to pay the fees for it, should be classed as a misdemeanor with a fine of from five to twenty-five dollars on conviction.²

Until the city constructed its water and sewage systems, the scavenger fulfilled his tasks to most residents of the city. And even for a few years after these facilities became available people were reluctant to give up their windmills or hook into a sewer system. Graves served as scavenger until 1915, when he left to go into the feed and grain business. G. H. Hilton then became the scavenger, but on a slightly different basis. He was put on a straight salary at \$75 a month. The city bought a span of mules, harness, wagon, and other necessary equipment and for the next two years used them to keep the city clean. In December 1917 the city council declared it was abolishing its scavenger service and turned the business over to W. B. Craig. Craig paid \$55 a month for the scavenger's

concession, and received the city's wagon, mules, and other scavenging equipment for \$385.³

Live animals as well as dead ones were a considerable problem in 1909. Most people kept horses for their own use, raised pigs and cattle for food and milk, and had pets of various sorts. These they were accustomed to let run loose in search of whatever food or amusements they might be able to find. Many householders erected fences around their residences to keep wandering animals out, but fences had a habit of breaking or falling into disrepair. Addressing itself to the problem soon after it was formed, the city council took action. It ordained that not only were animals to be kept penned up, but those found at large were to be impounded and sold by the city marshal. The owner might reclaim his animal from the city pound, but would have to pay the cost of seizure and feeding. If he discovered his loss too late and the animal had already been sold, he could collect the sale price, less the costs of feeding and sale. This ordinance was distinctly unpopular with those who owned animals. In less than a month J. M. Dupree was before the city council with a petition signed by 163 persons asking that the ordinance be suspended until fall. J. B. Mobley protested in a letter to the *Avalanche* that milk-giving cows should be allowed to run at large so they could get food. The ordinance was designed to protect property around the square, he declared, and these cows would not hurt that anyway. If the owner had to keep them penned up and buy feed for them it would be too expensive and would take milk from little children. The council stood fast, however, and by a three-to-two vote tabled the petition indefinitely.⁴

Dog owners fared somewhat better. By paying a license fee of a dollar a year for each male, and two dollars for each female, the owner might allow his animals to run at large. Of course, he might ignore the ordinance, but if he failed to rescue his pet within forty-eight hours after it was impounded he ran the risk of having it killed.⁵

Early Lubbock depended heavily on its windmills, which forested the city with clanking blades swinging in the wind. There was one on the courthouse square used to pump water into a wooden watering trough. Each hotel and nearly every business house had its own windmill, as did just about every homeowner who could afford one. These tapped what was even then regarded as an inexhaustible water supply. Yet the city needed some better and more uniform source of water than private windmills. Not only would a public water supply be cheaper in the long run, but much more convenient than having to carry water in buckets into the kitchen or run a pipe into the house from a raised tank at the windmill. Also to be considered and avoided, especially after the epidemic of 1909, was the ever-present danger of typhoid fever from contaminated water supplies.

The Lubbock waterworks was constructed in 1911 and early 1912, on a plot purchased from J. A. Wilson at what is now 5th Street and Avenue J. The city dug a single well about 206 feet deep and bought a Fairbanks-Morse piston type engine to pump water into a concrete 150,000-gallon reservoir and a 75,000-gallon kettle-shaped raised tank. E. L. Dalton and Eugene Campbell built the first network of water mains in 1911. These were of cast iron, some of them eight inches in diameter and the rest six. The lines ran down to the square from the well and as far east as Avenue G, south to 16th Street, and west to Avenue O, covering only 35 blocks in all. It was several years, however, before the citizens one-by-one gave up their own private water supplies and shut down their windmills in favor of tapping into the city mains. A separate waterworks department was set up in September of 1912 and gradually the system was extended with the construction of new mains. The system worked well enough until 1916, when the city council bought new equipment and enlarged the plant at the same time it was constructing a city electric plant. Further improvements were made in 1920 and again in 1922. A

second well was drilled in 1914, and another in 1917, which were enough to supply the city's needs until the 1920's.⁶

Following their completion of the waterworks, Dalton and Campbell went to work on a sewerage system for the city, completing it early in 1912. The sewer system also covered the downtown district, running from Waco street in the Overton addition along an alley just west of the square, down towards the canyon where a septic tank and filter beds were established. The system, at least around the square, was dug to a depth of twelve feet, which meant the machine used to dig trenches for the water mains could not penetrate the layer of caliche. Owen McWhorter remembers that manholes four or five feet square were dug down at intervals of about fifty feet. A string was hung down from each side of the hole and men with picks and shovels were put down each hole and started tunneling toward each other, lining themselves up with the strings, until they finally met one another. Connection with the sewer system was made mandatory for property holders within reach of it by a city ordinance of September 1912.⁷

The city council adopted a basic sanitary code for the city in July 1912 based on a state code adopted in 1910. Physicians were required to report all cases of communicable diseases they were called upon to treat, and such patients were then promptly quarantined. Among the contagious diseases listed were: Asiatic cholera, bubonic plague, typhus, smallpox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, typhoid, measles, meningitis, trachoma, and tuberculosis. When he found a house where any of these diseases existed, the city health officer was supposed to see to it that the marshal put a yellow flag on the house or tacked on it a yellow card not less than eight by twelve inches bearing the words "contagious disease." In the case of smallpox, diphtheria, and scarlet fever, the house had to be placarded and the premises placed in absolute quarantine. The patient must be placed in complete isolation and when he had either re-

covered or died, a thorough disinfection of the property must take place. Children suffering from measles, whooping cough, mumps, German measles, or chicken pox were to be barred from school for twenty-one days by the health officer.⁸ Occasionally the fumigation process got out of hand and property was destroyed. On several occasions when this happened the city council was prevailed upon to make small cash awards to persons whose homes had been damaged by fire while being disinfected after a contagious disease.⁹

Lubbock was fortunate in escaping any really major epidemics during her early years, although there was a considerable amount of typhoid fever in the city in the summer of 1909, and outbreaks of measles, smallpox, and scarlet fever occurred from time to time among children. Death certificates were kept beginning in 1912. In the period from 1912-1919, these reveal that pneumonia was the greatest menace, as distinguished from degenerative diseases such as heart disease. Pneumonia accounted for thirty-six recorded deaths during this period. Tuberculosis ranked second as a killer, with twenty-four recorded deaths attributed to it. Surprisingly, diseases caused by defective diet outranked typhoid and influenza. Pellagra was listed as the cause of death in twelve cases, and malnutrition accounted for six more. Influenza was responsible for only ten deaths, most of which came during the great epidemic of 1918. Typhoid fever caused nine deaths over this span of years. In a day before antibiotics, peritonitis was relatively dangerous, leading to death in twelve instances. Cholera was reported as the cause of death only five times, while malaria, meningitis, scarlet fever, and measles together were responsible for only a handful of fatalities. Death from gunshot wounds was fairly frequent, eleven being reported from 1912-1919, while death from drowning, auto accident, and being struck by lightning claimed only one victim each.¹⁰

As was the case with hundreds of other cities across the country, Lubbock was seriously affected by the great influ-

enza epidemic of late 1918 and early 1919. The disease began to appear in the city during the early fall of 1918 and by October its manifestation was serious enough for the city council to become concerned. Mayor Parks discussed the situation with health officer Dr. William L. Baugh and other physicians with a view toward protecting the health of the city. A week later, on October 15, the city commission acted on the advice of Baugh and that of the Lubbock County Medical Association in closing all public schools, lodges, churches, theaters, and in postponing all public gatherings for ten days or until the commission rescinded its order. All cold drink stands, hotels, chili shops, barber shops, and the like were ordered to comply strictly with state health ordinances governing them or be closed until further notice. The commission instructed the city marshal to use sufficient assistance to make sure these orders were enforced. When these measures proved insufficient and the situation continued to worsen, the city commission met in special session on December 5, 1918, and in effect placed the whole city under strict quarantine by forbidding meetings of any sort, public or private, until December 29. The epidemic gradually ran its course, with Lubbock suffering less than other cities in colder and wetter climates, and sustaining only a relatively few deaths from influenza and the pneumonia which often followed.¹¹

It would be too much to say that Lubbock in its early years carried on any sustained campaign for the protection of the health of its citizens, but nevertheless there was a growing awareness of the need for some action. Slowly the city built up a set of sanitary regulations. Supervision of slaughter-houses and meat markets began early in 1910, with the city fathers showing a determination to keep a close watch on all meat as it was being prepared and sold. Pens where animals for slaughter were held had to be kept clean. Slaughter-houses were required to have floors and a supply of pure water. Their floors had to be thoroughly washed each day, with sufficient pre-

cautions taken so that the waste water would not pollute streams or wells. Employees must keep themselves neat and clean, and there should be cooling rooms for meat. The city health officer had supervisory powers over the sale of meat. Besides regulating the slaughter-houses he was also to inspect meat markets and all meat offered for sale to see that the markets were kept sanitary and that the meat was wholesome.¹²

The city took seriously the regulation of commercial meat handling establishments. From time to time the health officer, mayor, or committees from the Lubbock Civic League made inspection tours of such places. In June 1914 an inspection group discovered a slaughter-house violating the sanitary regulations. At about the same time two meat markets were discovered to be in similar violation of the law. The health officer was instructed to make sure that these violations ceased.¹³

With the growth of the city, new regulations governing the sale of meat became necessary. In November 1923 a city ordinance created the office of inspector of food under the head of the health department. The principal duty of the inspector was to make certain all animals were inspected, both before and after they were slaughtered. At the same time a municipal slaughter-house was established where the killing and inspection were to be carried on.¹⁴

Lubbock began early to build its reputation as one of the cleanest cities in the nation. Led by the irrepressibly optimistic editor of the Lubbock *Avalanche*, James L. Dow, the chorus of those urging a cleaner, more attractive city began to swell. A month after the city was incorporated, Dow praised county officials for planting trees on the courthouse lawn and urged private citizens to follow the good example set by the county. A few issues later he was urging that the business district be cleaned up, trash cans be placed on street corners, and that residents keep their premises clean and sanitary. Women's clubs and other private groups soon followed Dow's lead in urging action to spruce up the city. A combination of civic

pride and business interest began to effervesce and lead the city forward even before it had any paved streets and while the only grass that dared appear was devoured by foraging cattle and horses.¹⁵

Cleanup campaigns became common in the city. The first one was held on March 10, 1910, in conjunction with a cleanup day established on a state-wide basis. During the summer of that year the city council's committee on streets and alleys hired a man to clear the trash out of downtown alleys. In February of 1911 the mothers' club, represented by Mrs. J. K. Wester, Mrs. W. L. Baugh, and Mrs. R. A. Sowder, was instrumental in having February 18 set as the annual cleanup day. In 1913 three days in April were set aside as cleanup days. A year later the Civic League campaigned throughout the spring for the removal of debris from streets and alleys. When the two cleanup days sponsored by the League on March 27 and 28 were not well observed because of a lack of planning, its leaders prevailed upon the mayor and city council to proclaim two more on April 17 and 18, which were better observed. The Civic League also put on a novel "swat that fly" campaign in the spring of 1914. Doctors Hutchinson and Peebler agreed to pay ten cents for every hundred dead flies brought to their offices by any of the children of the town. The children responded so enthusiastically that by the latter part of June the doctors had paid out over \$50 for dead flies and had reduced their bounty to twenty-five cents a pint. Perhaps they balked at counting so many insects.¹⁶ In the summer of 1916, spurred on by women's clubs and the Chamber of Commerce, the city council launched a vigorous offensive against the weeds infesting vacant lots. The council appropriated \$700 to hire a man with a mower to get rid of the weeds and divided the city into districts with a volunteer woman supervisor in charge of each. There was some dissension on the council over the project, but it was carried through.¹⁷

The most vigorous cleanup campaign, however, came in the

spring of 1921. In March representatives from twenty-two clubs met to map an assault on weeds, trash, old building materials, and other unsightly conditions. Each club was made responsible for a section of the city and appointed its own leaders to direct the campaign in its area. Over-all director of the campaign was Curtis A. Keen, who used a small fund the city had set aside to haul away trash that was reported in wagon-load size. When the woman in charge of her district thought it was ready for inspection she reported to the Chamber of Commerce and an inspection visit was made. The campaign went on for several weeks, and resulted not only in homeowners cleaning up their premises, but in city officials ordering the cleanup of a vacant downtown lot owned by the city where some old cement blocks had been dumped. Downtown alleys were cleaned out, and the Lubbock Inn cleared off a lot near its premises. During the civic enthusiasm that was generated a Civic Council was set up which it was hoped would become a permanent organization to direct future campaigns.¹⁸

Appropriate ordinances and resolutions supported these annual cleanup days and special campaigns to make the city more attractive. An ordinance of July 1909 anticipated later sanitary regulations by requiring restaurants, hotels, boarding-houses, soda fountains, grocery stores, and others with disposable garbage to provide iron receptacles for it and to empty them at least every other day. In 1914 the city council had the city secretary cooperate with the health officer in defining quarantine regulations more clearly. Later that year pamphlets containing the sanitary regulations of the city were printed and distributed to prevent violations from being committed through ignorance. A later ordinance required that watermelon rinds be suitably disposed of to avoid drawing flies. Another anti-fly ordinance was drawn in 1918 to prohibit the storage of hides or bones or anything that would draw flies and leave an offensive odor. Still another regulation forbade

the dumping of weeds, paper boxes, lumber, stone, brick, or other trash in any street or alley. In 1921 the city commission attacked the problem of absentee owners and others who refused to care for their vacant lots. The city health officer was to file notice with the city secretary of the need for cleaning up trash and weeds on lots within the city. The secretary would then notify the property holder to get it done. If he failed to conform to the ruling, the city commission would hold a hearing and give him five days in which to comply. After that the city would do the work and assess him on the tax rolls. The difficulty with this ordinance lay in the fact that the city could not collect any assessments made against property for weed cutting until the property was sold—which might not happen for decades.¹⁹

With these various measures and methods, then, Lubbock began to groom itself in order to present as attractive an appearance to the outside world as possible. Many townspeople held firmly to the belief in future greatness for the city and seemingly were attempting to hurry their dreams into reality as rapidly as possible.

HEALTH SERVICES

Much of the responsibility for the health of the city lay, at the time of its incorporation, in the hands of a small corps of physicians that was to expand and develop until the city became a medical center of the South Plains. Twelve doctors regularly advertised their services in the Lubbock *Avalanche* by late 1909. Doctors Baugh and Overton had been in the city for several years, although by 1909 Overton had given up practicing in favor of a brief interlude as president of the First National Bank. Dr. J. T. Hutchinson came in the summer of 1909 and promptly fell victim of the typhoid epidemic then sweeping the city. Other doctors advertising their availability were R. J. Hall, Robert Jones, W. L. Garland, J. E. Minyard, O. F. Peebler, S. H. Adams, L. G. Oxford, and

J. A. Craven. Dr. Orville Westlake, M.D., advertised as a "medical electrician" specializing in the diseases of women and children. Doctors J. N. Stoops and G. S. Murphy advertised their Lubbock Sanitarium and Hospital. All but two listed their offices as being in either the Star, Palace, or Lubbock drug stores.²⁰

Drug stores were favorite sites for doctors' offices because the druggist usually gave space rent-free, and because the doctor was close to the drugs he needed. Dr. Overton first officed in a small drug store he bought and sold several times, and later was located in the Lubbock Mercantile Building when it burned. Dr. Baugh's office was first in the Star Drug Store, and later in the Temple Ellis building. He and Dr. J. T. Hall shared offices for some nineteen years. Dr. Hutchinson's first office was in the rear of the Lubbock Drug store, where SSS Drug now stands on Texas Avenue. Later he moved to the second floor of the Lubbock Mercantile Company building. From about 1911-1928 he was located above the First National Bank at the corner of Texas and Main.²¹

Lubbock's first hospital was called the Lubbock Sanitarium and Hospital. It was located in the Overton addition at what would now be Main Street and Avenue O, on two lots donated by Dr. Overton. It was established by Doctors Stoops and Murphy, whose advertisement in the Lubbock *Avalanche* showed an imposing two-story frame building "located on a commanding elevation just west of the city."²² The sanitarium had twenty-two rooms, a library, electric and gas lights, and other modern facilities. It was not a success, however, and Dr. Stoops soon left. Dr. Murphy carried it on for some time alone, but at a financial loss. In April 1912 he closed the sanitarium and moved to Amarillo. In September Dr. Charles F. Clayton returned to Lubbock after an absence of several years, and late in that month he and Dr. Overton opened a hospital they called the Lubbock Sanitarium. When their attempt to secure the old Nicolett hotel failed, they repaired the same

building used by the original Lubbock Sanitarium and Hospital and occupied it.²³ In 1913 Clayton and Overton dissolved their partnership, with Dr. Clayton keeping the Lubbock Sanitarium and operating it for several more years. Dr. Overton opened his own hospital in September 1913 in the old Tremont Hotel building on North Cedar Street just north of the present Caprock Hotel in the 1000 block of Texas Avenue, calling it the Overton Sanitarium. Dr. Wagner came in time to join him in opening the new sanitarium. In 1917 Mayor C. E. Parks built a three-story brick building at what is now 10th Street and Texas Avenue for a hospital, and leased it to Dr. Overton and Dr. Wagner. This was known as the West Texas Sanitarium.²⁴

What was later to become Methodist Hospital had its beginning in 1917 when Doctors J. T. Hutchinson, O. F. Peebler and A. R. Ponton began construction of a new Lubbock Sanitarium at Broadway and Avenue L on the site of the present Dunlap's department store. The building was not quite ready for use when the severe storm and cold wave of January 1918 struck the city and brought the sanitarium's thirty-five-bed facilities into premature operation. In 1919 Dr. J. T. Krueger joined this group. In 1920 they purchased the building housing the West Texas Sanitarium, whereupon Dr. Overton joined them. Peebler and Ponton soon left, and for many years Hutchinson, Krueger, and Overton owned the Lubbock Sanitarium, enlarging and improving it several times over a period of years before renaming it Methodist Hospital.²⁵

The origins of the West Texas Hospital go back to 1920. When the Overton Sanitarium was converted into what is now the St. Francis Hotel, a group of citizens, friends of Dr. Wagner, formed the West Texas Hospital Association. Eventually over 360 people scattered over the South Plains pledged \$125,000 to build a new hospital. It was begun in the summer of 1920 in the 1300 block of Main Street and completed in March 1922. Its original staff was composed of Doctors Baugh,

Craven, Hall, Stewart, Starnes, and Wagner. While it was building, the doctors used as their temporary hospital the old Lubbock Sanitarium building of Stoops and Murphy which had been moved to Main and Avenue L.²⁶

Both the Lubbock Sanitarium and West Texas Hospital gave training to nurses almost as soon as each was opened. In a day when the closest other hospitals were at least a hundred miles away, this was necessary if any nurses at all were to be available for Lubbock and for other clinics and hospitals as they began to spring up on the South Plains. It was one reason why Lubbock became a medical center.²⁷

Medical practice on the South Plains early in the century was difficult and reminiscent of experiences in earlier settlements in other parts of the country. Doctors sometimes traveled as much as a hundred miles across the plains to reach a patient. Usually they drove buggies, getting fresh horses every twenty miles or so from line camps of ranches. Dr. Overton carried a phone with a long wire attached to it. When he came to a telephone line he threw the wire over the line and could talk with the operator and keep in touch with his office.²⁸ Since they could never tell what medicines they would need, physicians carried as many drugs as possible with them, using a special bag to hold forty or fifty bottles and vials. If they had to send fifty miles into town for drugs, the patient probably would be beyond need of them when they arrived. The doctor used the back of a dinner plate for mixing his powders, measuring them out with the blade of his pocket knife. The doses would then be divided up and put into separate envelopes. Doctors became skillful at telling the amount of medicine needed by how much of a knife blade was covered. Medical bags were of course necessary, and doctors usually carried several with them. Dr. Baugh had three, one for medicines, one for surgery, and one for obstetrics. Instruments were few in number, with scalpels, forceps, probes for bullets, and obstetrical instruments the mainstays.²⁹

Doctors were almost always general practitioners, although as early as 1909 Dr. Hutchinson specialized in diseases of the eye, ear, nose, and throat. Dr. Overton once exclaimed, "I don't know how I practiced medicine fifty years ago. . . . It's a wonder anybody ever got well."³⁰ But they did practice, and people did get well. Dr. Overton during his career delivered nearly three thousand babies, and Dr. Baugh brought over two thousand into the world. Although most of these deliveries were in homes where sanitary facilities were almost non-existent, there were very few infections in either mothers or children. Operations were usually performed on the spot, often on kitchen tables, with a member of the patient's family administering the anesthetic. Ether was so bulky and hard to handle that chloroform was the common anesthetic, dripped drop by drop onto a cloth held over the patient's nostrils. Appendectomies were fairly common, although not so much so as the setting of bones broken by cowboys when thrown from their horses. Gunshot wounds were fairly common, although mainly from accident (doctors seldom probed for information other than the location of the bullet). To the harassed physicians of that day, who had practiced so long without adequate facilities, Lubbock's early sanitariums were a godsend.³¹

The early doctors realized their shortcomings and worked diligently to overcome them. Most of them had taken their training when medical schools were less well-organized than they later became, and many Lubbock physicians made it a lifelong practice to attend postgraduate courses at leading medical schools. In order to improve medical practice several physicians gathered in Lubbock on January 23, 1909, to form the Lubbock-Crosby County Medical Society. Lubbock doctors took a prominent part in the affairs of the society, and one or more of them were usually to be found among its list of officers. Their meetings were held several times a year, usually in the office of some Lubbock doctor. Papers on technical medical subjects were usually read, which often led into spir-

ited discussions. Doctors Hutchinson, Baugh, Peebler, Overton, Wagner, and Hall were especially loyal members of the organization during the early years when it was struggling to strengthen itself and to improve the practice of medicine on the South Plains.³²

Drug stores were important to the doctors, as well as to the rest of the community. For the person who prescribed for himself, patent medicines such as Peruna, Podolox, Cardui, Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, and the Hot Springs Remedy (guaranteed to cure almost any known disease), were kept in stock and readily dispensed. But a prescription written by a doctor normally had to be compounded by the druggist. The walls of a drug store were usually lined with shelves full of patent-medicine bottles and half-gallon jars containing tinctures and liquids the pharmacist had put up ready for use. He had his drug counter at the rear of the store, where he kept his scales, spatulas, glass mixing square, and other required tools. With the prescription before him the druggist took the necessary ingredients down from the shelves, carefully measured them out, and mixed them. Then he took the resulting powder and poured it into a small envelope with the name of the drug store on it. If it were a liquid he had put up, he put it into the proper-size bottle, and capped it with a cork selected from the large number he had stored beneath the counter.³³

Lubbock had three drug stores in 1909, the Star, the Palace, and the Lubbock Drug Company. The Palace Drug Store was on the south side of the square, near where Montgomery Ward's now stands, the Star Drug Store was on the west side of the square about where the Lyric Theater stands. The Lubbock Drug Company was next to the First National Bank, where SSS Drug now is. Besides the medicines they gave out, drug stores already were beginning to branch out into the vast array of merchandise they now stock. Perfume was a favorite item, as was jewelry. Sometimes the store had a watchmaker,

as in the case of the Star Drug where Walter Norton held forth for several years. In the spring of 1909 the Devoe Paint Company was urging Lubbockites to brighten their houses with their product, which they could get at the Palace Pharmacy. At the same time the Star Drug Store was catering to the ladies with its assortment of combs, brushes, soaps, face powders, lotions, and other cosmetics, and appealing to the athletically inclined with its supplies of baseball, football, and croquet equipment. It also boasted of its newly-arrived Kodaks. Soft drinks were coming into favor and became increasingly popular after the Lubbock Bottling Company began business in 1910 on East Broadway and put its daily production of two hundred cases on the market. Ice cream was of course indispensable to the small fry and their elders, and became more available when ice deliveries began in 1910. No self-respecting drug store would be found without its glass-topped tables made of heavy iron wire with chairs to match, where ladies could rest from their shopping on a warm summer's afternoon. To attract the men there were stocks of the popular brands of cigars and cigarettes.³⁴

Funerals were infrequent in early Lubbock because of the sparse population, and because most people were relatively young when they came to the country. But funerals gradually increased in number. They were widely attended because they occurred so seldom and because everyone knew everyone else and came out of respect. Early Lubbock had no undertakers as such, although J. D. Caldwell made coffins. By late 1909, however, S. W. Pease was advertising in the *Avalanche* as a licensed embalmer with headquarters at the Lubbock Hardware and Furniture Company. At about the same time W. E. Robinson's Furniture Company was also handling funerals. Three years later H. R. McGinty was also doing undertaking. Others who soon entered the profession were J. C. Duff, J. A. Rix, E. C. Simmons, and A. C. Sanders. What was probably the first funeral home in the city was established about

the time of World War I in the Robinson Furniture Store on Broadway. Another early funeral home was the Lubbock Undertaking Company, run by J. C. Duff. A. C. Sanders had been an apprentice of Duff's and when the latter sold out to Rix, Sanders managed the resulting Rix Furniture and Undertaking Company, which was first located on the northeast corner of Broadway and Avenue J. Burial for local citizens was in Lubbock Cemetery, located about three miles southeast of the courthouse. Reverend Liff Sanders preached probably more funeral sermons than any other minister of that era, since he came to Lubbock in 1900 and has resided on the South Plains since then.³⁵

FOOTNOTES

¹ City Council Minutes, July 12, 1909, March 2, 1910, May 11, 1911.

² City Council Minutes, April 13, 28, 1909.

³ City Council Minutes, March 8, 1915, December 15, 1917.

⁴ City Council Minutes, May 13, June 5, 1909; Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 17, 1909.

⁵ City Council Minutes, May 13, 1909.

⁶ City Council Minutes, June 19, July 14, 1911, September 19, 1912, September 8, 1913, December 28, 1916, April 26, 1917, November 23, 1920, November 3, 1922. The first water rates, adopted by the city council on March 7, 1912, provided for a minimum charge of \$1 per month for the first 2000 gallons, 40¢ per thousand gallons for the next 3000, 35¢ per thousand for the next 5000 gallons, 30¢ per thousand for the next 10,000 gallons, and 25¢ per thousand gallons to users of from 20,000 gallons and upward per month.

⁷ City Council Minutes, June 19, 1911; January 23, July 8, 1912. Owen McWhorter to Jean Paul, interview, July 15, 1958.

⁸ City Council Minutes, July 15, 1912.

⁹ City Council Minutes, January 11, 1912, April 12, 1915.

¹⁰ City of Lubbock, Certificates of Death, I, passim, II, 1-21.

¹¹ City Commission Minutes, October 8, 15, December 5, 1918.

¹² City Council Minutes, March 2, 1910. By ordinance of July 12, 1909, the City Council forbade the keeping of any pigs within the city limits.

¹³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 11, 1914, cited in Rush, *The Formative Years of Lubbock*; City Council Minutes, April 13, 1914.

¹⁴ City Commission Minutes, November 26, 1923.

¹⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 6, July 8, 1909.

¹⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 3, 17, 1910; February 26, April 2, 9, June 25, 1914, City Council Minutes, July 14, 1910; February 1, 1911, March 10, 1913.

¹⁷ City Council Minutes, July 28, August 15, 1916.

¹⁸ Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 17, 24, April 7, 1921.

¹⁹ City Council Minutes, July 12, 1909, May 11, September 13, 1914,

August 12, 1917; City Commission Minutes, February 12, 1918, September 9, 1919, March 22, 1921; Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 15, 1909, July 14, 1921.

²⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 6, November 11, 1909; Dr. M. C. Overton to Barbara Campbell, interview, March 25, 1954.

²¹ Overton interview, March 25, 1954; Dr. W. L. Baugh to Barbara Campbell, interview, September 16, 1954; Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 23, 1957.

²² Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 6, 1909.

²³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 18, August 22, September 19, 1912.

²⁴ Dr. Charles Wagner to Barbara Campbell, interview, April 8, 1954; Overton interview, March 25, 1954; Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 11, 1913.

²⁵ Hutchinson interview, March 6, 1954.

²⁶ Wagner interview, April 8, 1954; Baugh interview, September 16, 1954; Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 16, 1920.

²⁷ Hutchinson interview, March 6, 1954.

²⁸ Baugh interview, September 16, 1954; Overton interview, March 25, 1954.

²⁹ Dr. W. L. Baugh to Jean Paul, interview, June 18, 1958.

³⁰ Overton interview, March 25, 1954.

³¹ Baugh interview, June 18, 1958; Overton interview, March 25, 1954.

³² Hutchinson interview, March 6, 1954; Lubbock-Crosby County Medical Society minute book, in the Southwest Collection, pp. 3, 54. Charter members from Lubbock were Overton, Hall, Baugh, Oxford, Garland, Jones, Murphy, and Stoops. Dr. Overton was the first president of the society.

³³ Baugh interview, June 18, 1958; Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 19, 1914.

³⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 8, 15, October 8, 1909.

³⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, November 11, 1909, March 2, 1911; December 5, 1918; Reverend Liff Sanders to Jean Paul, interview, June 20, 1958.

8

Economic, Social, and Cultural Developments

Lawrence L. Graves

AMONG THE best yardsticks for measuring a community's growth and spirit are her businesses, churches, schools, and other cultural groupings. These not only allow one to take note of the physical growth of a city, but also to point up her state of maturity and depth. During the period we have been surveying, stretching from 1909 to 1923, Lubbock laid the basis of her society, with her people sinking their roots deep into the prairie soil and learning to love her and devote themselves to her. She saw and felt the pangs of youth and immaturity as she gradually developed the vigor and strength of an expanding and progressive southwestern city. At mid-century men would still wonder at the speed of her development.

In 1909 the business district of Lubbock resembled most others on the South Plains, with the inevitable public square surrounded by weatherbeaten, unpainted frame buildings straggling out along dusty and unpaved streets as if anxious



1. The George W. Singer Family.



2. Lubbock County's First Courthouse in the 1890's.



3. The O'Bannon Freighting Outfit, 1896.



4. Mail and Passenger Hacks in Front of Caldwell's General Store and the Post Office about 1900. Transportation in Early Lubbock



5. Tent Home on the Prairie near Lubbock, 1906.



6. Half-Dugout on the Plains near Lubbock.



7. Box Shanty near Lubbock.

8. Small Frame Home in Lubbock, 1903.



All Stagecoach was used in the early 1890's

I. L. Hunt, deceased F. E. Wheelock.
X X

driver of
the coach.



Prospector

Wheeler

Prospectors

9. I. L. Hunt, Frank Wheelock, and Prospective Settlers in the 1890's.



10. The West Side of the Square Looking South about 1900.



11. The South Side of the Square in 1907.

12. The West Side of the Square about 1909 or 1910.

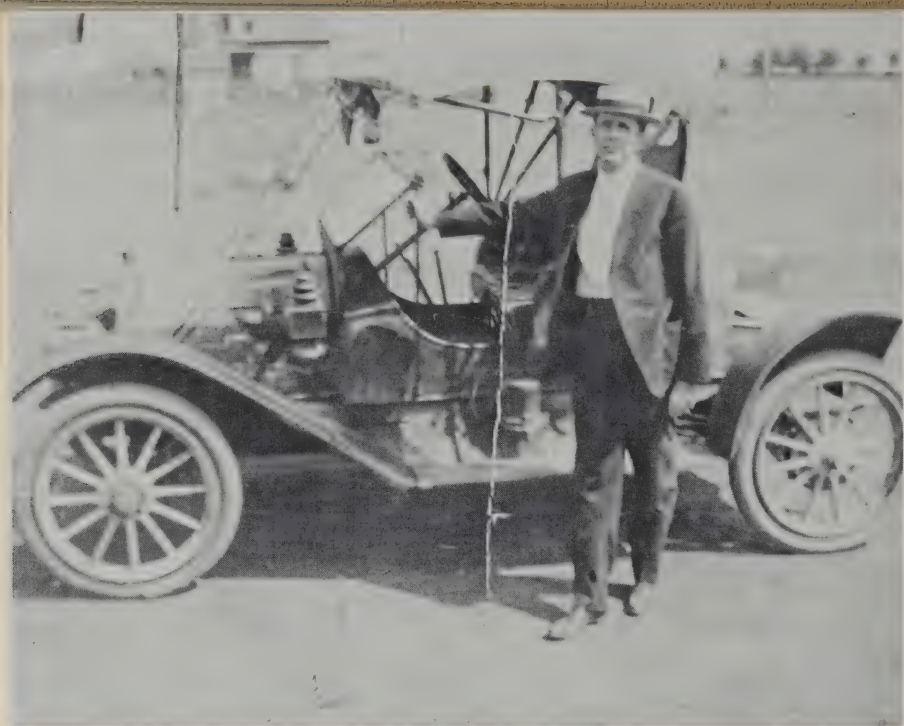




13. Looking West Past the Nicolett Hotel along Present Broadway about 1904 or 1905.

14. It Does Rain in Lubbock. Corner of Texas Avenue and Main Street where the Caprock Hotel Now Stands, about 1909.





15. Dr. M. C. Overton Beside His Buick Car in 1907.

16. An Early Wolf-Hunting Party. Chaperons Are in the Buggy at Far Right.





17. View of Lubbock in 1907 Looking Northwest Toward the Square.



18. The Caption Reads "N. W. Corner Town Section 1909, Lubbock, Texas."



19. The Santa Fe Railroad Yards in Lubbock, 1909.



20. S. A. Richmond Furniture Store, 1907. S. A. Richmond Seated at Desk, J. M. Johnson Back of Desk, and Will Anderson, Son-in-Law of Richmond, at Left.

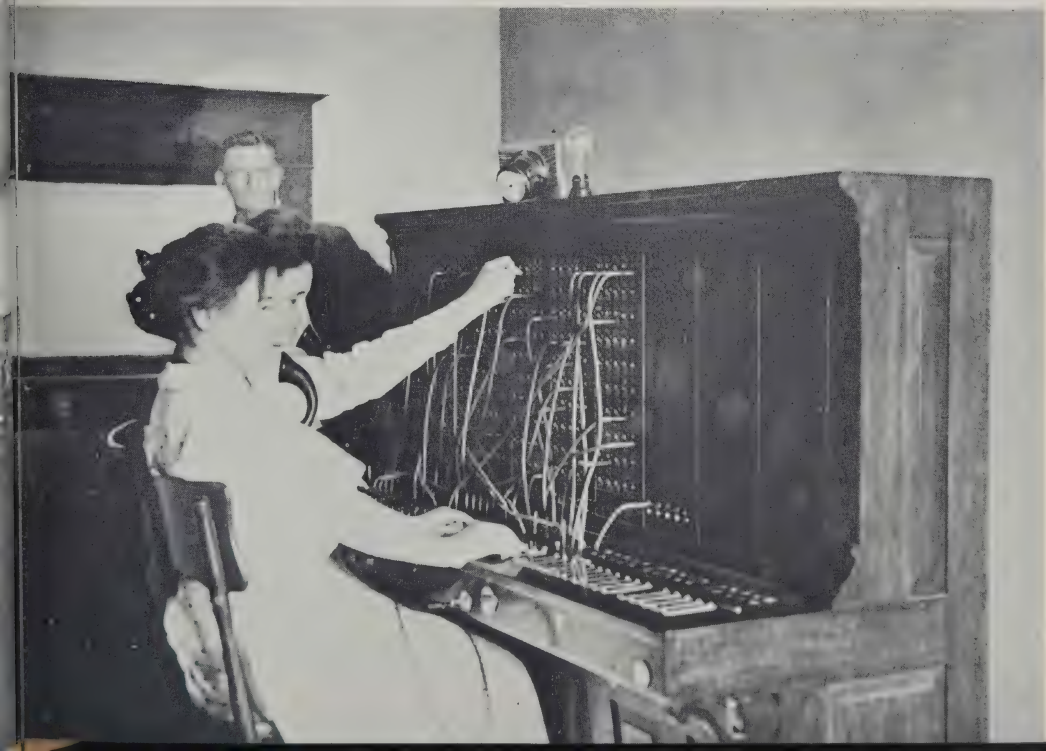
21. Western Windmill Company Hardware Store about 1910. Clerk at Left, Manager Smylie C. Wilson in Center.





22. The Staked Plains Telephone Company Office Was on the Second Floor of the Building in the Foreground. The Nicolett Hotel Is on the Corner Behind the Wagon.

23. Switchboard of the Staked Plains Telephone Company, 1906-1909. Owner C. W. Alexander in Background.





24. Lubbock's First Cotton Gin in 1904. It Had One Stand.

25. Early Irrigation Well near Lubbock about 1912.



to hide their identity, yet afraid of the uncut prairie. Most of the business district was concentrated west and south of the square, with frequent interruptions by weed-filled vacant lots. A "prospector" surveying the business possibilities of the city in the fall of 1909 would be both encouraged and discouraged — heartened by the opportunities, and disheartened at the facilities available. If he mounted to the upper story of the courthouse he could survey virtually the entire community from his vantage point. Beyond the square to the east, Chestnut Street (Avenue G) lay barren of anything except two garages, two planing mills, and a second-hand store. Allowing his gaze to move to the south side of the square, along South First Street (Broadway), he would encounter a thicker collection of businesses — two hotels, two barber shops, several land offices, and a few other small enterprises stretching half-way down South Singer Street (Avenue H) southward from the center of the square. The west side of the square, up and down Cedar Street (Texas Avenue) and a block to the north and south of the square, was the most thickly lined with buildings. All three banks were there, as were several land companies, drugstores, cafes, two hotels, the Opera House, and several other places. Turning to the north side of the square, the surveyor of the scene would find the business houses thinning out again, with only a dozen or fifteen small businesses established along North First Street (Main Street), and none at all down North Singer Street which emerged from the center of the square going north. In whatever direction he looked, the visitor would see only rows of weathered frame buildings which seemed to have taken on the hue of their dusty surroundings. Only their false fronts bolstered their pride, with occasional outside stairways appearing to hint at the lack of space that would one day develop in the downtown area. Westward beyond the business district the residential section was beginning to fill in with an occasional one or two-story frame house. North First Street was the preferred location,

with South First Street gaining in popularity. After the location of the railroad in 1909 the eastern part of the city came increasingly to be regarded as on the "wrong side of the tracks" so far as residential property was concerned. Visitors must have been impressed by the monotony of the buildings, the comparatively small size of the business enterprises — and by the air of enthusiasm and energy that dominated the scene.

The combination of civic pride and hope of profit that did so much to speed the growth of early Lubbock may be seen in many of the early business ventures started in the city. In 1908 Dr. M. C. Overton donated two lots in his addition to the original town, in this way helping along the building of a sanitarium planned by Doctors Stoops and Murphy, and at the same time making lots in the addition more attractive to buyers. A year or two later Dr. Overton started a concrete block factory as a business venture, but also because the city needed building materials. When the Lubbock Ice and Light Company was founded in 1909, it was from a combination of these same two motives. Besides Dr. Overton there were many other early leaders endowed with this spirit of community progress. Among them were Frank Wheelock, Walter Posey, O. L. Slaton, Colby Thomas, James L. Dow, Andy Wilson, K. Carter, and virtually all the businessmen in the city.

In addition to the enterprises mentioned elsewhere, early Lubbock had many others which gave her the framework for a sound development. When incorporation came in 1909, the city had three banks, the First National, the Lubbock State, and the Citizens National. The First National was established in 1901, the Citizens in 1906, and the Lubbock State in 1908. Of these, the First National was the largest in 1909, listing \$317,363.51 in assets in July of that year, followed by the Lubbock State Bank with \$249,214.62, and by the Citizens National in third place with assets of \$201,199.82. At that time the Citizens National was on the southwest corner of Broadway and South Cedar Street (Texas Avenue). Directly across

Broadway, on the northwest corner of Broadway and Cedar, stood the Lubbock State Bank, while on the north end of this same block, on the southwest corner of North First Street (Main) and North Cedar Street (Texas Avenue) the First National Bank did business.¹ In the summer of 1911 both the Citizens and the First National carried out extensive remodeling of their buildings, and in the fall of 1912 the Lubbock State officials tore down most of the exterior of their building and replaced it with brick.² In 1915 the Lubbock State Bank absorbed the First National, and in April 1917 C. E. Maedgen came from Temple, Texas, to found the Security State Bank, the genesis of the later Lubbock National Bank. In 1921 the Lubbock State Bank was rechartered as the First National Bank of Lubbock. For a time in the late 'teens the Farmers National Bank was also in operation. During this period George C. Wolffarth guided the destinies of the Citizens National, O. L. Slaton as president and Walter S. Posey as cashier managed the affairs of Lubbock State, and Dr. Overton and later L. T. and C. E. Lester looked after the First National. In the long run the soundness of her banks was to be of much significance in the future economic stability of the city. In the early days the Citizens National tended to be the cattle-men's bank, and the Lubbock State the farmers.³

When the first train carrying immigrants from other parts of the country arrived over the Santa Fe tracks in the middle of March 1910, the fact began to be driven home to the community that hotels were an important factor in impressing visitors with the desirability of permanent location in the area. In 1909 Lubbock boasted of three hotels. Oldest was the Nicolett, which was as old as the town itself. For many years it stood on the southwest corner of South First Street and South Singer Street as a large three-story frame building with a large veranda across its front, and with a second-story porch enclosed by a railing. In 1909 Mrs. Mollie D. Abernathy acquired the Nicolett, papered and painted all forty-five of its

rooms, put new furniture in the dining room, and hired B. P. Osborne, former manager of the Amarillo Hotel, to run it. For a number of years the Nicolett had an annex on the east side of South Singer Street. In May 1909 Van Sanders and a man named Harden acquired this two-story frame building and reopened it as the Clyde Hotel and Cafe. A few weeks later, T. S. Jackson put up a thirty-room frame building on east Broadway between where the post office and the underpass are now located. This was known as the Jackson Rooming House. The other two hotels doing business in 1909 were the McLarry Hotel on the west side of North Cedar Street in the block north of the square, and the Lubbock Hotel, which stood next to the McLarry on its north side. Early the next year J. M. Patton took over the McLarry and renamed it the Tremont. It changed hands again within a few months, becoming the Lydell. In 1912 two new hotels opened, the Carletos and the Howard House. The latter occupied a fifty-room brick building built on the spot now occupied by the Caprock Hotel on the northwest corner of Texas and Main. Merrill and Roberds built this hotel building, which had a dining room on the first floor and a parlor on the second. The name was changed later to the Rabb House, and then to the Merrill Hotel.⁴

Hotel-building seemed to lag until World War I was over, when several new hotels were opened. In May 1919 Mrs. John LeMond opened a new one two blocks west of the post office, in the building once housing the Lubbock Sanitarium of Stoops and Murphy. Called the Howard Hotel, it was managed by the same Howard who had formerly managed the hotel bearing his name. What was to become Lubbock's best-known hotel and eating place of the 1920's was opened largely through the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce. In their attempt to promote the city, directors of the chamber approached a well-known hotelman at Canyon, Clark Smith. When Smith showed interest, several men leased the building

erected some three years before to house the West Texas Sanitarium. The building was remodeled into a three-story, forty-room hotel which opened on September 1, 1920, as the Lubbock Inn, with Smith as manager. In 1921 the Cova Hotel opened, with Mrs. S. C. Darby as manager. It was located just west of where the present Lubbock Hotel now stands at the corner of Broadway and Avenue K. With its brick construction housing twenty-seven rooms and a dining room, it too was well-known during the twenties.⁵ By the beginning of its second decade the city had thus acquired accommodations for the growing number of conventions and meetings attracted to the city.

There were other business developments that indicated the steady growth of the city. Indicative of the faith held by many businessmen in the future of the city was the fact that in 1909 no less than fifteen land companies were hard at work advertising its promises and offering to sell city lots and farmland at rates they declared would never again be as low. Another promising field was opened up with the coming of the automobile. By 1914 there were half a dozen or more automobile dealers in town. The Bradley Auto Sales Company, successors to the Phillips-Bradley Auto Company which had handled Fords, Maxwells, and Cadillacs, advertised and sold Fords. Tubbs Brothers handled Buicks and featured pictures of sporty roadsters in the *Avalanche*. Royalty and Benson sold Hupmobiles. Cadillacs could be had at Spaulding Brothers, who also operated in Abilene and Midland. Slaton Auto Supply Company sold Reo cars, and H. F. Rice had the now-forgotten Detroit car. Garages and filling stations were springing up to service the growing number of cars in the city. The Waters-Pierce Oil Company was operating by 1909, and by 1912 the Magnolia Oil Company and the Texas Company had outlets in the city. In October 1909 the *Avalanche* listed two garages, the Lubbock Auto Transfer Garage and Parker's Garage; both were on the west side of Chestnut

Street and occupied adjoining buildings. Another early garage was that of the Cass Auto Company, which began operation about 1910. In October 1912 W. O. and R. I. Tubbs acquired this business and operated it as the Tubbs Brothers Garage. By the spring of 1914 Royalty and Wilson were advertising "Auto accessories, gas, oils, etc. Repair work a specialty."⁶ The automobile business flourished so well and public interest in cars grew so steadily that Lubbock auto dealers held their first auto show in April 1921 in the garage of the Cadillac dealer. By 1923 the show had grown to a three-day affair held in the community auditorium. Under the direction of a Mrs. Stiffens, the show featured special entertainment and an exhibit of a "French 75" artillery piece from the local battery of the National Guard.⁷

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Religion has always played an important part in the cultural life of Lubbock, and early residents were proud of the steady growth shown by the several denominations which established themselves in the city. Early in 1909 Lubbock could boast of four churches: the First Methodist, First Baptist, Church of Christ, and Presbyterian. Within a few months two more denominations, the Cumberland Presbyterian and the Christian were active.⁸ In addition to the several churches that had already been built, several more were constructed in 1909 and 1910 — although as late as June 1909 the Presbyterians were still holding Sunday School in the Opera House every Sunday morning and supplementing this with church services three Sundays a month. In August of 1909 the Cumberland Presbyterian congregation erected a \$1500 frame building thirty by forty-four feet on North First (Main) Street.⁹ Early the next year the First Nazarene church was built in the south part of town, and a few months later the First Christian Church was built. In the spring of 1909 the Episcopalians as yet had no building, but an Episcopalian mis-

sion was organized in June. Called "St. Paul's on the Plains," its missionary curate was to be Reverend Edwin Weary, with headquarters at either Amarillo or Plainview.¹⁰

Religious life in the city, then as now, was rich and varied. Besides the regular Sunday services in the growing list of churches, there were frequent revival meetings. The *Avalanche* reported in August 1909 that a large tent meeting was being conducted in the city by Reverend T. T. Martin. It lasted three weeks and as a result the membership of the Baptist church was said to have been increased by over seventy.¹¹ These revival meetings were usually held in the summer months and sometimes followed one another closely. In July 1913, for example, the Methodists had recently concluded a revival meeting, the Church of Christ was in the midst of one, and the Nazarene and Baptist churches were preparing for theirs. A year later the pastors' association planned a great union revival meeting. Five churches, the Methodist, South Side Christian, First Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian, Nazarene, and Episcopal, agreed to cooperate, with Baptists participating as individuals.¹² The community was understandably proud of the fact that Lubbock even before the first World War was a favorite gathering place for conferences and meetings of various church groups on the South Plains. To many this was received as further evidence that the high moral climate of the city was recognized and its future assured.

In a day before government took over much of the burden of charitable activities, Lubbock congregations shouldered many burdens of the needy. Although records are scant, each parish undoubtedly took care of its own members who might fall into want. Each denomination had its charitable organization. In November 1911, for example, the Baptists collected over \$200 for their state missions, and their Ladies' Aid Society held a "market day" on the courthouse square. They sold cooked and uncooked meats, pies, cakes, salads, breads, and other foods.¹³

Weddings and baptisms were often conducted differently than nowadays. Church weddings were less frequent than today, with many being carried out at home. Others were performed in buggies, ministers' homes, offices of justices of the peace, and even on horseback. Reverend Liff Sanders remembered that he performed many at his home in Lubbock because, when couples obtained their marriage licenses, they often asked for a minister and the clerk would point to the Sanders home, which could be seen from the courthouse. Churches for the most part lacked baptismal fonts and many baptisms were carried out in the water tanks most people kept to water their gardens. Reverend Sanders baptized many in his tank and also used Judge McGee's tank and that of Judge Beatty at the old Singer store, which for many years stood on the north side of the square.¹⁴

Education was closely linked with religion in helping to create the moral climate of Lubbock. Lubbock High School graduated its first class in 1909 at commencement exercises held in the Opera House, which was jammed to capacity for the occasion. Maude Burns won the coveted honor of valedictorian, with Hattie Sumners as salutatorian. Other members of the class were Vera Murfee, Evelyn Word, Mildred Moore, Edna Mae Zachary, Ruby Ellis, Willye Wilson, Frank Winn, and Buell Boles.¹⁵ Even at this early date the schools were confronted with the problems of rising enrollment and lack of space. The number of students rose rapidly. In 1909-1910 it stood at 493, and by 1913 Superintendent Wester reported he had 350 boys and 331 girls enrolled, making a total of 681. By 1919 the registration had climbed to over 1000; in 1920, with the new school year only a week old, there were 1366 students, and as he looked out upon the swarm of students descending upon his stronghold, Superintendent M. M. Dupre reported that all grades were crowded to the limit, with more still to come. He concluded that a new high school building and a new North Ward School were imperative. The number of

teachers also showed a steady rise. In 1909 there were 12, 14 in 1913, 28 in 1919, and 40 in 1920.¹⁶

After a fire destroyed the city's three-room school in March 1909 the Lubbock Independent School District floated a \$25,000 bond issue to build a new one to be located between 13th and 14th Streets, just off Avenue O, on the site of the present Sears Roebuck store. Since it could not be completed before early 1910, a mass meeting was held at which a committee was appointed to collect subscriptions to a fund to put up a temporary frame building to be located near the present Burrus Elevators on 4th Street. The committee, made up of H. T. Kimbro, John R. McGee, and B. O. McWhorter, raised \$7957.50, which was \$220.90 short of what the twenty-three building lots cost and the school itself required for its construction. The donations from eighty-seven individuals and business firms ranged from \$5 to \$600, and were recorded in the minutes of the School Board of the Lubbock Independent School District in order that they might be repaid from the bond issue. The temporary school had eight rooms, in which all ten grades were taught. The new brick building had seven classrooms, an office, and an auditorium in addition to several more rooms in the basement. It was more nearly adequate than the temporary one, although it too housed all the grades through high school until the frame building was moved to the high school site for the use of the elementary grades. The town was enthusiastic over the new school's large recitation rooms with their individual desks and up-to-date maps and blackboards, the auditorium, and the steam heating plant.¹⁷ The school board, however, wondered if they had been extravagant in their plans and had built a school larger than would ever be needed. Far from being too large, the building soon proved itself too small and plans were started for a new one. In 1917 the proceeds from a \$40,000 bond issue were used to erect the George M. Hunt School at what is now 17th Street and Avenue M. Steadily increasing enrollments soon

made a separate high school imperative, and in 1922 the voters were asked to approve a \$150,000 bond issue to pay for a new high school and Northwest, Southwest, and Southeast Ward Schools in the corners of the school district (Northeast Ward School had been built in 1918). The resulting high school, completed in 1923 and located between 13th and 14th Streets in the 2000 block, now composes the north wing and auditorium of Carroll Thompson Junior High School. Earlier, in 1920, the city had taken another step towards meeting the needs of its people when it opened schools for Mexican and Negro children.¹⁸

As was the case in most other cities and towns, a great deal of interest centered around the schools of the city and their activities, which were usually given front-page coverage in the newspaper. There was an extensive program, for example, at the commencement exercises held in the Baptist church in April 1910. Besides the commencement sermon, preached by Reverend G. B. Overton, there were selections by the Lubbock Concert Orchestra and songs by the high school girls. To round out the program and to raise money to equip their school library, members of the high school presented a play in four acts, titled "A Daughter of the Desert."¹⁹

Graduation exercises soon came to last the better part of a week, as was the case in 1912. In that year Miss Brown's advanced music class began the series of events with a recital in the school building on Monday. On Tuesday evening, May 14, the grammar school pupils gave their program of songs, plays and recitals, followed on Wednesday afternoon by a similar program put on by the primary grades. High school exercises began on Wednesday evening with the presentation of a dialogue, music, and other events. Thursday evening the literary society of the high school, to which high school students were required to belong, held its contests. The young ladies competed for a medal in reading, while the young men contended with each other for a medal in debate. Com-

mencement exercises were held at the high school on Friday evening. Since there were only three girls and two boys in the graduating class, each had a part. The girls gave readings and the boys delivered orations. The annual address was given by Reverend J. P. Word, and Judge George R. Bean presented the diplomas. Climaxing the proceedings came the commencement sermon delivered in the Methodist church the following Sunday.²⁰

In an effort to publicize the needs and achievements of the schools the superintendent frequently contributed a front-page column to the *Avalanche*. In this he reported, usually with much pride, on the current activities, plans for the future, and accomplishments of both students and teachers.²¹ To read the superintendent's frequent pleas for better attendance on the part of students, as well as an end to the constant tardiness, one would believe there was little concern on the part of townspeople over the welfare of their schools. To some extent this may have been true, but far more significant was the constant movement of families from farms and ranches into Lubbock in order that their children could attend school. If this helped lead to overcrowding of schools, it in turn helped swell the population of the city and boost its reputation as a progressive-minded community.

School officials placed a great deal of emphasis on raising standards. As one step, the several departments of instruction in Lubbock schools became affiliated one-by-one with the University of Texas, which sent out teams of visitors to inspect their facilities before accrediting them. In 1912 Superintendent Wester explained the fifteen-cent charge for adults, ten cents for children over twelve, and five cents for those under twelve who attended any commencement exercises except those of the primary grades. He had promised the visitors from the university that the school would purchase wall maps for use in teaching history and would continue to add to the school library; these charges were the only way the school

had of making money with which to fulfill these commitments.²²

Teachers for their part were encouraged to attend summer school, and were required to participate in periodic teachers' institutes held at home. In 1913 the *Avalanche* reported that seven teachers, including the superintendent, were at West Texas Normal School at Canyon, one was attending the University of Texas, one was enrolled at the summer normal being held at Abilene, and one had strayed off to Ohio State University at Columbus.²³ A typical teachers' institute, one of the first to be held locally, was scheduled for teachers of the county at Lubbock High School in 1911. It began on December 16, a Saturday, and ran through Thursday, December 21. Each teacher was required to attend seven hours a day for five full days, for which he would be paid and would receive academic credit. Instructors drawn from the county schools taught such subjects as "Primary Reading," "English Grammar," "Geography in the Intermediate Grades," and "How to Teach U. S. History."²⁴

Signifying its rise as a leading community on the South Plains, Lubbock had in the period just after World War I become the center for meetings of education groups. In 1919 when the University Inter-Scholastic League, Lubbock District, held its annual meet, the city was thronged with visitors who began coming in on Thursday to attend the events scheduled for Friday and Saturday, April 11 and 12. Contests were held in various track and field events, baseball, and basketball, and there was a full schedule of academic contests in such fields as declamation, spelling, and reading. In November 1920 the *Avalanche* reported that five hundred teachers were expected for the fourth annual convention of the South Plains Teachers' Institute to be held in Lubbock for five days just before Christmas. Attendance at this institute, still compulsory for public-school teachers, drew most of the teachers from Lubbock County and seven surrounding ones. The partici-

pants discussed such familiar topics as discipline, how to teach various subjects, and teacher relations with parents and the community.²⁵

The perennial problem of a shortage of money began to appear almost as soon as did the schools themselves. The city never seemed to have enough funds and so private organizations soon joined school officials, students, and parents in meeting the need. As has been indicated, the Mothers' Club for several years carried on a campaign to beautify the school grounds. Then, in 1921, the schools ran short of desks. The Rotary Club stepped in and sponsored a campaign asking 100 men to give \$9.45 each, the cost of one desk. They quickly secured 102 sponsors and hoped to get a total of 200. In the spring of 1922 the school system began to run out of money and there was danger that the term could not be completed. The Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, and the Kiwanis Club backed a campaign to raise the \$6000 necessary to complete the term, and a special tuition levy was made against students. Another source of aid to the schools was the Parent-Teachers Association, which was organized in 1921 at the George M. Hunt School as the Parent-Teachers Club. Soon after its founding the club asked teachers to collect twenty-five cents from each student to supply classrooms with erasers, and also attempted to establish a fund for drinking fountains for the schools. In 1922 the Parent-Teachers Club placed \$300 worth of playground equipment in school yards. In 1923 the club affiliated with the Texas Congress of Parents and Teachers, and by that time separate parent-teacher units were being organized in the various schools.²⁶

CIVIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

Like many another small town in the Southwest, Lubbock had a deep-seated desire to grow and develop into a major city. But, unlike many others, her dreams were realized. Perhaps this was due in part, as many observers have suggested,

to her central location, her rich land, and the availability of plenty of water for irrigation. Certainly it was due in a measure to the founding of Texas Tech. Yet other villages were well located, had natural resources, and boasted of colleges, and still did not grow into cities.

Perhaps the most important element the city possessed was the spirit of her people, which stands sharply outlined in the role played by her civic organizations. Many other places had this same spirit of progress, but sometimes there were disputes and quarrels over just what progress was, so that often the fires were quenched and stalemate resulted. In Lubbock, as Walter Posey once remarked, whenever there was a job to be done everybody pitched in and saw that it got done, whether bringing in a railroad, building a new school, or founding a college. Lubbock once had political factions, but they soon disappeared, leaving relative political harmony in the city.

The Lubbock Commercial Club was the first organization formed to promote the interests of Lubbock and the surrounding area. The club was reorganized late in 1908 or early 1909 and had as one of its major objectives the securing of a railroad for the city. Colby Thomas served as the club's president, and C. E. Parks was secretary. The sparkplug of the organization, however, was Don H. Biggers, its paid secretary. He campaigned vigorously to publicize the city, exchanging information with other commercial clubs in the area, soliciting memberships for his own organization, and writing frequent articles for the Lubbock *Avalanche*. In his writings he stressed the fertile soil and plentiful water at shallow depths, the fine schools in the county, and the low tax rate. Land prices ranged from \$10-\$20 an acre, while only eight or ten years earlier they had sold for only \$1-\$2 an acre and in a few years would go at \$40-\$50 an acre and possibly higher. The county was far from a desert, he noted, with an assessed valuation in 1908 of \$2,208,000.²⁷

The Lubbock Commercial Club flourished briefly and then

faded away. In May 1909 Biggers brought together the representatives of commercial clubs and newspapers of the Panhandle-South Plains area and formed an ambitious society called "The Panhandle, Plains and South Plains Commercial Secretaries and Newspaper Men's Federation." Although its objective was a more thorough and systematic work in publicizing the area, which should have been appealing to businessmen, it also soon disappeared. By June 1910 the Lubbock Commercial Club was languishing. "Everybody punch the Commercial Club," urged Editor Dow. But seemingly nobody did and within a few months the club had ceased to function. Apparently what happened was that the need for it no longer seemed very urgent. When the main objective of the club, the railroad, had been secured, its members gradually lost interest in the organization, let their contributions dwindle, and ceased to support it. Then the secretary could no longer be paid and the group fell apart.²⁸

Yet the newspaper gave much credit to the Commercial Club. "Lubbock, which has become 'famous by doing things' has done the greater part of it by the work of the Commercial Club, for she has always had an organization of the kind, sometimes it was nearly dead, but when something would show up that looked good to our people the Commercial Club would go after it," asserted the editor.²⁹ Dow himself was one of the greatest boosters early Lubbock ever had. He was continually calling attention to shortcomings in the city and demanding action to correct them. In his mind the future of the city was without question to be a glorious one, and he had little patience with those who would jeopardize it by not pulling hard for progress — in whatever form it might appear. Before the Commercial Club had completely disappeared, Dow noted there was much demand for a merchant's league to reach out and get the trade of the nearby area, and from time to time urged that such a group be established to advertise Lubbock and bring in business from the surrounding region.³⁰

Despite the newspaper's urgings it was not until 1913 that the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce was founded. Its first president was Colby Thomas, vice president was John W. Baker, George W. Briggs was secretary, and Walter S. Posey served as treasurer. Once it did come into being, the chamber soon began a campaign to publicize the city — an effort that was to intensify steadily through the years. In the first five months of its efforts, the chamber through its secretary dispatched some four thousand folders advertising Lubbock County, answered scores of inquiries, had over fifty writeups in various daily newspapers, and had seven articles and five pictures published by farm papers.³¹ The chamber sponsored numerous projects designed to improve and advertise the city, and joined other groups in many more. One of its first actions was to sponsor the first Lubbock County Fair, held on October 6, 1913, in a small building not far from the Santa Fe depot. This first small agricultural exhibit turned out so successfully that the next year the chamber expanded it into a three-day affair. Besides their hope of advertising the city, Chamber of Commerce members were anxious to select prize exhibits of farm products which could be sent with pride to represent the county at the Panhandle Fair as well as the annual State Fair. With the exception of 1918 and 1919, when no fair was held, the chamber continued its sponsorship until 1920 when it took the lead in forming the Panhandle-South Plains Fair Association to take over the underwriting of the annual fair.³²

The vital role played by the Chamber of Commerce in the development of Lubbock may perhaps best be seen through a brief recounting of its many activities from the time of its founding on into the early twenties. After its county fair project was under way, the chamber turned its attention to other means of advertising the attractions of the city. In 1914 it made a movie, with shots of the business district, homes, schools, the Santa Fe depot, and a parade of cars out to the

Lubbock Irrigation Company's farm. During the wartime period the chamber was especially active. Indicating the chamber's pride in the city was its slogan "The Hub of the Plains," which it had adopted by 1917 and which appeared on all letters and other matter leaving its office. In 1917 the chamber performed one of its greatest services when it played a leading role in drafting and pushing through to eventual adoption the city's new charter which set up the commission form of government.³³

The year 1916 was a busy one for the Chamber of Commerce. In addition to staging a large parade in conjunction with the annual county fair, the chamber helped sponsor a firemen's convention in the city, saw to it that the Lubbock Boy Scouts were supplied with a complete set of uniforms, was instrumental in having the city council employ a night watchman, whose presence led to a reduction in the fire insurance rates, and also got the council to sprinkle the streets during an especially severe dry spell. In 1916 the chamber also assisted to no small degree in carrying through the proposal to establish a municipal light plant. During the labor shortage of World War I the chamber maintained an employment bureau to help farmers secure laborers and city businesses to find experienced workmen. And as the country entered the war the chamber cooperated with national, state and local government authorities in sponsoring the city's first "Official Patriotic Day," held on April 10, 1917.³⁴

As the war went on the chamber held many meetings with businessmen and merchants in the interest of food conservation, assisted the county food administration, and secured a common closing hour for Lubbock stores. Each of the four Liberty Loan drives held in the city was oversubscribed, due in no small measure to the active work of chamber members and their promotion of patriotic mass meetings at frequent intervals. George Briggs, chamber secretary, acted as secretary of the Lubbock County Council of Defense, and the

chamber also lent Briggs to the Red Cross during the war so that he might act as its district field secretary. Chamber members were also active in their support of the several drives staged by the Red Cross. To help returning servicemen find jobs the chamber continued its employment bureau, with its secretary acting as the bureau's manager.³⁵

In 1919 the chamber welcomed home the returning servicemen with a giant picnic for ten thousand people, at which men in uniform were not permitted to pay for any entertainment. In May of that year the chamber had brought to the city the first of a series of annual appearances by the Redpath-Horner Chautauqua, and contracted with the Redpath Lyceum Lecture Bureau to bring Vice President Marshall to the city to speak, and followed him several weeks later with the famed juvenile court judge, Ben B. Lindsay of Denver. The three biggest projects worked for by the chamber during its fiscal year of 1919-1920, however, were the first street paving program in the city's history, organizing the South Plains Fair Association to take over the annual county fair, and the establishment of a county park just east of the city. Each of these ventures was successful.³⁶

The chamber continued its vigorous activity into the twenties. In 1921 it printed fifty thousand postcards showing nine different scenes of the county fair, farms, city homes, a birds-eye view of the city, and the Lubbock Experiment Station — all designed to advertise the virtues of the city — and gave them to anybody who would promise to mail them to other parts of the country. In that same year the chamber organized a Junior Chamber of Commerce to bring young men into civic work and provide future leaders. For several years the chamber maintained a tourist camp at the Fair Park. Here those passing through town could camp and get free light, wood, and water, as well as the use of brick fireplaces. The chamber set up a committee to work for the location of the proposed West Texas A & M in Lubbock, and interested itself

in seeing that capable men were found to replace retiring members on the board of the Lubbock Independent School District. And it was the chamber which in early 1922 conceived the idea of a community auditorium, led a subscription drive for funds, built and maintained it, and then later gave it up as a bad job. At the end of World War I the chamber enlisted itself in a successful effort to have a National Guard battery of horse-drawn field artillery located in the city and advanced nearly \$500 towards the battery's expenses until it could be repaid by the state. In the early twenties the Junior Chamber of Commerce directed athletic affairs for Lubbock High School, planning schedules for the teams, advancing money to support them, and holding enough money in reserve from gate receipts to start the following year's activities.³⁷ These were of course not all of the chamber's activities, but they do indicate that the organization played a central role in guiding many civic projects to successful endings. Without such an organization the city would either have had to find a substitute group to shoulder the burden of piloting such enterprises, or else have fallen behind in its dreams of being the leading community on the South Plains.

The chamber's activities were directed by a succession of capable secretaries. George W. Briggs held the position first, being succeeded in 1916 by M. T. Jacobs. Briggs then resumed the position until early 1919, when he left to become field manager for the West Texas Chamber of Commerce. George Brown was temporary secretary until 1920 when Curtis A. Keen took up the position of secretary of the chamber and manager of the Panhandle-South Plains Fair Association. Keen remained until 1922 when he resigned. L. T. Martin became temporary secretary and served until 1924 when the present executive vice president and general manager, A. B. Davis, took over.³⁸

The city swiftly developed other organizations to push forward the host of activities continually demanding attention.

Most of these organizations flourished for a few years until the need they had been concentrating on was met, and then declined. An example was the Lubbock Civic League, which was founded early in 1913 and remained active during at least the rest of that year. The league sponsored a children's fair in conjunction with the first Lubbock County fair, with prizes for children in such activities as reading, declamation, and cooking. Another successful league project was fulfilled when the city built a walk across Broadway for the use of school children. And the league busied itself in petitioning the Santa Fe to improve its grounds, in promoting cleanup campaigns, urging people to plant trees, and in securing land for a city park. After 1913 the organization gradually declined and soon disappeared.³⁹

Nineteen-thirteen seemed to be a busy year for launching new organizations and ventures. By summer the Lubbock Retail Merchants' Association was functioning, with Raleigh Martin as president and W. F. Schenck as secretary. The businessmen sponsored what they called a First Monday Day, when merchants gave special bargains and provided a holiday-like program of band music, speeches, an auction, and a baseball game for those who were attracted. First Monday Days had been held at least as early as April 1909. Somehow, they were not successful and were discontinued by early 1910. The *Avalanche* was again reporting them by the summer of 1913 and for several years these sales days were a fixture in the community. When they did decline it was no doubt because World War I made goods scarce and bargains scarcer. But they were revived after the war and lasted until the early twenties, when they gave way to Dollar Days. The first Dollar Day in the city's history was announced for August 6, 1923, and proclaimed by a full-page advertisement in the *Avalanche*.⁴⁰

The Lubbock Rotary Club was launched early in 1921. The previous summer Walter Myrick had visited a Rotary

Club in central Texas and had expressed the thought that Lubbock should have one. Rotary officials investigated the feasibility of a Lubbock chapter and Amarillo agreed to sponsor the city. When the club received its charter in February 1921 it had twenty-five charter members as a nucleus. The club promptly declared its willingness to support the city government and the Chamber of Commerce in every way possible by working for better educational facilities, a cleaner city, numbering of the streets and houses, and enforcement of traffic laws. In 1923 the Rotary Club undertook a significant long-range project when it used the proceeds from a minstrel show to establish its student loan fund to assist deserving college students from Lubbock.⁴¹

The Kiwanis Club followed close behind Rotary, being founded in early 1922. Dr. R. B. Hutchinson was its first president; Percy Spencer, vice-president; W. O. Stevens, treasurer; and Neal A. Douglas, Jr., secretary. Oriented towards much the same type of civic service as Rotary, the Kiwanians devoted themselves to helping improve the schools, beautify the city, and establish a YMCA.⁴²

Lubbock also had the benefit of a number of other service organizations. The American Red Cross established a chapter in the city sometime during the First World War. The Red Cross of course carried on a varied program of assistance to the war effort of the United States, but seems to have declined in vigor near the end of the war. It was reorganized sometime during 1919. Besides giving aid to the needy in time of crisis, the Red Cross in 1920 had a field nurse in the county giving lectures and holding classes in hygiene and related subjects to those in need of them, including the Negroes and Mexicans. A very popular institution begun in 1920 by the Red Cross was a ladies' rest room in the county courthouse where farm and ranch women visiting the city could relax while their husbands finished their shopping or gossiping. By 1921 the Salvation Army was appealing for funds to carry on

its work of giving aid to the poor in the county, especially transients stranded in the city without funds.⁴³

Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops were also organized in the city during this period. The Boy Scouts of America were founded in 1911 and a year later the *Avalanche* reported a move afoot to organize a troop in Lubbock, with the boys being carefully selected in order to make the project a success. Unfortunately, nothing more was heard of the idea until the period of World War I, but by 1916 a troop was organized and carrying on scouting activities. A Girl Scout troop was not organized until 1922, when Mrs. Percy Spencer and Mrs. Fred Boerner took the lead in sponsoring the project. By 1923 there were two troops in the city. The Kiwanis Club stood back of the movement with financial support and personal encouragement. In the winter of 1922-1923, the Girl Scouts ceased their activities, but with the coming of warmer weather they reorganized and continued their activities. The *Avalanche* noted approvingly that the Girl Scouts had been enlisted to advertise the clean-up campaign scheduled for the spring of 1923, and that they played a conspicuous role in the social life of the city.⁴⁴

An American Legion post was organized shortly after the end of the war. Its first commander was John J. Noone, who was succeeded in August 1920 by Clark M. Mullican. Soon after its first annual meeting, held in January 1921, the post, known as Allen Brothers Post Number 148, opened club rooms in the Russell building, where it offered recreational facilities for its members.⁴⁵

Women's clubs occupy one of the most important positions in the cultural life of any community, and this has certainly been true of Lubbock during its period of struggle to become a truly cosmopolitan city. The Twentieth Century Club was the first women's club formed in the city, coming into being in the spring of 1909, almost simultaneously with the incorporation of the city. Mrs. George L. Beatty, who had been

instrumental in its founding, served as its first president. As its main purpose the club had the encouragement of intellectual activity and promotion of child welfare. Since it was primarily a literary society, its meetings were given over to discussions of English literature, American history, and current events. But it also showed much concern over civic affairs. The Lubbock Library owed its continued existence at least in part to the support of members of the Twentieth Century Club. In 1910 the club took part in a tag day whose proceeds went towards improving the school grounds. The club also bought a number of books for the school library, providing a nucleus that was badly needed in order for the high school to maintain a satisfactory rating. The Twentieth Century Club also took an active part in many of the annual cleanup campaigns conducted in the city.⁴⁶

Formed a few months after the Twentieth Century Club, the Women's Christian Temperance Union was also influential in early Lubbock. The group first met at the home of Mrs. Orville Westlake, wife of a local physician. The W.C.T.U. was of course primarily interested in improving the moral climate of the city through the elimination of alcoholic beverages, and discussions of temperance activities and methods dominated its regular meetings held in members' homes. Occasionally the group sponsored public meetings to maintain the keen edge of enthusiasm the city had developed against the sale and use of liquor. Aiding in this direction were the regular columns written for the *Avalanche* during a period of several years before the First World War by Mrs. S. P. Stubbs. Generally these articles stayed pretty close to the moral and health arguments against alcohol, but occasionally Mrs. Stubbs turned aside to take up such problems as education of the youth, smoking, and the double standard of morals. Since the whole of Lubbock County had long since voted itself dry and there seemed little danger of reversing this decision, at least some of the society's appeal must have come from the opportunity it

gave its members to meet socially with others of similar viewpoint.⁴⁷

A succession of other women's clubs sprang up in the city as time went on. One of the oldest, as suggested by its name, was the 1911 Needle Club. This in turn was followed by the Wednesday Needle Club, The Busy Bee Embroidery Club, and the Ripley Embroidery Club. Usually, as reported by the *Avalanche*, these clubs met in the afternoon at the home of one of their members. The programs often consisted of sewing and conversation, followed by a lunch. Card clubs were also popular, with a "42" Club, a "500" Club, and an Auction Bridge Club all in existence by 1914. The popularity of "42" especially irked the editor of the *Avalanche*. He declared it was played everywhere—in hotels, homes, and at parties. Homes were neglected and clubs were better attended than prayer meetings. Bibles went unread and church services unattended, he asserted, largely because of the addiction to "42." From his point of view matters undoubtedly continued to deteriorate with the coming of contract bridge in the 1920's.⁴⁸

Fraternal organizations were in evidence early in the city's history. By 1909 several secret societies claimed the attention of Lubbockites. Oldest was the Masonic order. Its Yellow-house Lodge No. 841 was founded in 1900 and has functioned continuously ever since. A year later Masonic women organized Lubbock Chapter No. 76 of the Order of the Eastern Star. By 1909 a branch of the York Rite order of Masonic learning had been organized. In the year of its incorporation Lubbock could also claim a branch of the Woodmen of the World. The Independent order of Odd Fellows had also been established by then, and in May 1909 the Rebekahs, the IOOF auxiliary, had been granted a charter for its fifty-four members. In September the *Avalanche* reported that the Fraternal Order of Eagles had gotten the necessary sixty members and was in the process of organizing a lodge in the city. From these beginnings the secret orders advanced in both size and

importance, affording a substantial number of citizens an opportunity to meet together in fellowship and conviviality.⁴⁹

By early 1910 members of the bar in Lubbock and the surrounding area were organized into a loose grouping referred to as the South Plains Bar Association. There were no officers in it, and like the Lubbock-Crosby County Medical Association, meetings were held at irregular intervals and when the members had something of importance to discuss, usually two or three times a year. Meetings were held in the offices of various attorneys in Lubbock, or in the county courthouse, with delegates from surrounding towns attending whenever possible. About once a year the lawyers' association also sponsored a banquet, as happened in February 1910 when a banquet was held in the Tremont Hotel in honor of Washington's birthday. Before the banquet, members met at the home of County Judge McGee and heard a talk on divorce by J. E. Vickers and one on homicide by Judge Schenck. The Bar Association concerned itself with agitation for the creation of a new judicial district by the state, and for a federal district court. The association was an important force in helping bring about the creation in March 1911 of the 72nd District Court of Texas, centered in Lubbock and comprising a total of ten counties. The association also helped bring about the location of a federal district court in Lubbock in 1928. Among the prominent members of the Lubbock bar in the years after her incorporation were George R. Bean, George L. Beatty, State Senator W. H. Bledsoe, H. C. Ferguson, E. L. Klett, John R. McGee, James R. Robinson, W. F. Schenck, J. E. Vickers, and Roscoe Wilson.⁵⁰

Library facilities are often indicative of a community's thirst for knowledge, and Lubbock's attempts to found a public library indicate her desire for broadened cultural opportunities. The first steps towards founding a public library were taken in 1907 with the establishment of the Lubbock Library Association. For nearly two years the association struggled to

exist, until it was able to revive somewhat in the spring of 1909 when the Lubbock State Bank gave the use of its directors' room as library quarters. Membership dues were \$1 a year, with the proceeds going for the purchase of new books. This was apparently the high point of the library-founding efforts for the next several years. The library failed to find suitable quarters, and by 1920 the *Avalanche* was lamenting that the town had a population of nearly five thousand and yet didn't have anything that could be called a city library. For the last eight years one had been maintained here and there, wherever stack space could be found. It had no librarian, no system, and was without much control over its books, all because of a lack of funds. Editor Dow declared that the last time he visited the library he found a solitary magazine on the reading table—and it was an issue dated in 1914. The library finally ended up in the rear of a tailor shop and was forced to cease operations and put its books in storage when the business closed. The editor advised the establishment of a county library. Two years later the *Avalanche* was still urging the reorganization of the library and its establishment in a place where the public could use it. Early in 1923 the women's clubs of the city began a campaign to open a new library with a full time librarian. The county donated space near the south entrance of the courthouse, several thousand books were contributed, and on February 20, 1923, the new library opened. Mrs. James J. Smelser was employed as librarian and new memberships began to be sold.⁵¹ Until 1941 when a new movement for a library building began, the Lubbock library remained in the county courthouse. If its facilities left something to be desired, at least they were a beginning.

Lubbock's growing pains showed through quite clearly in its struggles to establish a brass band. The one founded in 1905, several years before the city was incorporated, withered away and efforts were soon under way to found a new one. It would be difficult to detail the tortured history of the succes-

sive bands that were organized, and which usually flourished for only a few months before disappearing. Instruments, uniforms, and an instructor had to be financed, which was usually more of a burden than the civic pride of the citizens could bear up under. After one band had blown itself out, the newspaper would urge the people to listen to reason and start another one, after which the band cycle would repeat itself. In December 1909 the Lubbock Concert Band was formed, with headquarters over the Lubbock Mercantile Company's store on South First Street. S. W. Pease was to serve as director and play solo cornet, assisted by eleven other players. By the following May the *Avalanche* was once more urging the formation of a brass band, complaining that the last one they had started couldn't afford an instructor and the city had not given any help, so that it had failed. It might have been added that many people were reluctant to support bands, either financially or by their presence, when oftentimes the musicians were inexperienced and still learning. Another short-lived phenomenon was the Lubbock Orchestra, begun in early 1910. This one started out with six members, Miss Cowan, pianist; Fred Hetler, leader and first violinist; Dr. Kane, first cornet; Ed Inmon, second cornet; S. C. Wilson and H. B. Thomas, second violinists.⁵² If this organization lasted more than a few months, the fact was not mentioned by the paper.

In the summer of 1912 the Lubbock Band was reorganized under the direction of Professor N. C. Bishop, who was listed as recently having come from Canyon City. This time the group stayed together for some months, because in October it was reported as having gone to Crosbyton to put on the play "Uncle Josh," which had been so well received in Lubbock. Whether the band changed its name, or whether a new one was organized is not certain, but by the next summer the Lubbock Cowboy Band was trying its wings. This band seems to have been quite successful for a time and received favorable comment from the *Avalanche* for its fine concerts. But again

financial support probably lagged, because after 1914 no more was heard from it.⁵³

As late as the early twenties the city seemed unable to support a band. One was formed in May 1919 and lasted some two years. Sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, the band played at special mass meetings called by the chamber, as well as at weekly concerts on the courthouse lawn. These latter were held on Tuesday evenings at 7 o'clock and were supposed to be concluded before church time at 8:15. But again the chamber couldn't stand the financial burden and abandoned its sponsorship. Another failing attempt to start a band was made in the spring of 1923.⁵⁴ This led the editor of the *Avalanche* to lament that, "It seems that Lubbock people do not get into the spirit of band music. They do not seem to realize the real worth of such an organization in the city, and have no idea about the cost of keeping up a band."⁵⁵ Within a few years the zest for band concerts had waned before the force of new kinds of entertainment, bands could no longer be sustained, and the bandstand on the courthouse lawn disappeared as a familiar landmark.

ENTERTAINMENT AND SPORTS

The successive brass bands may have provided only sporadic entertainment for the city, but there was a wealth and variety of other diversions sufficient to make latter-day residents green with the proverbial envy. Lacking mechanical contrivances to keep them amused, early Lubbockites devised their own methods of having fun. Yellow House Canyon, running southeastward close alongside the town's northern limits, provided a sure source of pleasure. There was water in it the year 'round and catfish to be caught by boys on hot summer days or through the ice in winter. Whole families went fishing, and if newspaper accounts of their exploits are to be believed, seldom returned without trophies. Picnicking at Buffalo Spring some fifteen miles to the southeast of the city

was for many years a favorite pastime of families and young people. Moonlight hayrides were favored as a means of getting to the spring, and one can almost hear the sound of singing drifting back towards the city as the wagons rolled along. The coming of the automobile failed to diminish the fun of trips to Buffalo Spring, since it shortened the trip considerably, leaving more time at the picnic spot itself. Some parties attained considerable size. In August 1909 the *Avalanche* reported a moonlight party of one hundred young people held south of town, with Mrs. M. C. Overton as chaperone. Auto headlights were played on the picnic tables, and during the evening they played such old-time games as "Drop the Handkerchief."⁵⁶

Parties were held at many other places besides Buffalo Spring. Long before incorporation of the city, the second floor of the courthouse was a favorite place for parties and dances, and many parties were held in the old Nicolett Hotel. The courthouse square with its shady lawn was a favorite picnic spot. On Sunday afternoons while the city was young, families often took baskets of food to the long tables on the courthouse lawn, and after a leisurely lunch spent the afternoon visiting with friends. House parties frequently lasting several days were often reported at ranch homes, with horseback riding, dancing, barbecues, singing, and games. Almost any occasion could be made to serve as the basis for a party at someone's home in the city. Birthdays were celebrated with parties for children as well as grownups. Christmas was celebrated with "trees" at churches and in private homes; the term signified that presents were exchanged at gatherings around the tree. Church groups were entertained in the homes of their members, school classmates held reunions at each other's homes, and matrons entertained their clubs at home. Courting could be carried on during moonlight horseback or buggy rides, trips to the canyon picnic areas, or at church gatherings.⁵⁷

In the small town atmosphere that dominated Lubbock

early in the century, boys as often found their excitement out in the open country as in the city. Besides fishing in the canyon (or scaring the fish away by swimming), boys hunted down lobo wolves on horseback, and later in cars, hunted coyotes or antelope, and hunted rabbits during the several years when the county offered four, and later five, cents bounty for a pair of rabbit ears. In the city a boy might, if he were bold enough, climb up beneath the courthouse gables to get the young pigeons roosting there, as Herbert F. Stubbs remembered he had done. Or, as E. J. "Pinky" Lowrey reminisced, a boy could go swimming in the artificial pool created on the outskirts of town after an old building had been moved off its foundations at Broadway and Avenue J and the basement allowed to fill with water. The courthouse square was a place of fascination for a boy, thronged as it often was with ranchers and farmers in town for the day. Even more alluring was the livery stable, where older men usually could be found loitering safe from wives' prying eyes, telling stories, perhaps gambling a bit, and in general acting as initiators into the secrets of manhood. Equally mysterious and fascinating to the uninitiated were the barbershops. There a man could loiter and exchange bits of news as he waited his turn to have the barber take down from the rack his personal shaving mug with the owner's name engraved on it and stir up the lather for shaving. If he felt the need a man could pay a quarter and wash away the prairie dust in the shop's washtub. By 1909 the city had four barbershops, the Imperial on Cedar Street, the Palace Barbershop, and Reynolds and Kincannon, both on South First Street, and the shop of Walter W. Royalty, the "tonorial artist," in the Nicolett.⁵⁸

Known to most youngsters in town was "Uncle Tang" Martin. "Uncle Tang," so legend had it, had fought in the Civil War and later commanded a packet boat on the Mississippi. Whether or not these stories were true, he had ended his days as a cowboy on the South Plains. As an old man he be-

came a ward of Lubbock County. The cheapest solution for his care was for the county commissioners to fit out a room in the county courthouse for his use. Martin had few possessions except an old, large watch and the coins left over from his monthly allowance from the county. These he kept in an old box in his room. As the result of an infection, "Uncle Tang's" legs were amputated sometime after 1916 by Dr. Overton, after which the county purchased a wheelchair for his use and built a board ramp so he could roll up and down it to the first floor of the courthouse. "Uncle Tang" was a garrulous old fellow and became the pet of the town and "spoiled" by everybody. Many stories grew up around him. There was the night he went into a store, which was apparently unlocked, looking for refreshment. By mistake, he got hold of a bottle of bluing, and before he discovered his error he had tried to drink some of it and spilled part of it down his long white beard. When he appeared the next morning he had a hard time successfully upholding his innocence. The old gentleman carried a whistle on a cord around his neck to summon aid when he needed help in wheeling his chair across the street or up into the courthouse. Help was usually available, except when it rained or when the streets were muddy after a shower. Then "Uncle Tang" would sit and blow his whistle until he was out of breath from the exertion and from making suitable comments about people who scurried into stores out of sight. Martin lived in the courthouse for a number of years, serving as the town "character" and receiving a large funeral when he died.⁵⁹

The coming of movies stirred up great excitement in Lubbock and improved entertainment facilities considerably. The first movie theater opened in the spring of 1909, buoyed up, as were so many other projects, by the optimistic hopes for a railroad through the city. Some confusion exists as to just where the first movie house was. There were two theaters in Lubbock in 1909. One, called simply the Opera House, was

already in operation when Penny and Reppert announced they were building a second one, to be known as the Orpheum Theater. In announcing it would be completed in a few days, the *Avalanche* on April 8, 1909, hailed it as a distinct advantage to the town, since it would be larger than either the courthouse or the Opera House and thus would provide a more suitable place for public gatherings. A few weeks later, the owners of the Orpheum announced they were putting in a small electric light plant run by a gasoline engine and would use it in connection with their moving picture machine. And in August the *Avalanche* carried advertisements boasting that movies were being shown every night at the Orpheum.⁶⁰

As nearly as can be determined, the Orpheum lasted about a year before the lot it occupied was sold to the Western Windmill Company. The Opera House, a ramshackle one-story frame building about 40 x 125 feet was located on the lot where the Hemphill-Wells department store is now located. It was opened in 1909 by W. R. Payne, who managed it until late 1910 or early 1911 before bowing to the lack of business and closing it. For a few months in 1911 Lubbock was without a theater. This was a rather serious matter, since it left the growing city with only the courthouse in which to hold civic meetings, church meetings for those denominations without buildings of their own, and school commencement exercises. On December 14, 1911, E. L. McElroy reopened the Opera House. Later he enlarged the stage and added enough seats so that it would seat 450 people. In 1913 McElroy closed the Opera House and leased the newly-built Lyric Theater. About 1916 J. D. Lindsey built the Lindsey Theater on Main street.⁶¹

The early movies were, of course, crude and flickering. Yet they were exciting and drew good audiences whenever the theater manager could obtain them. In between times the theater was rented out for other purposes where an auditorium was required. Although the day of elaborate promotional

schemes had not yet dawned, early theater managers tried hard to lure customers. Manager Payne was accustomed to advertise his attractions by riding his fine horse up and down the streets and shouting through a megaphone "Five hundred feet of movie film at the Opera House tonight." Wearing his pants tucked into shiny boots, with a long coat, large red bow tie, and tall silk hat, he invariably attracted the desired attention. At dusk he would stand in front of his theater and shout through his megaphone.⁶² This gave what might be called saturation advertising, since the village was so small his voice could be heard all over town. E. L. McElroy took a new tack in 1912 when he opened what he called an airdome theater, an open-air movie theater, on a vacant lot about where the Lubbock National Bank now stands. This operated only during one summer season and McElroy did not reopen it the next year. The Lyric Theater was well situated just west of the courthouse square where it could attract farmers and ranchers who had come into town to buy groceries or transact some necessary bit of business. Special Saturday afternoon or holiday matinees invited farmers' wives and children to pass a pleasant hour or two. No less enticing were the low admission prices, ten cents for adults, and five cents for children.⁶³

Movies soon began to fall into the pattern they were to follow for many years. What was probably the first serial ever shown in the city began in April 1914. Titled "Our Mutual Girl," it unravelled the trials of a girl traveller involved with a gang of smugglers who were using her as a decoy to bring jewels into the country. By World War I the star system was already coming into effect. In September 1918 the Lyric featured Constance Talmadge in "The Lesson," and her sister Norma in "The Safety Curtain." A few weeks later the first movie Tarzan, Elmo Lincoln, appeared as "Tarzan of the Apes" at the Lyric after it had reopened following the flu epidemic.⁶⁴

In a day before newer forms of amusement had affected

tastes, shows presented by live actors were still the mainstay of public entertainment. Besides the many plays, skits, and readings put on by high school students and private groups, the theaters regularly presented travelling troupes of actors and performers. In November 1909 the Angel's Comedians appeared at the Orpheum for several days in light dramas such as "The Duke's Daughter." A few months later the Woods Sisters and their company enacted plays like "A Daughter of Dixie," "A Gay Deceiver" and "Her Fatal Marriage." Specialty acts accompanied them to fill out the program. Shakespeare was sometimes performed, as happened in January 1913 when the Whittaker Players appeared for two days in "Hamlet."⁶⁵

Widely divergent programs sometimes followed each other. In January 1910 the editor of the *Avalanche* congratulated manager Payne for bringing Sampson and Walworth to the Orpheum Theater. Sampson and his wife put on a strong-man act, while the Walworth family did various stunts and Walworth himself did wonderful tricks on roller skates. The editor was impressed. A week later the Alhambra stock company was playing to full houses at the Orpheum, and the editor judged it was the best opera company ever to appear at the house.⁶⁶

Circuses and tent shows drew large crowds of townspeople and visitors whenever they appeared. Molly Bailey and her show, and Harley Sadler and his company, both well-known in West Texas, appeared occasionally. From time to time wild west shows came to town. In October 1911 Miller Brothers and Edward Arlington's 101 Ranch Real Wild West Show played the city. After parading its Indians, cowgirls, cowboys, and other western attractions through the downtown section in the morning, the troupe put on a matinee and an evening performance. The newspaper commented that the performances were well attended, justifiably so because the show was attractive and different from anything seen in town before.

The appeal of the show was no doubt not lessened in the eyes of the editor because it took a full-page advertisement in the *Avalanche*. A year later Kit Carson's Buffalo Ranch Wild West and Trained Wild Animal Exhibition stopped off in Lubbock during what was billed as the show's tenth transcontinental tour. The management advertised animals, cowboys, clowns, Indian fighters, and other attractions. This show also paraded the downtown section, advertised that it provided its own tent, and invited owners of bad horses to bring them in and have the show's cowboys ride them free. Although Editor Dow thought less highly of this one than the 101 Ranch show of the previous year, he still considered it a success; a judgment in which the small fry of the town probably concurred.⁶⁷

One of the most popular attractions ever to come to Lubbock was the annual Chautauqua, brought to the city from 1919 to 1923 by the Chamber of Commerce. The usual contract was for the Redpath-Horner Company which put on the shows to play for six days, usually in May, and to provide its own tent. In return the company received the proceeds from the first \$1600 in ticket sales, fifty percent of all season ticket sales beyond that, and twenty-five percent of all single admissions. The balance of the receipts went to the Chamber of Commerce.

Mrs. Elmer Conley (Fern Wheelock) remembers that the Chautauqua tent was on the other side of Broadway (where Walgreen's Drug store now stands) from the Wheelock home which stood where the Great Plains Life Insurance building now stands on Broadway. There was something for every taste—music, drama, religion, and lectures. In 1919, for example, Dr. Charles E. Barker, physician to ex-president Taft during his administration, was advertised to speak, as was Bob Finch, member of the American Red Cross Commission to France. Electra Platt supplied comedy, Jean McDonald did impersonations, and a cast of actors presented the play "It

Pays to Advertise." As a special attraction there was the Italian Bersagliere Band, composed of Italian war veterans who played while wearing the uniform of their country.⁶⁸ If school were still in session, what better excuse than Chautauqua could be found for skipping it?

For many years Lubbock had no public auditorium where meetings could be held. Finally in 1922 the Chamber of Commerce took the lead in building a community auditorium. A chamber committee looked after the details of raising the necessary \$4800 by assigning quotas to the various clubs in the city. The committee then let the contract and supervised the construction of the building, which was located on the city's block of land where the main fire station stands on 10th Street. Finished in May 1922, the octagonal-shaped building was opened just in time to house the Chautauqua presentations of that year. Unfortunately, the building proved something of a white elephant. It was unsuited for most gatherings because it had no floor, poor seats, and could not be heated properly. People referred to it as "that silo-looking building," and that "mule barn." Editor Dow defended it as being exactly suited to such a rapidly-growing city as Lubbock. It had been inexpensive to construct, was well ventilated and had good acoustics, and the seats were adequate. It did provide a meeting place which would last for five or ten years. After that it could be replaced with one befitting the city. But even he had to admit that it might be better if it were turned into a gymnasium and playground for the children. For many months the chamber attempted to decide what to do with the structure. In December 1923 the decision was reached to call it a bad mistake, clear up outstanding obligations against the building, dispose of it, and leave it up to the city to provide a meeting place for gatherings of the future.⁶⁹

In 1921 a playground was opened for children. This was a typical community project, led by the Red Cross and the City Federation of Women's Clubs. Businessmen and others gave

money for equipment, the city donated time and labor for rolling and levelling the grounds and tennis courts, and the Panhandle Construction Company furnished sand for the sandpiles. There was room for some three hundred children to enjoy the games and activities available. In addition, the owners of Fulton Swimming Pool made its facilities available half a day a week for free swimming lessons.⁷⁰

The nucleus of the city's future public swimming pool system was formed in 1921 when a private pool was opened in what is now Mackenzie Park. Called the "Tumble-N" pool, it was thirty feet wide, ninety-six feet long, and from two to seven feet deep. When it was opened in June 1921 some fifteen hundred people watched the diving exhibitions and the swimming races. Senator Bledsoe delivered the dedicatory address, and the Lubbock Band played for the occasion.⁷¹

Athletic events have, of course, played a major role in the city's recreational pattern. The change in popularity of various sports gives a fair reflection of changes in society in general and illustrates the shift toward more organized sports. Most celebrations in early Lubbock had room on their programs for sporting events. When in 1914 the Chamber of Commerce was planning its second annual county fair, it provided for baseball games, foot races, and other events. And plans for the Fourth of July celebration in 1919 included two baseball games, roping and other contests, and a water fight by the fire department.⁷²

Baseball for many years was by far the most attractive organized sport in the city. Records are incomplete for this early period, but the *Avalanche* reported enough baseball enthusiasm to make it certain that Lubbock had a team of some sort nearly every year. Games were played with whatever nearby towns could field teams—Brownfield, Tahoka, Post, Plainview and others. In 1909 the team secured ten acres of land just outside the city where they played their games. A year later the diamond was moved from the McWhorter and Rob-

erts addition to the Merrill addition in the south part of town.⁷³ Since travel was difficult games were often played in series of two or three. In August 1909, for example, the Lubbock team played two games at a reunion held in Brownfield. In May 1910 the *Avalanche* reported that the baseball team left on the Wednesday morning train for Plainview where they were to play games on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. For good measure the editor noted that Lubbock members of the team were Revo and Aubry McLarry, Carl Shell, Sid Rouse, Roy Shotwell, Bill DeBardeleben, and Emmett Porter. Either the team played short-handed, or the writer did not know the names of the others.⁷⁴ In a whimsical mood Dow commented a few weeks later that the Post City team had come to town and won the ball game, twelve to five. This caused some comment, he remarked, because Post City denizens lived on Post Toasties, drank Postum cereal, and ate pulverized oats, and then could come up and larrup Lubbock's corn fed, meat eating young men. But, he loyally prophesized, they couldn't do it again.⁷⁵

Lubbock High School fielded a baseball team at least as early as 1912. In 1915 when R. B. Galbraith joined the faculty as coach, the sport was put on a firmer basis. The newspaper delighted in reporting triumphs of the high school team over college teams such as Wayland or Simmons.⁷⁶

The fortunes of amateur baseball in Lubbock waxed and waned. The year 1914 seems to have been a good one. The city had a team called the Lubbock Greys which was hard at work early in the spring getting ready for the season. Fourteen business firms donated a uniform each for the team to wear while playing its summer schedule. Sports languished during World War I but revived quickly thereafter. In 1919 the Lubbock Athletic Club fielded a team, and a year later the Elks Lodge sponsored a really first-rate one. The team played teams from all over the area: Lorenzo, Post, Snyder, Plainview, and Roswell, among others. By late August the season record

of the team stood at twenty-three won out of thirty played. This, remarked the editor, was a great source of pride, although it did make it hard to get games.⁷⁷

Most of the baseball games were played on week-ends, which complicated matters, since Sunday baseball was prohibited. The city ordinance of 1909 prohibiting baseball in the city could be evaded by going outside the city limits, although it was less convenient. When the county began its system of parks in 1920 the commissioner's court prohibited the playing of Sunday baseball or football on county lands, including parks, in order to protect the morals of the youth. But in 1922 the commissioners relented and voted to permit the Lubbock Baseball Club to play as many as seven Sunday games at Lubbock County Fair Park.⁷⁸

Professional baseball came onto the local scene in 1922 with much fanfare. Early in the year a team was organized and took over the Ballinger franchise in the West Texas League. Fletcher "Sled" Allen was signed as manager, and a public contest was held to select a name for the team. "Longhorns" gained the most support and won the contest, until somebody pointed out that the University of Texas had used that name for many years. The word "Hubbers" was then decided on instead. In 1923 the team played in the Panhandle-Pecos league.⁷⁹ Actually, this was a semi-pro team, since the players held other jobs.

Other organized sports remained chiefly in the province of the high school. Besides their early baseball team the students got up a football team. The first team was organized in 1910, with J. E. Vickers, a young attorney fresh from the University of Texas law school, as its coach, assisted by C. D. Lester. Games were played on a field in the southwest part of town, just southeast of the new high school completed that same year. The 1910 schedule was a simple one made up of two games with Amarillo and two with Plainview. Like the baseball team, the football team played surrounding teams on

a hit or miss basis, although sometimes ranging farther afield than the baseballers. Whenever Wayland College was conquered, as it was in 1912 by a score of 13-6, the victory seemed especially sweet. When Galbraith came as the school's first regularly-assigned and paid coach in 1915, he expanded the basketball, baseball, and football programs, and began competition in track. The football team in those early years had no organized league in which to compete, although teams in the area played each other until an informal champion emerged. In 1915 the student body selected the name their teams still bear, the "Westerners." In 1917 Lubbock's team was unbeaten and untied.⁸⁰

Until the coming of Texas Tech, about the only basketball played was by the high school teams. A girls' basketball team was playing games with surrounding teams as early as 1909, and although it left no record, there no doubt was also a boys' basketball team. The same teams were played as were played in other sports, and again there was no organized league. But by the end of World War I Lubbock teams were competing in the Interscholastic League.⁸¹ From these developments has come the well-rounded and intensive high-school sports program of the present.

Golf was a little later in creating an addiction to its charms, not getting underway until after the First World War, although an abortive effort was made in 1913 to organize a country club. The plan was to incorporate the club, with one hundred men paying \$100 each for shares of stock. The intent, never realized, was to get land in the canyon and to dam up the stream to form a recreational lake. Bathhouses, a boat-house, and other facilities were included in the plans. It was not until 1921 that the next effort was forthcoming. By January of that year enough enthusiasm for the game had been generated so that when the first meeting was held in the Chamber of Commerce offices, forty-one men were present. The plan was to limit memberships to fifty at \$10 each. But when

sixty-five checks were sent in, the number had to be raised to seventy-five. Curtis A. Keen was elected president; R. B. Hutchinson, vice-president; and Sylvan Sanders, secretary-treasurer. There was a field manager of the gun club, J. R. Germany, and a field manager of the golf club, E. A. Morgan. A nine-hole golf course was laid out on land leased east of town, and the club bought a trap and planned to have regular Wednesday trapshoots.⁸²

Golf enthusiasm evidently ran high, at least among the few who knew anything about the game. The *Avalanche* reported that soon after the Lubbock Golf and Gun Club was organized, 25 members had bought clubs, and that late in January 1921 three carloads of "golf nuts," as the newspaper was pleased to call them, drove to Post City as guests of the country club there. The first golf tournament ever held in the county took place on April 24-25, 1921, on the new Lubbock course, with some 25 players entered from Post City, Canyon, Abilene, and Lubbock. A score of 150 or under (for 18 holes, apparently) was enough to qualify a player, and eventually 6 players were chosen to represent Lubbock in the West Texas golf tournament.⁸³

These early golfers must have felt themselves to be pioneers in their own right. Carved straight out of the prairie, their course had only prairie grass for fairway turf, with sand greens for putting surfaces. Sand could blow up easily off the sparse grass, and there were no clubhouses into which to retreat. The playing conditions on the Lubbock Golf and Gun Club course, which had been organized on merely a temporary basis to test the enthusiasm for the game, may well have been one factor leading the golfers to organize a new club. In August 1921 thirty-five men met in the courthouse and took the first preliminary steps towards organizing the Lubbock Country Club. They planned to incorporate with \$25,000 capital stock, and began operations with W. B. "Kid" Powell as temporary president. By October members were already playing on land

bought from the George Wolffarth farm north of the city. The first permanent officers were Neil Wright, president; W. B. Powell, vice-president; Walter S. Posey, treasurer; and C. E. Hunt, secretary.⁸⁴

A public golf course was also first laid out in 1923. Jim Smith and "Sled" Allen led in the enterprise, putting their course in the canyon where Mackenzie Park now is located. An aspirant could test his love for the game relatively inexpensively, paying \$10 initiation fee and \$5 a year in dues. Until he decided whether he liked the game well enough to buy his own, a player could rent one of the twelve sets Smith kept available at the Lubbock Drug Company.⁸⁵

Other sports also enjoyed some popularity in the city. There were several tennis courts by the early twenties, although the facilities were rather crude. For a time after World War I the Lubbock Athletic Club staged boxing and wrestling bouts. Two frequent boxing opponents were Elwin Wheelock of Lubbock and Robert Sledge of Slaton, with Bill Honey also challenging Sledge to bouts. The Club also staged several wrestling bouts in early 1919. In 1921 the American Legion club in Lubbock sponsored public boxing bouts. Editor Dow frowned upon these spectacles and referred only to the fact that a "certain organization" was sponsoring them. The bouts were staged in the Lindsey theater and featured such contests as the one between "Clever Joe" Denton of Tahoka and Talmadge Bentley, substitute for his brother Rufe, "The Coleman Bearcat." Denton knocked out the substitute in the ninth round.⁸⁶

Sometimes sport and business were joined, as was the case early in 1918. On January tenth a severe norther blew in, dropping the temperature to nearly the zero mark and bringing a heavy snowfall. The temperature remained low for several weeks, which prevented the snow from melting. Since there was little to do, many men and boys went hunting cottontails and jack rabbits. These they sold to agents from other

cities, who had come searching for ways to overcome the war-time shortage of meat and to get around its high price. The rabbits were stored in a warehouse near the Santa Fe depot, where several men were engaged in cleaning them. Reverend Liff Sanders once recalled that although on previous occasions Lubbock rabbits had been sent out successfully in small numbers, this last carload must have spoiled on the way, because the city was never afterwards troubled by a demand for rabbit meat.⁸⁷

Thus, by 1923 Lubbock in a little over three decades had grown from a handful of struggling settlers housed in unpainted frame buildings, to a prosperous and thriving community of some five thousand. The weatherworn shacks had given way to substantial brick and frame homes surrounding a growing business district; a program of public works had been inaugurated; and the religious, educational, and cultural life of the city flourished. As the county-seat town, Lubbock was the center of a substantial agricultural community that was growing steadily as surrounding ranches were broken up into farmland. And yet, the next three decades would bring even more rapid growth. As the coming of the railroad had once meant so much to the founding of the city, so would the establishing of Texas Technological College in 1923 mean the opening of a new era of even more rapid expansion — which the tapping of irrigation water in the 1930's would in its turn reinforce.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 1, October 8, 1909.

² *Ibid.*, July 20, 1911, October 31, 1912.

³ Walter Posey to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 16, 1959; L. C. Ellis to Lawrence Graves, telephone interview, October 16, 1959.

⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 20, June 10, July 22, October 8, 1909, February 3, 1910, August 1, September 12, 1912.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 29, 1919, September 2, 1920, June 23, 1921; Chamber of Commerce Minutes of Directors Meeting, April 29, 1919.

⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, October 8, 21, 1909, June 30, 1910, March 21, October 31, 1912, March 5, 12, April 9, 16, 23, June 11, 1914.

⁷ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1921, March 13, 1923.

- ⁸ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1909.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, June 3, August 26, 1909.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, February 3, 10, 1910, June 9, 30, 1910.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, August 12, 26, 1909.
- ¹² Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 10, 1913, April 16, 1914.
- ¹³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, November 23, 1911.
- ¹⁴ Sanders interview, June 20, 1958.
- ¹⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 10, 1909.
- ¹⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 16, 1909, September 1, 1910, August 21, December 4, 1913, July 20, September 9, 1920.
- ¹⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 1, August 5, September 16, October 14, 1909, September 1, 1910; Rush, *The Formative Years*, 128. Forty-eight donors each gave \$100 or more. Whether the donations were ever repaid is doubtful.
- ¹⁸ Lubbock Public Schools, 1891-1953 (typescript in the Lowrey Papers, Southwest Collection); Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 9, 1920; Lubbock Independent School District, *The Lubbock Public Schools: Report on 30 Years of Growth* (Lubbock, 1950), n.p.
- ¹⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 21, 28, 1910.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1910, May 9, 23, August 22, 1912.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, February 1, 1912.
- ²² *Ibid.*, May 9, 1912.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, July 10, 1913.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, November 2, 1911.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, April 17, 1919, November 25, 1920; Miss Mae Murfee to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 19, 1959.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, July 28, 1921, March 24, 1922; Lubbock Independent School District, *The Lubbock Public Schools*.
- ²⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 6, June 3, 1909.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, May 9, 1909, June 9, 1910.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1909.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 12, 19, 1910.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, December 4, 1913, May 21, 1914.
- ³² *Ibid.*, July 31, October 9, 1913, May 28, 1914; Twitty interview, October 5, 1959.
- ³³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 18, 1914; First Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce (typescript in Lubbock Chamber of Commerce Minutes, folder one, in the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce office), 14, 24. This report covered the chamber's work for 1916. As early as July 8, 1909, and again a week later the Lubbock *Avalanche* referred to Lubbock as "The Hub of the Plains." The author was unable to locate the film.
- ³⁴ First Annual Report of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, 12, 16, 19-22.
- ³⁵ *Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce* ([Lubbock] [1919]), n.p.
- ³⁶ Seventh Annual Report of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce for Fiscal Year ending June 1st, 1920 (typescript in Lubbock Chamber of Commerce Minutes, folder one, in the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce office), n.p. This was really the chamber's third report, rendered for its seventh year of work; Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 27, 1921.
- ³⁷ Chamber of Commerce Minutes of Directors Meetings, March 22, 31, 1921, March 6, April 11, [1922], November 14, 1922, December 11, 1923, January 11, 23, 25, 1922; Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 4, August 4, 1921.

³⁸ Chamber of Commerce Minutes of Directors Meetings, November 19, December 3, 1917, May 9, 1922; Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 10, 1913, February 20, 1919.

³⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 18, 25, November 20, 1913.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1909, February 10, 1910, August 7, 28, 1913, August 3, 1923.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, January 13, February 3, 1921, Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, December 5, 1923.

⁴² Lubbock *Avalanche*, February 24, 1922, February 6, 1923.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1920, January 27, 1921, May 19, 1921.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, November 21, 1912, July 4, 1922, March 23, 1923.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, August 12, 1920, January 13, 27, 1921.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1910, March 17, 1921.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, September 16, 1909, August 25, 1910.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1910, November 23, 1911, February 19, 1914, March 6,

1923.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, May 27, September 9, 1909, July 26, 1959.

⁵⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, February 3, 24, 1910, January 5, 1911; J. E. Vickers to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 10, 1959.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 6, June 3, September 30, 1909, December 9, 1920, November 17, 1922, February 20, 27, 1923. Mrs. J. B. Mobley was president of the Library Association in 1909.

⁵² *Ibid.*, December 23, 1909, February 17, May 5, 1910.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, July 4, October 24, 1912, February 19, 1914; Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes, July 14, 1913 (II, 506).

⁵⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 8, 1919, August 12, 1920, July 28, 1921, September 15, 1922, April 24, 1923.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1923.

⁵⁶ Mrs. Elmer Conley to Jean Paul, interview, July 24, 1958; E. L. Lowrey to Jean Paul, interview, August 4, 1958; Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 5, 1909.

⁵⁷ Conley interview, July 24, 1958.

⁵⁸ Lowrey interview, August 4, 1958; Herbert F. Stubbs to Jean Paul, interview, June 8, 1958; Lubbock *Avalanche*, October 8, 1909, August 25, 1923.

⁵⁹ Stubbs interview, June 8, 1958; Lowrey interview, August 4, 1958. Once, in 1902, Martin developed sores on his legs, which the county employed Dr. Overton to treat. The commissioners displayed their skepticism about the new doctor's skill by paying only \$25 before the treatment and the rest after it was successful — and demanding the return of the down payment if the cure failed. Unfortunately, there is no record as to the outcome. Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes, May 12, 1902 (I, 399).

⁶⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 8, May 20, August 26, October 8, 1909. Several people who were in Lubbock in 1909, including Miss Mae Murfee, J. E. Vickers, Walter Posey, and Smylie Wilson, have no recollection of an Orpheum Theater. It is possible that W. R. Payne bought it out within a few weeks after it opened and merged it with his Opera House, since references are sometimes made later to an Orpheum Opera House, and since in 1909 Jink Penney and Bill Payne were associated in the South Singer Land Company, which indicates they may have merged their theater enterprise in the Opera House and called it the Orpheum Opera House.

⁶¹ McElroy interview, September 25, 1959.

⁶² Vickers interview, October 13, 1959.

⁶³ Conley interview, July 24, 1958; McElroy interview, September 25, 1959.

⁶⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 7, 1914, September 19, October 31, 1918.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1909, April 28, 1910, November 28, 1912.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, January 27, February 3, 1910.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, October 19, 26, 1911, October 10, 1912.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, April 17, 1919, April 14, 1921; Conley interview, July 24, 1958; Chamber of Commerce Directors Minutes, May 29, 1923, and copy of a contract with the Redpath-Horner Company, dated May 31, 1920, in folder I of Chamber of Commerce Directors Minutes. In 1923 the Chamber directors decided not to renew the Chautauqua contract for 1924.

⁶⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 25, May 30, 1922, March 8, July 13, 1923; Chamber of Commerce Directors Minutes, March 6, 15, April 11, November 14, 1922, June 12, December 11, 1923.

⁷⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 30, 1921.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, June 2, 23, 1921.

⁷² *Ibid.*, May 28, 1914, June 26, 1919.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, May 27, August 12, 26, 1909, June 9, 1910.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1910.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1910.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, April 4, 11, 1912.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, February 26, April 30, 1914, June 5, 1919, July 15, 22, August 5, 12, 1920.

⁷⁸ Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes September 13, 1920 (IV, 1), June 7, 1922 (IV, 137).

⁷⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 24, February 14, March 14, 1922. April 17, 1923.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, September 14, October 26, November 30, 1911, October 24, 1912, October 23, 1913, September 21, 1923; Lubbock Independent School District, *The Lubbock Public Schools*.

⁸¹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, October 28, 1909, November 23, December 7, 1911, February 15, 22, 1912, November 20, 1913.

⁸² *Ibid.*, August 21, 1913, January 20, February 3, 1921.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, February 3, 1921, April 21, 28, 1921.

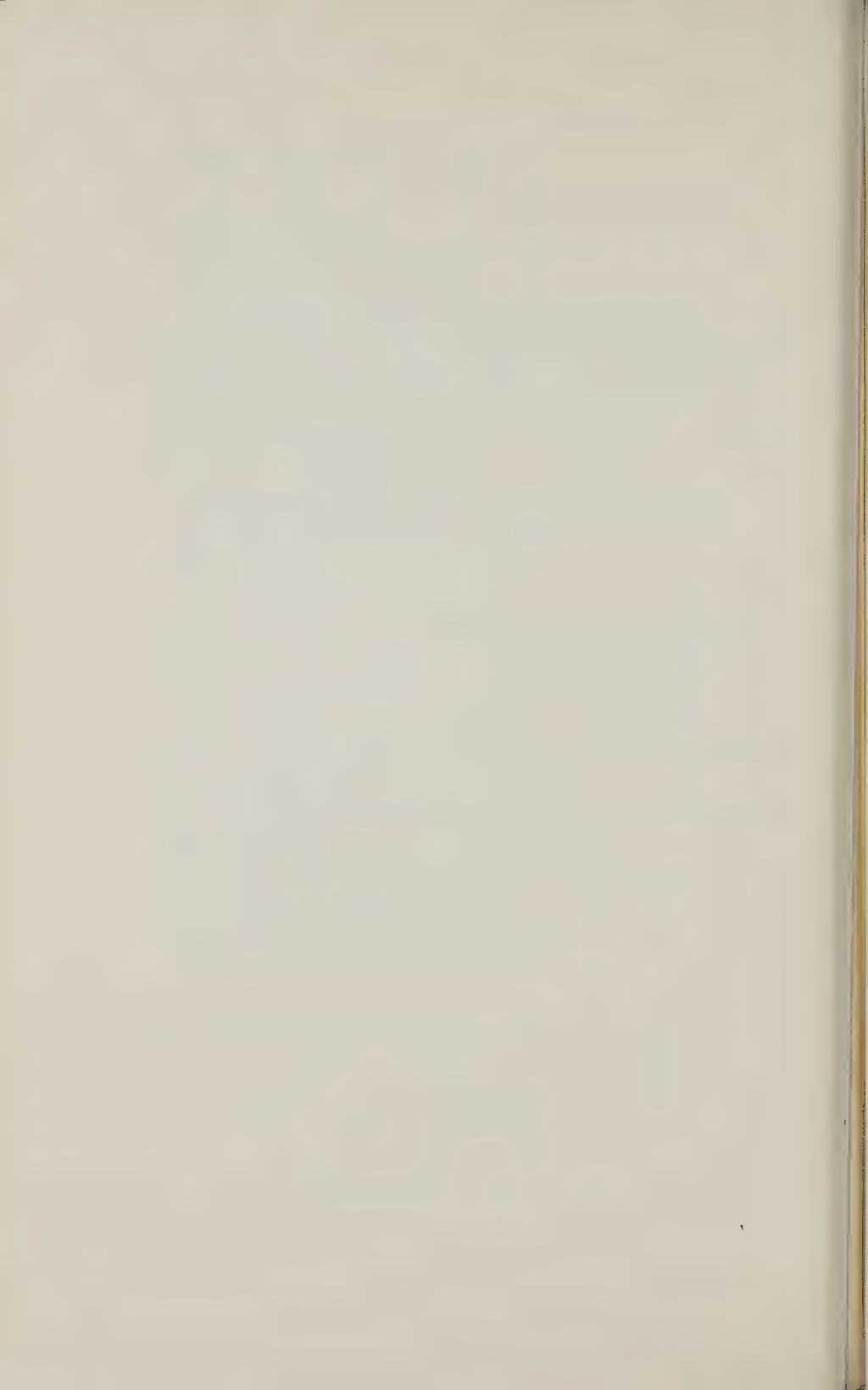
⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, August 4, October 13, 1921.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, August 3, September 6, 1923.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, April 3, 1919, May 19, December 27, 1921.

⁸⁷ Sanders interview, July 5, 1958.

Part Two: GROWTH OF THE CITY



Agriculture Builds a City

Roy Sylvan Dunn

ONE DAY in the latter part of the last century, a man came to the South Plains of West Texas.¹ It is unimportant to know who this man was or the nature of his mission. That is another story, his. But this man saw something, and what he saw prompted him to exclaim. It is this — what he saw and what he said — that is monumental enough to be etched into history.

The man saw the vast, level, and lonely stretches of the virgin *Llano Estacado*.

“What a clean stretch of land!” he said. “Why I could start a plow point into the soil and turn a furrow two hundred miles long without a break. I’ll live to see the day when the plow will push the cattle off this range and grain crops will be fed to dairy cows!” This man was a prophet.²

If he were living in 1909, he could have seen proof of his forecast spelled out in bold print. That was the year when the little agricultural outpost, Lubbock, mustered the vigor to incorporate, and commercial promoters issued a statement that not only corroborated but elaborated the man’s prediction:

. . . if there is an agricultural district anywhere in this country

that will produce a greater variety of products or of better quality . . . we have not heard of it. That is why we ask you to come here. No other new country ever did better in agriculture . . . [this is] a land of wonderful resources . . . [and] opportunities, a land of untold wealth awaiting the development of the homeseeker . . . no man ever bought property in a town with the future that Lubbock has . . . if you want to locate in a town with the greatest possible future, a town that is certain to be a . . . great distributing point and a considerable city, come to Lubbock.³

Indeed, this too, was prophetic. Within half a century the town grew from less than 2000 souls to 128,068⁴ and was acclaimed as being

. . . a modern, progressive, prosperous and growing trade and processing center of a rich agricultural area . . . [enjoying a prosperity] based mainly on agriculture.⁵

It seems logical to assume that rural and urban growth and prosperity on the South Plains are but different sides of the same coin, and that, very simply, agriculture has built a city.

Aided and insured by thousands of irrigation wells, this “. . . most mechanized farming section of the world”⁶ is sustained by a variety of agrarian commodities which flourish phenomenally. For example, in 1957 area farmers produced over 1½ million bales of cotton. This was over 14 percent of the total U. S. crop and almost half of the total Texas crop. Comparatively, it was 80,885 bales more than the combined production of Mississippi, Georgia, Virginia, Florida, Kentucky, and Illinois. In view of such high production, there is little wonder that the city has become one of the nation’s top “spot cotton” markets, the third largest inland cotton market of the world, the cottonseed oil capital of the world, and the largest metropolitan area within a radius of 300-500 miles.⁷

Lubbock is the hub city—the market place—of the rich South Plains, or perhaps it is, as some observers claim, the capital of “West Texico,”⁸ embracing West Texas and part of New Mexico. The area served by Lubbock has an annual

effective buying income of about one billion dollars. The city's annual retail sales are high — about two hundred million dollars — and the median personal income is the highest of all standard metropolitan areas in Texas and is well above the national average.⁹

The city's retail trade area comprises twenty-three counties in Texas and three in eastern New Mexico. The Texas counties, which serve as a basis for this study of agriculture, are: Bailey, Borden, Briscoe, Castro, Cochran, Crosby, Dawson, Dickens, Floyd, Gaines, Garza, Hale, Hockley, Kent, Lamb, Lynn, Lubbock, Motley, Parmer, Scurry, Swisher, Terry, and Yoakum. They form a block along the mid-western border of the state. The majority of this box-like area is situated on the *Llano Estacado*, "one of the most perfect plains regions of the world."¹⁰ It is a smooth, high plateau of deep, rich sandy loams:

. . . [a] tilted plain, 3,000 to 3,500 feet above sea level . . . broken only by occasional draws . . . with little run off . . . [and which was] in the virgin state, treeless . . . covered with sod of grama and buffalo grass . . . and on lighter soils, a coarse bunch grass.¹¹

In spite of semi-aridness, this new environment was regarded at the turn of the century as the "most alluring body of unoccupied land in the U. S."¹² — a fertile land of promise, possessing underneath its attractive topography a reservoir of water suitable for irrigation.

Explorers and travelers of earlier days were not impressed with this area. Several made dire predictions of its future value. In fact, due to the scarcity of live surface water, habitation by the buffalo and the buffalo hunting Indians came only in the face of relentless pressure from civilization to the east. Then, in the 1870's, the buffalo were slaughtered and the Indians were removed. Thereafter, for these and other reasons, there was a general wave-like movement of Anglo-American settlers westward across the state. The crest of this wave

hit between the 98th and 100th meridians during the 1870's and 1880's; it moved beyond the 100th meridian during the 1880's and 1890's; and it reached the future Lubbock trade area during the 1890's and early in the new century. More pointedly, before 1890 there were but three organized counties in the Lubbock Trade Area. During the 1890's nine counties were organized there. The remaining eleven were organized after the turn of the century.

These settlers, and those who followed them, came west to use the soil. With sheep, cattle, cotton, sorghum, and other crops a great agricultural economy was established, and Lubbock, a rural man's town, was built.

In the early 1870's, before the arrival of men on horses with their "whoopie-ti-yi-yo" and long before the advent of men with naught but seeds, desire, and ground tools, placid flocks of sheep nimbly edged up through the few canyon entrances to the eastern rim of the plains to graze the green spots and drink from a limited number of cool springs. Like phantoms, these herds and their unknown shepherds faded from the scene prior to the coming of the first permanent settlers. Evidence of their presence — a sheep corral about two years old — was found by Zachary T. Williams, a sheep raiser, who settled at Buffalo Springs around 1877 and was one of five sheep ranchers established in the county by 1880.¹³ Thus, it can be reckoned that the agricultural history of Lubbock County originates almost timidly with sheep. However, sheep, as well as hogs, poultry, milk cows, and other types of live produce — excepting, of course, beef cattle — have seldom been more than lesser lights in the economy, much to the chagrin of exponents of sow-cow-hen diversification.¹⁴

Exemplary of sheep pioneering is the case of William Gilmore Nairn.¹⁵ A native of Glasgow, Scotland, he drove his sheep northwest from Big Spring in 1893. It was a drouthy year, and he was looking for water. He located six miles northwest of Lubbock, and became one of the area's promi-

nent sheepmen. He employed two herders from Scotland, with the shearing chores being performed by crews of migrant Mexicans. The wool harvest was a cooperative affair among neighboring sheep raisers who simply brought the several flocks together, with the clipping being performed in a barn. Mrs. Ida Collins, Nairn's daughter, recalls that they did not have too much trouble with the Mexicans in spite of the fact that annually they did nick and cut the sheep badly.

Initially, wool from Lubbock was freighted to Colorado City. Later, it went to Amarillo, and still later, to Big Spring. About two trips were made to market each year, and the wool brought three to four cents per pound. Sheep were worth not more than \$3 per head. They were much less profitable than cattle and, in addition, they required considerable care and attention. For one thing, they had to be guarded from coyotes by means of portable five-foot-high picket fences. Also, about once a year they had to be dipped in a big trough for bugs and itch. There is little wonder that sometime between 1905 and 1906, when Nairn faced a pasture shortage on one hand, and, on the other, was lured by the prospects of crop farming, he disposed of his sheep. Not all sheepmen followed suit, however, for Lubbock County counted 4213 head in 1910, and that same year several sheepmen optimistically worked at perfecting the details of their business. C. W. Ratcliff, with two years' experience in the Lubbock environs, sported a flock of 625 head of grade ewes (one-third Shropshire, two-thirds Merino) bred to full-blooded Rambouillet rams. His once-a-year shearing for the year 1909 averaged seven pounds per head, which brought him twenty cents a pound with ". . . no dockage on account of sand in the wool clip."¹⁶ Another Lubbockite, J. L. Showalter, agreed that the "woolies" were splendidly suited to the Plains and very profitable. Unlike Ratcliff's, his sheep were almost purebred Merinos. They made a heavier fleece (about two pounds per head more) than the purebred Shropshire and the Shropshire

grades, but their fleece sold for a half-cent less. There were other drawbacks to the Merinos; the ewes proved to be poor hustlers — poor mothers — in the plains country. In the light of such experience, most raisers believed the good-hustling Rambouillet to be the best all-around breed for both wool and mutton in the prairie environment.¹⁷

Before World War I it was obvious that

. . . sheep grazing will probably be (always) largely confined to the rougher lands about the border of the plains although with shelter and food for the sheep in winter sheep growing may become an important industry of the future.¹⁸

Indeed, from 1925 to 1930, the number of sheep and lambs increased sharply both above and below the Caprock. In Lubbock County the number rose from 3185 to 9380 and, led by Hale, Bailey, and Scurry, the 23-county area counted 140,606 head in 1930. This was 99,226 head more than in 1925, for an increase of 240 percent. During the same period, the state increase was but 124 percent. But the declines accompanying the depression prompted the conclusion that:

. . . relatively high land value is prohibitive to economical sheep and goat raising in the Llano Estacado and they are insignificant throughout the area . . . only scattering bunches occur here and there, and little interest is shown in raising them either for meat or for wool.¹⁹

Throughout the area the sheep population continued to decline during the 1940's, with the greatest drop — 57 percent — following World War II, 1945–1950. Although in these later years wool has been in trouble²⁰ due to foreign imports, and while the demand for lambs has remained relatively static, the raising of sheep as a farm operation, or the feeding out of lambs, are highly regarded as part of a growing trend toward diversification. This is especially true in Lamb County,²¹ where the head count tripled from 1950 to 1954 and the number of sheep raisers increased modestly from 13 to 32.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF CATTLE RANCHING

The raising of beef cattle, not sheep, has characterized and had a great impact on the Lubbock community. Cattle ranching on the South Plains was an extension of the great cattle industry which was homogeneous throughout the west. Alert cowmen had noted that wiry Texas stock were well suited for trailing across the *Llano Estacado*. Not only could the animals endure drouth, thirst, and long travel,²² but Charles Goodnight believed that they picked up vitality in the hardy climate.²³ This does not mean that proving up the plains was a certainty for timid souls with limited finances. On the contrary, it stands to reason that it was men of strength and backing who sent the first big herds scampering up over the Caprock into the new world — the lonely, limitless sea of grass.

Possibly the first ranch on the public domain of the plains was established in 1877 by Colonel C. C. Slaughter,²⁴ who was at one time reputed to be the largest individual taxpayer in the Lone Star State. Once, his Lazy S laid claim to a range measuring 200 miles square, or over 24,000,000 acres. Shortly, in a more mature economy, with land ownership, fences, windmills, and buildings, the assets of the C. C. Slaughter Cattle Company were listed as 500,000 acres in Hockley, Bailey, and Lamb counties, stocked with 20,000 high-grade Herefords. At his death on January 25, 1919, Slaughter owned about 250 sections in five West Texas counties.

To the east, in the summer of 1877, H. C. "Uncle Hank" Smith herded six hundred cattle into Crosby County,²⁵ where in 1878 he established a ranch at the mouth of Crawfish Canyon in Blanco Canyon. He was the first permanent settler in the county and founder of the first locally-owned small cattle ranch on the South Plains.²⁶ That same year, 1878, A. M. Britton and H. H. Campbell, with headquarters off the Caprock in the lower rolling plains of Motley County, started the Matador Ranch, which in time under its foreign ownership grew into a gigantic enterprise.²⁷

Another early arrival was C. O. Edwards, who came to Crosby County in 1879. He established the Tahoka Cattle Company and owned the T Bar Ranch in Lynn County.²⁸ Also in 1879, the Daltons—G. L., C. A., and R. S.—were ranching in Crosby County; they sold their holdings in 1884 to the Espuela Land and Cattle Company.²⁹

In 1880 David G. Galbraith established the Llano Live Stock Company in Lynn and Garza counties. Two years later Jim Newman brought 1054 head to the Yellow House Canyon area, and A. P. Bush, Jr., bought a ranch in Scurry and Borden counties which had been established by the Texas Investment Company.³⁰

By the late 1880's much of the land below the Caprock had been fenced by the large ranchers, and owners of small herds pushed out onto the plains. Included in this movement were George Wolffarth and his cousins, Van and Will Sanders, who established themselves on the west line of Lubbock County in a niche formed by the juncture of the Spade (formed in 1891) and the IOA.³¹ Thus, during the 1870's, 1880's, and to some extent during the 1890's, cattle raisers, both large and small, took over the plains.

Ranch business was big in terms of money invested, and extensive in terms of its operation. In 1885 Dudley H. Snyder bought 128,000 acres from Lewis O. Nelson at \$1.65 per acre. It was a strip of land in Hale, Hockley, Lamb, and Lubbock counties which measured 25 miles by 8 miles. Snyder borrowed from his brother, John W. Snyder, half the money needed for the venture. On November 27, 1887, he deeded John a one-half interest. They then purchased an additional 71 sections for \$89,000, which brought the total acreage to 173,400 acres. In 1891 the Snyders sold their north pasture of 128,000 acres to Isaac L. Ellwood, who called his new property the Spade Ranch. In time the Spade was enlarged to 262,000 acres and extended eight to twelve miles in width and 54 miles in length. The initial investment was \$769,728.³²

The rancher's heyday is also exemplified by the efficient half-million-acre Spur Ranch in Kent, Crosby, and Garza counties. Early in its history, the Spur branded 80,000 cattle in a single year; in one shipment during 1890 they loaded 20 railroad cars of beef from Amarillo; their sales in 1894 amounted to \$150,000.³³ To the west of Lubbock, Major George W. Littlefield's 350,000-acre Yellow House Ranch, purchased in 1901 from the Capitol Syndicate's XIT Ranch, produced \$1,000,000 worth of cattle in ten years.³⁴ The XIT was the ultimate in "bigness." It originally covered 3,050,000 acres in parts of nine counties—Dallam, Hartley, Oldham, Deaf Smith, Parmer, Castro, Bailey, Lamb, and Hockley. By November 1886 it was stocked with 110,721 cattle valued at \$1,322,587. The herd usually averaged about 150,000 head. When operating at a steady gait the ranch had a monthly payroll of \$7000. Each year it sent 12,000 head of two-year-olds up the trail to maturing ranges in Montana and on eventually to Chicago, where they were sold as four-year-olds.³⁵

Of course, not all ranching was on a grand scale, for after the major operators got a "toe holt" in the new territory, a multitude of smaller-g geared livestock enterprises mushroomed somewhat under their protective wing. In turn these "nesters," many of whom trekked to the area in covered wagons, contributed much in setting the pattern for future agricultural development, viz, the small diversified rural unit.

Finding a water supply was one of the first problems faced by stockmen who ventured onto the streamless *Llano Estacado*. In fact, as tempting as was the beautiful grass, some hardy observers shook their heads in doubt whether the area ever would be suitable for ranching of the traditional type. Not only was there no visible source of water—and one mature mother cow requires fifty gallons of water daily—but it was worrisome and somewhat appalling to find no hills or trees to protect the cow-brutes in winter. But water could be had. Prior to 1879, H. C. "Uncle Hank" Smith dug a well in

northeast Crosby County at the future site of the Quaker colony, thus demonstrating that water was available on what was thought to be a waterless waste, and by 1881 the Quakers themselves were sinking holes and finding an abundance of water at reasonable depths.³⁶ How could it be raised to the surface in quantities and with an economy to fit the urgent needs of the cattlemen?

As an experiment, cattleman M. V. Johnson in 1881 contracted for the drilling of six wells for windmills on his land. It was a laborious task entailing the transportation of drilling water forty miles to the dry, forlorn location. But it was well worth the effort, for Johnson's theory was validated. Wells could be drilled; windmills could lift the water for consumption by man and beast and within five years the Staked Plains was a cattle country.³⁷

Thereafter, with the exception of a few wells dug by hand, most water holes were drilled by specialists such as the Wilsons—Lehman and Lambert “One Sock” Wilson and their father—who arrived in the Lubbock vicinity about 1900,³⁸ or by Ward Jarrott of Lubbock who advertised that “. . . I am prepared to do well drilling on short notice. I make straight holes or no pay.”³⁹

Although the names S. R. Hilburn and H. A. Pierce are associated with the first windmills raised around Lubbock,⁴⁰ it is believed that Bennett Howell built one of the first on the plains at a site close to the sod house headquarters of the Mashed O Ranch five miles north of Amherst. It was a rather crude contraption described thus: *box*, four 1 x 4's nailed together; *valves*, fashioned from leather boot top; *wheel*, 1 x 12's set to catch wind when turned, and a homemade pitman raised the water.⁴¹ The first commercial mills were the U. S. brand, followed during the late 1890's by the Eclipse and still later by the Star. All of these were wooden. Early steel models, not engineered for plains wind, were unworkable. So it was that for many years civilization's hallmark on the prairies was the

olive-green Eclipse with its large mill wheels (average size 10 to 14 feet) and its squat 24-foot towers.⁴²

To save cattle strength and valuable flesh, ranchers quickly learned to curtail the long walks to watering places by scattering a multitude of windmills over their ranges. One spread had five hundred windmills spotted strategically over its vast grazing lands.⁴³ The Spade placed their mills, mostly Eclipse and Star, in two straight lines, each mill four miles from the next. Each was given a name such as North McCartney, South McCartney, Jones Camp, and so on,⁴⁴ and each became in time a recognizable and well-remembered locale. Likewise at homesteads, the whirring, creaking mills became institutionalized, significantly adding to, and graphically reflecting, the pioneer way of life. To each mill there was attached a well house or milk house—a trough with fresh, cool, running water—a primitive refrigerator for preserving milk, butter, and slices of beef.⁴⁵ The mill tower itself had multiple by-product utility. For one thing, it was the logical place to hang sides of beef for storage during and after the winter butchering season. It was not uncommon for such a proud edifice, etched against the horizon, to serve as a guidepost to travelers, and with the addition of a lantern at night the tower became a beacon on the prairie to “home in on.” The windmill was also a mecca for nesters trying to survive in the region, for “. . . when faced with ‘root little hog or die’ [they] had no choice but to trespass [on the cowmen’s grazing range] for cow chips [fuel] and water.”⁴⁶ The mills also provided sustenance for the struggling prairie towns. In its formative years Lubbock was a forest of windmills.⁴⁷ To some old-timers, the multiplicity of towers seemed an ill omen—such flagrant use would surely pump all the water away!⁴⁸

But the windmill, especially in time of drouth:

. . . made the difference . . . between the family who was able to hold on and the one that had to give up. The irrigation of one acre from a homemade windmill often produced more than all

the rest of the farm or ranch . . . It provided something in the way of luxury; running water in the house, green lawns in a desert, shade trees around a schoolhouse . . . There was always hope as long as the windmill kept turning.⁴⁹

The mills were such a part of the scene that to some settlers they became as distinctive and as recognizable as human personalities.⁵⁰ The mill that was "sort of rared back" — important-like — and with its wheel flying around aimlessly, was like a stilted person who characteristically said much but "pulled little water." Then there was the "complainer," a mill that made an eerie ohing sound. Often, as in folk life, there could be found the "gossiper," a tower tilted forward slightly, as if listening. The dependable mill, like its human counterpart, was the one which stood straight, with the fan at just the correct angle and the wheel toward the wind, doing the job expected. The saddest sight was the mill with the sucker rods pulled — the "sick" mill. The family at that homestead was out of water and would have to wait for neighbors to come and help with the repair job.

On the big ranches care of the mills was part of the yearly routine. Some had windmilling teams which went from mill to mill inspecting, oiling, and repairing. Such crews usually consisted of two men with tools, a pair of mules, and a chuck wagon. The mules were trained to pull the well casing without damaging it.⁵¹ The magnitude of the water problem and the vital role played by windmillers can easily be comprehended when one considers that the XIT by 1890 had 335 windmills, 100 dams, and earthen tanks to supply the 150,000 cattle. As long as the wind turned the wheels ranchers felt some security, but it was not uncommon during the summer months for the wind to die for extended periods. On occasion, to save water-starved cattle ingenious ranchers used live horse power to overcome the calamity of no wind. This was the procedure: a cowboy would hitch his horse to a shaft connected to the pump jack and then ride in a circle.⁵² In over-

the-long-haul efforts to combat the effects of these periods of calm, industrious stock raisers built earthen tanks adjacent to their mills. These life savers were sometimes one hundred yards in circumference. In later years gasoline pumps served as power during the crucial-water-days.

At its inception Lubbock was the last outpost of the free range, for, excepting the XIT boundary there were no fences to the north.⁵³ Extensive fencing of the range was instigated around the turn of the century, and at long last cattle could be separated and managed according to ownership. Fence posts, obviously not cut from the property, had to be purchased outside of the region, and this meant an initial investment of considerable proportions as well as quite a bit of endeavor. But enclosure was a must, and segment by segment the bald prairie was fenced. The posts were usually spaced about thirty feet apart and held three strands of wire, with gates located at convenient places. In 1887 the XIT hauled posts from Colorado City two hundred miles distant to fence the Yellow House division, which was populated with forty thousand head of cattle. The IOA was also enclosed at an early date, and George Bean fenced his land in 1893, as did several of his neighbors. Rural improvement fever was so intense by 1894 that Isham Tubbs found a profitable livelihood building fences and tanks.

Enclosure brought several advantages to the ranch landowner, among which were these: a reduction in the size of the labor force, better control and care of the herd, and controlled feeding by shifting the cattle from pasture to pasture in a planned grazing program. Grazing programs were especially prevalent by the mid 1930's, when most ranches were cross-fenced; the median value of such fencing was \$41 per mile, with the average number of miles amounting to 15.3 per ranch.⁵⁴ By that time the fence had come to stay, and clever rural dwellers, no doubt urged on by lonely wives, had long since converted the top strand of wire to telephone use.

This in no way impaired the holding power of the fence, and the phone service was tolerably good except when the wire was struck by lightning or knocked down by cattle.⁵⁵

Almost coincident with, and certainly a direct result of fencing, came efforts to strengthen ranch economic posture through better quality cattle. The XIT, fast on the heels of enclosure, began herd improvement in 1889.⁵⁶

Although methods varied from ranch to ranch, as did the time-table, change was the mode of the era. The Singleton Ranch, for example, was first stocked with Longhorns, but in 1921 when the ranch suspended operations most of the stock was of the high-class Hereford variety.⁵⁷ As in other sections of the cattle world, most shifts were to Herefords. The Ellwoods originally tried Red Durhams but soon replaced them with the popular white faces.⁵⁸

The Lubbock County pioneers in the raising of Herefords were, among others, Rollie C. Burns, George Wolfarth, and George Boles. From 1898 to 1907 Burns operated his 7730-acre Idlewild Hereford Ranch seven miles east of Lubbock, where he propagated registered Herefords which he advertised thusly:

. . . Bulls in service, Columbus XII, 86,595 half brother to the \$10,000 Dale Puritan, 120,197. Sired by Sothanis Improver, 94,020. Good, robust, purebred range raised Herefords for sale. The purest breed. The best rustlers.⁵⁹

George Wolfarth, who had many cattle projects, set aside 7000 acres for his 250 registered Herefords. It is believed that he purchased his first 60 head about 1900 and the following year sold 25 registered calves at the Floydada auction. Due to an increasing demand the auction went off well. The next year he held an auction in Lubbock, the first public auction of registered Herefords in the Hub City. His offerings brought him \$100 per head. From that day forward, as long as he was in the cattle business, Wolfarth had a herd of registered stock.⁶⁰

Perhaps the first registered Hereford bull in the immediate vicinity of Lubbock belonged to George Boles. He bought the prize animal at Amarillo and led him horseback to Lubbock. The trip took nine days. According to some reports Boles had at one time the largest herd of registered Herefords in Texas. By 1910 when he was a recognized proponent of the breed, his herd was headed by Prince Harris Bodonnel (2080 pounds at three years), which he purchased for \$700 f.o.b. Plainview.⁶¹

A cattle survey in 1935 indicated that fifty percent of the bulls and six percent of the cows on the plains were registered.⁶² But with increased feeding operations some breeders continued to search for a more nearly ideal breed or cross breed.

Brahmans were first tried on the plains in 1947 by Bill Price of Lubbock, while at Plainview Dick Campbell built up one of the outstanding Brahman herds in the country.⁶³ At his Rocking A Ranch Price crossed Brahman females with Black Angus bulls. It was envisioned that the offspring, Brangus, as with other Brahman crosses, would excel in the dry lot because “. . . they are the most efficient users of feed . . . are highly resistant to biting insects, and disease, especially pink-eye.”⁶⁴ But Brahmans are a nervous breed, wild in the brush and fractious in the pen, and within a few years Price was concentrating on registered Herefords, breeding from a herd of two hundred on his ranch near the city.⁶⁵

By 1895 the ranchers had almost complete possession of the South Plains.⁶⁶ The 23 counties in 1899 counted 660,399 head, 7 percent of the State total, and Lubbock County's 46 cattle raisers boasted an inventory of 33,953 head, an average of 738 each. But in the fall of 1905 it was noted that:

. . . big ranches are a thing of the past . . . [and, in 1908] cattle famine near . . . [because] the cattle industry is growing lesser in the Panhandle and South Plains.⁶⁷

Sure enough, the census tally in 1910 revealed that Lubbock

County's cattle population had shrunk to about half its former size, and in the 23 counties there were 162,670 fewer cattle—a drop of 25 percent since the turn of the century. Although the cattle curtailment was statewide—and proportional for the 23 counties—on the plains it was specifically related to the breakup of the big ranches, the entrenchment of the smaller-unit stock farm, and the building of a crop-farm economy.

In spite of the obvious assets of the *Llano Estacado* as a grass-for-livestock paradise, ranch men had quickly learned, and were forever mindful, of the old adage that “. . . all that glitters is not gold.” There were certain range problems that had to be faced. The most troublesome of these were blizzards, drouths, and prairie fires. There is evidence that discouragement and bankruptcy often followed in the wake of such onslaughts of the range, and there is little doubt that such disasters served to make big-scale livestock production less palatable for even those operators who were solvent and well equipped. A case could probably be made that such range troubles contributed in some measure to the decline of the large ranches in the area, but there was a positive force at work which was much more persuasive—increasing land values. Land became too valuable to use for pasturage. The land owners simply cut up their holdings and sold them at handsome profits to farmers and small-plot operators.

This shift did not happen in a day or a year or even a single decade, but as surely as the sun that rises also sets, the big herds of cattle, with plaintive bawls and midst dust kicked by reluctant hooves, trudged down long prairie trails to other pastures. And in modest, inauspicious fashion entered the man with tools and seed. Aside from spotty resistance and temporary individual rivalry, there was general symbiosis and eventually open cooperation between the old-timers in boots and the newcomers in brogans.

Beginning about 1906, Charles W. Post purchased almost

250,000 acres of ranch lands in Lynn, Garza, and Hockley counties, which he blocked out into farms with many improvements and terms designed to attract settlers. Thus, through this colonization scheme the cattle of the Llano, the Oxsheer, and the Square and Compass were removed in favor of a farm population.⁶⁸ In 1908 the Bar-N-Bar (Crosby County) began selling to farmers;⁶⁹ the Spur Ranch in 1909-10 was being broken up and sold.⁷⁰ In 1912, the year the XIT went out of the cattle business, George W. Littlefield decided to cut up and sell his Yellow House Ranch. At \$25 per acre the rich plots sold briskly; in 1923 one remaining portion was transferred to M. H. Reed's Yellow House Land Company, which completed the chore of marketing the parcels of land to settlers.⁷¹

Rapid as was the breakup of big ranches, it did stretch over a period of years. The last roundup on the North Spade took place during the spring of 1925, when over 5800 head of cattle were driven from 90,000 acres.⁷² And on up through the 'twenties and into the 1930's, land-holding ranchers were still getting together on price with farmer-settlers. There was perhaps less hubbub than in the days of excursion trains and eager flush-faced promoters, but the urgency and finality were carried forward and are attested to by the words on a sign located a few miles north of Tahoka:

. . . Zappe Land Co. Tahoka and Wilson Texas. Selling out this famous T - (Bar) Ranch. \$35.00 per acre and up, with 6% interest. First payment now, no more payments or interest until 1926. This land runs 8 miles north, 12 miles west. Remember, it costs you nothing for us to show you this land . . . stop, if you are looking for land; look this proposition over. The famous T - Ranch, 80,840 acres, 126 sections, easy terms [sic]. The best cotton land in the West.⁷³

The shift from ranching to farming changed drastically the complexion, the outlook, and the economy of the twenty-three-county area. Specifically, by 1924, when an average of

56 percent of the land in the counties was in farms and 2,392,735 acres of cropland were harvested, it was obvious that the influx of farmers had resulted in these basic alterations:

First. The number of cattle decreased 455,376 head from 1900 to 1930, or, percentage-wise by periods: 25 percent, 1900-1910; 40 percent, 1910-1925; and 31 percent, 1925-1930.

Second. The number of agricultural units, "farms," increased as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Units</i>	<i>% of State</i>	<i>% of Increase</i>
1900	2472	1	..
1910	7258	2	194
1920	11092	3	53
1925	16891	4	52
1935	27478	5	63

Third. The number of acres per unit decreased in this manner:

<i>Year</i>	<i>State Average Size Acres</i>	<i>% of Decrease</i>	<i>Twenty-three Counties, Average Size, Acres</i>	<i>% of Decrease</i>
1900	357.2	...	49,391.4	...
1910	269.1	25.0	3,753.7	92.0
1925	235.5	13.0	664.2	82.0

Fourth. The value of land and buildings doubled during the period from 1910 to 1920; the average per-acre value of land and buildings rose from \$12.61 to \$27.41; the increase in improved farm lands in Lubbock County amounted to 360 percent.⁷⁴

A cow town such as Lubbock, whose courthouse square was once lined with hitching posts and water troughs, cannot quickly outwear the brand of cow-people. Cattle, once allowed to run at large, trailed along Broadway and bedded down around the Nicolett Hotel, and it was their droppings, dried into chips, that burned brightly in home stoves as the inhabitants sought desperately to survive the savage blizzards

of pioneer days. It was boot heels that first scuffed the boards of the town's new sidewalks, and as it was the "cowpoke's" jingling spurs that characterized scenes on the square, so it was his money that jingled in the cash boxes of the city's first stores because "trade days" conveniently coincided with cattle-sales-days. Moreover, it was the scores of honest and honorable cowmen such as J. K. Millwee, R. C. Burns, E. Y. Lee, Frank Wheelock, and George Wolffarth, who, as good citizens contributed heavily of their time, money, and energetic leadership to transforming the frontier village into a bustling hub city.⁷⁵ But alas, it is a truism of human ecology that ranches do not build big towns, for ranches do not in themselves foster population. Hence, if the *Llano Estacado* had remained exclusively a ranching, or even a stock farming area, it could not have drawn the people and commerce requisite for developing a large metropolis such as modern Lubbock.

The enclosed range made possible a variety of management practices which proved advantageous to livestock producers, and which in turn aided in keeping alive the livestock industry on the plains. One of the more important of these was the use of feed stuffs, usually homegrown, to carry livestock through periods of short grass and severe winter weather. Then, increasingly through the years, feed grown by plains farmers was used to fatten and finish out cattle in the area.

One of the first feeding experiments on a large scale was conducted in 1888-1889, on the Spur Ranch,⁷⁶ when 925 tons of sorghum were used as an auxiliary to pasture grass. Manager Spottswood W. Lomax hoped to systematize the procedure of growing sorghum, feeding it to the herds, and then selling beef directly to the packers, thus eliminating the "corn belt" feeders. With frontier "savvy," he used ploughs and horse scrapers to construct sheds over long dugouts which, in the bank facing south, were covered with protective rough timber, cottonwood branches, and earth. The sorghum

was served on the ground to the animals. Although "stronger on milo" than Lomax, Fred Horsbrugh, who succeeded Lomax as manager in 1889, carried forward the feeding and even added a new idea: he put in small, fifteen to twenty acre fields of feed at each of the line camps. This saved hauling and kept feed at hand for horses used at the camps in the winter.

Other feeding pioneers were the Wolffarths, George Boles, and Frank Wheelock. The period for feeding young cattle usually ran from December to May, and due to the cool dry winters, conditions were excellent for gains on any kind of feed. Wheelock was so optimistic that he not only grew large quantities of feed, but set up a mill for grinding. By 1910 the theory was advanced that land values were so high that ranch owners

. . . cannot afford to devote so large an acreage per head to the grazing of cattle . . . logic says, (1) reduce herds (2) sell part of land at the increased prices (3) start an intensive system of cattle feeding and breeding . . . the land sold will go to farmers who will plant feed . . . the number of cattle in this region will increase . . . they will do better and they will be increased in value . . . the cattle industry will be placed on a firmer basis and continue to be one of the greatest wealth producing pursuits in the Panhandle and Llano Estacado.⁷⁷

Boles furnished his young bulls a first-class native pasture during the summer and then put them on cotton seed cake and forage. Meanwhile, R. M. Bassett of Crosbyton experimented with a new kind of cake prepared from milo and/or Kaffir chops mixed with sorghum molasses.⁷⁸ Developments up to 1915 were encouraging enough to prompt Baker to expound on the Lomax theory of the 1880's:

. . . the bulk of the Llano Estacado will in all probability always be a grazing region . . . the best hopes for better future utilization of the High Plains appear to lie in an improvement of the range, the growing of a better grade of stock, and the cultivation by dry-farming methods of forage for winter feed . . . the feed-

stuffs grown on the plains should be fed to stock on the plains . . . excess feeds should be stored in silos for drouth years.⁷⁹

And twenty years later Dean A. H. Leidigh noted that the South Plains:

. . . has been one of the greatest cattle producing regions . . . [supporting] in any year from one-fourth to one-half a million cattle . . . [and although] each year hundreds of car loads of cattle and calves are shipped to pastures and feed lots of the corn belt . . . steer feeding has been begun on Plains with sorghum grain . . . in 1935 (?) 40,000 head [were fed, with] about half in large feed lots operated by five or six companies [and the] balance in smaller lots by farmers.⁸⁰

Census records bear out the conclusion that the cattle business took an upturn in both the state and in the twenty-three counties during the period 1930-1945, and it is to be assumed that in the twenty-three counties, which counted 369,346 head more in 1945 than in 1930, the advances were closely allied to the feeder-breeder marriage that had been so long in the offing.

With increased production of feed stuffs there was a reversal of the tendency for crop production to squeeze out livestock production. The potential for further increases in cattle numbers as a direct result of the availability of feed stuffs is summarized thus:

1. *Sorghum grain* . . . 100 million hundred weight produced in the area in 1958 could feed 5,563,756 cattle to marketable slaughter grade.
2. *Protein supplement* . . . 440,437 tons of cottonseed meal processed in the area in 1958 would furnish protein supplement for 2,936,247 cattle.
3. *Roughage* . . . 244,677 tons of cottonseed hulls would furnish dry roughage for 326,236 cattle; silage potential production of 4,448,000 tons would feed 1,779,000 head; and alfalfa adequate tonnage available in area to meet present feedlot requirements.⁸¹

During the depression, the William Randolph Hearst interests moved into Brownfield (Terry County), the largest

corn-producing area of West Texas and one of the leaders in grain sorghum production. In 1934 the Babicora Development Company, owned by the Hearst concern, fed over 9000 head of cattle shipped in from the Hearst Ranches in Old Mexico. The finished animals were then transported to packing houses in the Midwest. In 1935 an additional 10,000 animals were finished for market in Brownfield, and in 1939 it was estimated that the \$25,000 plant would supply \$500,000 worth of feed to 15,000 cattle.⁸²

Feeding had definitely come of age in 1940 when commercial feeding of some 100,000 cattle and 300,000 sheep was taking place at such important points as Seagraves, Brownfield, Levelland, Whiteface, Slaton, Littlefield, Sudan, Muleshoe, Morton, and Lubbock. Two decades later, in the first three months of 1959, there were about the same number of cattle in plains feedlots. The animals produced about 20,250,000 pounds of gain and 90,000 tons of manure for a total cash value of \$5,445,000.⁸³

The largest operation on the plains is carried on at D. W. Lewter's 125 acre beef factory on the Slaton Highway in Lubbock.⁸⁴ With a capacity of 30,000 head, the Lewter Feed Lots handle up to 100,000 feeders each year, drawing them from breeders' pastures in three states within a 200 mile radius of Lubbock.

After arrival by truck and train the 600-700 pound animals, mostly Herefords, are subjected to a rich diet steeped with homegrown foods—milo, cotton seed hulls, and meal—which mushrooms them to 1100 pounds in 120 days. Utilizing automation the feed, at the rate of 1,000,000 pounds every two days, is supplied by Lewter Feed Company. Then up to 75 percent of the finished beeves are channeled to Supreme Beef, which is adjacent to the pens, for transformation into meat cuts. Lewter's modern and efficient layout circumvents out-of-area-shipping, and stands as the fruition of the natural

destiny of Lubbock where indigenous feed stuffs, through native animals, become consumer products.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CASH-CROP FARMING

The multiplicity of the relatively small, self-sufficient, crop-growing agricultural units – both stock farms and crop farms – was a boon to diversification, which increased both the varieties and the numbers of livestock, but especially milk cows, hogs, and chickens.

The poultry holdings in 1935 were colossal,⁸⁵ and by way of substantiation the census figures reveal dramatic increases in the twenty-three counties during the score of years beginning with 1925:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Chickens</i>	<i>Increase in Numbers</i>
1925	958,518
1940	2,007,829	1,049,311
1945	2,831,509	823,680

All the while, Lubbock was fast becoming a dairy center,⁸⁶ as at an increasing rate, especially during the depression years, the milk cow played a key role in the economy. At the time of the financial crash in 1929, there were 76,525 cows milked on 22,422 farms in the 23 counties. Lubbock County, with 8196 head on 2198 farms, was the area's leader. Hale County, with 7379 head on 1512 farms, ranked second, but the animals were distributed at a higher average number per farm. And exemplary of heightened dairying just five years later, in 1935, over 10,000 cows were milked in Hale County. They produced 3,726,659 gallons of milk, and in those money-scarce times creamery checks to producers became the chief medium of exchange, passing from hand to hand until there was no more space for endorsement.⁸⁷

Coincident with the giant strides in the production of poultry and milk was the attempt to put "grain on legs" through increased pork production. From 1910 to 1945 the number

of hogs increased by 108,439 head in the 23 counties, with percentage of gains as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of State</i>	<i>Percent of Change</i>
1910	44,338	2	..
1925	46,734	4	+ 5
1940	134,988	9	+189
1945	152,687	10	+ 13

The leaders in this amazing shift of pork production to the plains were Lamb, Hale, and Lubbock counties, which had (in 1940) 36,589 head on 3897 farms.

During the postwar years the number of hogs began to decrease again with drops of 21 percent (1945-1950) and 39 percent (1950-1954). The expert's explanation for this is that ". . . the farm unit size increased. Farm operators were faced with the problem of deciding whether to diversify or concentrate,"⁸⁸ and, not wishing to serve two masters, they chose crops over animals.

At the time of the citizens' application for locating Texas Tech at Lubbock it was apparent to many that agricultural development in the area had reached a high plateau, and in an effort to prove that the city was the logical site for the new college the records were laid bare in a brief entitled "Lubbock 'The Hub of the Plains,' 1923."⁸⁹ Predicated on the purposes of Tech: to teach dry farming [a moisture retaining method utilizing a mulch blanket of finely pulverized surface soil],⁹⁰ to improve water conservation, to promote stock raising, and to insure the beneficial use of underground water for irrigation, the Brief emphasized location, livestock, crops and manufacturing.

Location. Lubbock is centrally located in a rich, diversified farming land in one solid body just opening for development and believed to be the coming agricultural section of Texas because of abundant and profitable crops which are yearly raised on lands that are comparatively cheap from a monetary standpoint.

Livestock. The big ranches are passing out. Within the past three months, one ranch owner has sold within twelve to seventeen miles of Lubbock, about 20,000 acres and sixty families have moved in. But the cattle industry is still flourishing. The area off the Cap is cattle country, capable of furnishing animals for feeding out or finishing on home-grown feed stuffs, an industry that is rapidly growing, and, almost in the city limits of Lubbock there are professional breeders of pedigreed and registered Herefords and other beef cattle. Also, the city is becoming a great dairy section and the center of a great swine and poultry industry.

Crops. At the Dallas Fair, 1922, the premiums for all-county exhibit of agricultural products were awarded as follows: First, Lubbock County; Second, Potter County; Third, Crosby County — all on the South Plains. The shipments of seed, (sudan, cane, maize, Kaffir, feterita, Higera, and millet) from Lubbock during 1922 totaled six thousand, one hundred and eighty tons. The boll-weevil-less South Plains is the coming cotton section of the United States. Not only is the average yield in Lubbock County double the average State yield, but the area's production increased 1400 percent during the period 1909-1919, and at the Experiment Station just east of the city, a ten year study (1912-1922) indicates that the average yield of lint cotton per acre of the highest varieties was 348.87 pounds or three-fifths of a bale per acre which is quite remarkable in that the records include yields for 1917 and 1918, the driest years ever known in West Texas.

Manufacturing. Seven of the twelve categories of manufacturing and industrial plants operating or under construction are related to agricultural produce of the region—a creamery, ice cream factory, milk condensing plant, cotton seed oil mill, compress, five cotton gins, mattress factory, and candy factories.

First crop honors are indivisible among the rancher, the "nester," and the farmer, for each group contributed — some in large measure, others in small — to the instigation of crop production in the land which lay far beyond the ancient "safety zone for corn" and the "western limit of dependable crop production under primitive methods."⁹¹

Touted as the original farmers on the Texas Plains were the Quakers, who, led by Paris Cox, came in 1879 to grow crops in the northwestern part of Crosby County, about fif-

teen miles from Hank Smith's outpost. Smith dug a fine water well for the Quakers and helped them plant corn, oats, sorghum, millet, melons, and vegetables.⁹² The severe winter of 1879-1880 drove out all but Cox; however, the publicity of his good yields in 1880 lured in other Quakers as well as settlers of other faiths. Mrs. Hattie Linn Bryant, a native Texan, recalls that it was in 1886 when she moved to Estacado with her parents, Robert and Arcola Walker Linn.⁹³ This family arrived at the site with one mule, an ox team, twelve head of cattle, and some furniture and children. The colony flourished for about a decade, making good crops including rice-corn (a misnomer for an early type of grain sorghum) and orchards of fine fruits.⁹⁴ In neighboring Hale County, the first settler was a Methodist minister, Horatio Groves, who took up four sections in the center of the county in March 1883, where he grew abundant garden products and feed crops.⁹⁵ Lubbock County's first real farmers were Jerry C. Burns and G. O. Groves, who were raising crops in 1890 and continued farming for years thereafter.⁹⁶

Most "nesters" raised a crop of cane which they harvested by hand and fed to cattle.⁹⁷ And in seeking a solution to his feed problem, rancher George Wolffarth ". . . in a draw near the creek . . . planted the first alfalfa [in the Lubbock vicinity, and] . . . for twenty-two years, crop after crop of hay was produced from this patch without re-seeding."⁹⁸ Likewise, the Singleton Ranch in Lynn County from 1898 to 1921 did some farming, especially in later years when hogs were raised.⁹⁹ The XIT, the largest ranch of them all:

. . . began agricultural experimentation when the nearest railroad was still roughly 150 miles away. From the first the owners of the Capitol Lands dreamed of the days of settlement. Even as A. C. Babcock made his pioneer inspection of the area in 1882, he observed with great interest that some squatter had [already] broken out an unfenced tract of twenty acres on the Sod House Draw.¹⁰⁰

Three years later, in 1885, the big ranch began to break and

plant plots to various crops, much to the chagrin of the cowboys, who felt that "the best side's up; don't plow it under," but results encouraged expansion and publicity and:

. . . in 1887 the Syndicate sent an exhibit of truck and farm products to the Dallas State Fair. From a two acre patch at Buffalo Springs, 4,500 cabbages, thirty bushels of onions, fifty of beets, three barrels of pickles, and much other garden truck was produced.¹⁰¹

Also during the same period the Spur Ranch, sprawling through four counties, contributed greatly to crop pioneering.¹⁰² Under the managership of crop protagonist S. W. Lomax positive farm operations were carried out, and in 1885 the company hired one W. S. Cook, an experienced Michigan farmer, to give a boost to their crop experiments on a thirty-acre plot, the Cannon Place, that was in cultivation when the ranch was bought. About this same time the acreage in feed was expanded to 150 acres, and from the "hay farm" were harvested 300 tons of hay. In 1886 and 1887, drouth years, alfalfa was tried with poor results. Then in 1888, a wet year, the men of the ranch cultivated over 1000 acres. A portion was seeded to a "new and wonderful forage plant," Johnson Grass, and 740 acres were put in sorghum. This was the largest planting of sorghum in one body of land made in Texas up to that time. The plants grew astonishingly well, eight feet tall, although cumbersome for harvesting and creating problems and disappointment. On another 100 acres, they made fair crops of Kaffir corn and milo maize, but the rice-corn was a failure. The following year, 1889, the Spurs made about \$12,000 worth of feed stuffs, and from thence forward, through four years, the Spurs cultivated about 1000 acres of feed stuffs; all the while, in their crop experiments the managers were seeking answers to agricultural problems — the best plants to withstand drouth and wind, the best methods of cultivation for largest yields, the best ways to harvest, and the best ways to tie cropping into ranching. And certainly to the

credit of the company, they did not hesitate to try new crops even in the face of adversity. In 1889 their new forage plant, prickly confrey, was set back by hail, and in 1892 Horsbrugh planted 500 pounds of oats, the first to be planted in West Texas. They were a total loss.

In addition to the efforts of large cattlemen, small stock farmers, and the pioneer crop farmers, there is some evidence of a contribution to farm development from crop speculators, for it is true that “. . . bonanza grain farming followed the Forth Worth and Denver Railroad into the lower Panhandle in the late 19th Century.”¹⁰³ This one-crop venture was set back drastically by the drouth and panic of 1893-1894 but did serve to advertise the agrarian possibilities of the region, and theorists contend that enough family farmers remained in the country to prove that a sound agricultural development could be had with a combination of livestock and diversified crops.¹⁰⁴

By 1905 the Lubbock environs were a land of well tilled farms¹⁰⁵ producing a wide variety of crops. These pioneer crops and their cultivators served to pave the way for future extensive productions for consumption and commerce, both at home and abroad.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, scarcely a dozen years after the first bale of cotton was ginned west of Abilene,¹⁰⁶ cotton was being produced in Lubbock County. The activity was on a limited, unheralded scale, and due to the absence of facilities—gins, markets, and transportation—the prospects were not at all promising. It is unfortunate but true that through the years, and especially since cotton has become so well established in the area, the several futile attempts to patch together the cotton story have been plagued on the one hand by a dearth of factual information, and on the other by an abundance of personal bias anxiously directed toward establishing who grew the first cotton plants. Oddly, most of the publicized “firsts” are in error in that they post-

date the crop of 1899, which, as verified by the census of 1900, indicates that Lubbock County produced fifteen bales on twenty acres. Assuming that the crop was somehow gathered, ginned, and sold, this harvest must mark the beginning of the county's cotton industry, and it is regrettable that the details of this pioneering are sealed in the agricultural schedules of the census, which are not currently available for reference by the public.

The names of Rollie C. Burns and G. O. Groves are rightfully linked to the "pre-harvest period" of Lubbock's cotton history. It was in 1889 that Burns, almost as a lark, planted three acres of cotton; it was not cultivated or gathered, but the planter estimated that it made about half a bale to the acre.¹⁰⁷ Seven years later Groves planted cotton seed in July; the crop made a large stalk, fruited heavily, but failed to open because of an early frost.¹⁰⁸

Among those producing for profit soon after the turn of the century was S. S. Rush,¹⁰⁹ who with his wife and seven sons arrived in Lubbock on New Year's Eve, 1901, looking for a good farming country. The following spring Rush planted black "Pealican" cotton seed on about ten acres of range land east of Lubbock. For Rush, familiar as he was with East Texas cotton production, it was a natural kind of trial, especially since he had plenty of cotton seed, for just prior to making the trip west he had packed his many jars of fruit preserves in boxes insulated with the ubiquitous cotton seed of that region. Packing with cotton seed was common practice. Even in an earlier period chickenless South Plains ranchers had received from the more diversified regions to the east, Christmas egg-nog eggs snugly nestled in cotton seed.¹¹⁰ Although Rush's 1902 crop was destroyed by cattle, he proved to himself two things with the planting: first, the great money-crop would grow in the area; second, it did not require chopping, or thinning. The next year, 1903, Rush put about forty acres rented from W. G. Nairn into the great

staple and made a crop which netted him acclaim from Lubbock merchants, who smelled the advent of a new cash crop in the area. His first two bales were ginned at Plainview, and the remainder of the "wonderful" crop was ginned at Floydada, where a Mr. Malloy had some kind of a primitive ginning apparatus which turned out twenty bales in ten days for Rush. All went well until Rush arrived in Colorado City to sell the cotton. Disbelieving that such a crop could be produced up on the High Plains, residents asserted that Rush was either a thief or a joshier.

It is supposed that, among other things, the sweep of the Mexican cotton boll weevil drove cotton farmers from central and eastern Texas to the rolling plains and up on the *Llano Estacado*¹¹¹ in a movement which was wave-like rather than a sudden, wholesale, final flooding of the broad expanse of territory.

Individual, spotted, plodding-type experimental cotton pioneering was instigated in a number of places in advance of the main body of cotton planters who edged westward into proved territory. On the Spur Ranch, Horsbrugh got such a good yield from fifty acres that he saw the necessity of having a gin closer than sixty miles, and in 1892 installed a "gin outfit" — an unheard of thing for a ranch to do in the cow country — and ginned three bales, which he sold in Colorado City for \$76 each. The following year his crop was a failure, but in 1894 he made five bales, bringing the total to but eight bales in three years. Yet, doggedly, Horsbrugh continued to try cotton until 1901, even in the face of low prices and the long 60- to 100-mile haul to the railroad.¹¹²

With the exception of Hale County, which did not produce cotton until 1903, all of the twelve organized counties in the future Lubbock trade area reported some production in 1899. The unimposing totals were these: acreage, 9142 — one percent of the state total; bales, 1914 — .07 percent of the state. Moreover, true to the wave theory, the largest acreages

and the heaviest yield were in the older counties such as Scurry, Kent, and Dickens.

By 1909 acreage had expanded to 73,314, still one percent of the state total, and production had risen to 10,674 bales, .4 percent of the state total and an increase of 458 percent for the area in ten years. Major increases in both acres and bales occurred in Borden, Briscoe, Dickens, Floyd, Kent, Motley, and Scurry counties, where keen-eyed owners of large plots of range closely followed the westward progression that annually enhanced land values. The Matador Land and Cattle Company believed that settlement, especially for cotton cultivation, would continue.¹¹³ But the bulk of the plains was yet to be swamped by the rolling tide. In Hockley County, for example, where A. W. Blankenship had harvested the first cotton in 1902,¹¹⁴ there were made but six bales on thirty-one acres in 1909. Likewise, Lubbock County's production, although greater, 35 bales from 179 acres, did not rank with the leading counties, nor was it of a magnitude indicative of future spectacular developments.

In view of production in prior years, there is a possibility that the low 1909 crop was simply a failure and that the figures are not genuinely indicative of the growth of the cotton industry.

In 1905, for instance, ". . . the Lubbock Gin Co. started up their gin Tuesday and turned out two bales for C. T. Rowland, one for S. S. Rush and one for W. E. Edwards of Lynn County."¹¹⁵ By December 22, 1905, the gin had turned out 160 bales, ". . . and bids fair to gin 150 more. This is quite an increase. In 1902, four bales were grown in the county; in 1903, 47 bales; in 1904, 110 bales."¹¹⁶

Certainly, the picture is clouded by the fact that the Lubbock gin handled cotton grown in neighboring counties, but the fact remains that production, although progressing, was nothing startling and cotton was of minor interest even as late as 1911 when the county's leading ginner, W. K. Dickinson,

became so discouraged that he sold his gin to Alfred Ewing Whitehead for \$4000 (the first offer), although he was asking twice that much.¹¹⁷ Whitehead was extremely optimistic; he was resolved to promote the nebulous industry. For one thing, he bought a carload of cotton seed and gave it away to farmers, one bushel to each, with these words: "If you make a crop, give me two bushels of seed. If you don't, forget about it." It was a good season. A total of 606 bales were made, with the biggest crop belonging to James Buchanan Posey. The whole crop was purchased by Whitehead at six cents per pound, and he passed it on to the buyers in Snyder for eight cents, a nice profit.

During the four years from 1915 through 1918, the county's production was at a higher plateau, with yields ranging from 947 to 3496 bales. Then, in 1919 a big advance was made when production zoomed to 13,865 bales and the county's position among cotton producing counties of the state moved from 127th in 1918 to 72nd in 1919.¹¹⁸ Six years later, in 1924, Lubbock County, with 136,518 acres in cotton and 41,110 bales harvested, ranked 38th in the state and did show promise of becoming a leading cotton producing area. A bumper crop of approximately 100,000 bales in 1932¹¹⁹ sent the county into second place in the state and fourth in the nation. With rare exceptions the county has been one of the top producers ever since.

Cotton had definitely "arrived on the plains" by 1924 when the 23 counties planted 1,243,396 acres and harvested 380,047 bales—8 percent of the state total and an increase of an astounding 3460 percent in fifteen years. Five of the counties: Dawson, Crosby, Lubbock, Lynn, and Scurry, had over 100,000 acres each. And on up through the years until the long regulatory hand of the government began to muddle the picture, cotton acreage and cotton production expanded in the area. Led by Lubbock, in first place, and Lynn in second, seven area counties were ranked among the state's top twenty

in cotton production for 1941.¹²⁰ From 1945 to 1949 area cotton production increased by 181 percent. It is reckoned that this was due to the favorable weather during the period and an increase in irrigation.¹²¹ Acreage controls during the next five years seem to account for the drop in production, because the number of acres in 1954 was 20 percent less than in 1949 and the number of bales produced was down by 18 percent. Nevertheless, Lubbock County continued to "weigh in" heavily, leading the state ten years out of eleven from 1947 to 1957.¹²²

Sorghum, the cinderella crop of the farm world, was accorded its day in the sun on the *Llano Estacado*, where, after moving west with men and mules, it was summoned by plainsmen who stood aghast as their great beef herds were periodically reduced to gaunt, humped critters with matted icy tails turned toward the blasting, frigid wind.

Staunch in drouth, sturdy in wind, sorghum made settlement and development possible, first as a means of subsistence and later as a major cash-crop industry.¹²³ But for decades the "corn of the plains," like homemade soap, was little more than a lackluster "necessary of life," sans heritage, sans status, sans promise, yet ever awaiting the clarion call of commercialism which would elevate it into the crop hierarchy preempted by cotton and corn in earlier times and older regions. For it is true that, in spite of strong versatility as a fodder, grain, and syrup component, and notwithstanding the fact that for generations many a gram of molasses soaked grandpa's mustache, the sorghums traditionally ran second to corn as a rural utility in a land proudly sustained by sowbelly and cornbread. Also, unlike the money-crop, cotton, sorghum lacked a propagandized heritage. Nor did it have a cadre of zealots — engrained, leather-handed men who may have known other crops but believed in only one, the one that had a kingdom, the fluffy white staple that had once caused the nation to run red, and

which in good year or bad was planted doggedly and methodically for naught but cash and credit.

Production records prove conclusively that corn has offered sorghum no competition on the plains. The corn that was produced coincided with the presence of horses and mules as a source of farm power. The marked decreases in corn acreage parallel the exit of the work animals. Certainly corn, if grown for money at all, was not prominent as a cash crop, as the following table shows.

Year	Sorghum (all purposes, except syrup)			Corn (all purposes)		
	Acres	Percent of State	Percent of Change	Acres	Percent of State	Percent of Change
1939	1,936,738	35	..	118,926	3	..
1944	3,228,872	41	+66	79,951	2	-33
1949	1,796,000	39	-44	31,992	1	-60
1954	2,957,747	40	+65	16,834	1	-47

On the other hand grain sorghum, especially after the advent of hybrid combine types such as milo maize, became a worthy challenger to cotton. Since the initiation of cotton acreage controls, these two crops have vied in horse-race fashion for supremacy in both acreage and yield. Eventually the handicap on cotton lengthened the opening for milo. From 1949 to 1954 the area's acreage in grain sorghum increased 72 percent, while production was up 69 percent. By 1954 the area was harvesting 54 percent of the state's grain sorghum and only 39 percent of the state's cotton.

In spite of the overwhelming concentration on cotton and grain sorghum, Lubbock area farms are capable of producing abundantly wheat, sudan, vegetables, and an interesting variety of other crops.

The chief money maker for the northern part of the South Plains in 1935 was wheat — the hard red winter variety¹²⁴ — and even as early as 1924, led by Briscoe, Castro, Crosby, Floyd,

Hale, and Swisher counties, twenty-two percent of the State's crop — nearly five million bushels — was produced in eighteen of the twenty-three counties. Although there has been some fluctuation in the number of farms producing the great cereal grain, and in spite of the fact that acreage was curtailed sharply between 1949 and 1954, the area's share of the state's wheat farms increased from fifteen percent in 1940 to twenty-one percent in 1954.

Sudan grass seed, according to agronomists, is the most highly specialized agricultural crop, and at one time the Lubbock area produced eighty percent of the nation's crop and a large proportion of the world's supply.¹²⁵

It was about 1912 that Victory L. Cory, superintendent of the Lubbock Experiment Station, introduced sudan grass into the area¹²⁶ when he conducted experiments with the plant.¹²⁷ The next year the Experiment Station distributed five pounds of sudan seed to each of four outstanding farmers: Isham Tubbs, S. S. Rush, Jerry Burns, and L. O. Burford.¹²⁸ The immediately successful propagation in the region, coupled with a high market value of the seed, prompted the organization of the Lubbock County Sudan Grass Seed Association in the summer of 1914. The primary purpose of this group was to obtain and hold sudan seed through the fall and winter of 1914. Coincidentally, a strenuous campaign was waged to promote interest in the product. The members were wagering that prices would advance and they would reap a handsome profit. As it turned out, the millions of pounds of seed that they refused to sell in the fall at \$3 per pound were unsaleable in the spring of 1915. The market was flooded with seed bringing ten and twelve cents per pound. This incident has been remembered variously as the sudan grass seed boom, craze, or bubble of 1914.

Even a superficial perusal of agricultural literature reveals the almost astounding latent avenue for farm profits through the raising of food crops. During the depression, truck farmer

A. Judd proved that vegetables could be grown profitably the year around.¹²⁹ One year he made \$4500 on 25 acres. He had success with a variety of crops including carrots, okra, beets, egg plant, sweet peppers, black-eyed peas, onions, squash, rhubarb, cucumbers, spinach, tomatoes, turnips, radishes, cantaloupes, mustard, and so on. In 1933 his best crop was tomatoes. He harvested an average of 200 bushels per acre from seven acres. His second best crop that year was cantaloupes; he got two crops off of the same land. From one acre he sold \$250 worth of cucumbers and \$150 worth of turnips. Judd capitalized on the fact that maturity dates in the area came when supplies from other sources were scarce. These are due to the characteristics of the natural environment and would be the same today.

Records of the Experiment Station during the 1930's reveal that onions produced up to 48,000 pounds per acre and sweet potatoes made 140 to 364 bushels per acre.¹³⁰ In 1940 J. M. Phillips and his son Alton averaged 500 bushels of "Maryland Sweets" per acre. Their best acre had a yield of 850 bushels. Their net profit from 23 acres of irrigated catclaw land near Lubbock was \$8000 plus a supply of seed potatoes.¹³¹ By 1944 the county was producing an estimated 2,000,000 pounds of onions and 100,000 bushels of sweet potatoes.¹³² According to Don L. Jones, agronomist and former superintendent of the Experiment Station, the soil and climate of the area are such that Irish potatoes, with fertilizer, will make 10,000 pounds of No. 1 spuds per acre. In 1956 it was estimated that Lamb County had 500 acres in tomatoes which made an estimated 10 to 15 tons per acre, with 40 to 50 percent being No. 1 tomatoes.¹³³

Evidences of the spreading interest in food crops are the reports from Bailey County, where in 1957 the farmers were producing bumper crops of potatoes, lettuce, onions, tomatoes and other staple edibles on over 3000 acres of fertile sandy loam.¹³⁴ The following year the vegetable acreage in

Parmer County had tripled and exceeded by 1000 acres expectations of what might be planted before actual operations got underway.¹³⁵

Increasingly, and especially during the 1950's, farmers searched for new cash crops to try out on their non-cotton acres. One of these was sesame. This plant was found to have desirable qualities suited to the region. Drouth resistant, it is also not susceptible to the diseases which tend to milk profits from other crops. In 1957, just four years after its introduction to Lubbock area farmers, sesame had become second only to cotton as a money maker on irrigated land.¹³⁶

In one section sugar beets averaged 12 tons per acre, with an average sugar content of 17 percent. Some 7000 acres were under contract in 1950.¹³⁷ About 1952 the Production Marketing Administration of the county began a castor bean program, and from 1000 acres of combine-type beans, almost 1,500,000 pounds were harvested.¹³⁸ Thereafter, acreages increased with giant-like strides. In 1957 some 4000 plains acres were planted to the oil bean. The acreage doubled the next year. Then, in 1959, the total mounted to 15,000 acres.¹³⁹

Among the multitude of other crops introduced in recent years are soybeans, grass (for seed), guar, sesbania,¹⁴⁰ and an old favorite, popcorn, which scientists claim to be a naturally adapted crop for the South Plains.¹⁴¹

Indicative of the extent of diversification are these recently compiled figures for Lubbock County which show acreages of various crops under cultivation during the late 1950's.¹⁴²

<i>Crop</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Crop</i>	<i>Acres</i>
Wheat	4,000	Grass (seed)	1,500
Alfalfa	6,000	Sesame	500
Vegetables	1,200	Sunflowers	50
Soybeans	1,400	Misc. (soil builders)	2,800

In a large measure, the story of Lubbock farming is synonymous with the arrival of a new era, the age of mechanized

power. It is a story of men in a new land, in a new century, capitalizing on a new array of farm techniques. Perhaps the most outstanding development in the eighty-odd year history was the switch-over from the draft animal to the gasoline tractor—an innovation for which the broad, level territory was particularly well suited.

To many it seemed as if the very land itself begged for bigness of thought and enterprise. Even as early as 1883, when Rollie Burns saw his first windmill on the plains, he began to envision using wind for power to grind feed. In 1904, with a huge mill mounted on a seventy-five foot tower and a device for transmitting the power to a feed grinder, he experimented. As long as the wind was steady the contraption worked well, but the ingenious Burns was unable to cope with the problems caused by an unstable wind.¹⁴³ Later, other would-be inventors constructed huge windmills with wind-driven wheels twenty-four feet in diameter to pull water for irrigation, but these were wrecked by high winds.¹⁴⁴

Even years later, others were still toying with the idea of doing something big on the plains. For example, W. P. Martin, a graduate of Texas A. and M. arrived in the vicinity of Lubbock in the late 1920's with a head full of notions concerning large-scale farming, the utilization of heavy machinery on vast acreages, the channeling and profiting from limited rain water, and harnessing the omnipresent wind to grind feed.¹⁴⁵

At one time coal-burning steam tractors were used extensively around Lubbock and especially in the wheat country to the north. These tractors were utilized not only for breaking the soil, but also furnished the power for large threshing machines. Wide publicity was given to eye-opening activity such as that taking place on A. M. Ludeman's farm northeast of Lubbock in March 1911. This "big time" farmer used massive traction steam plows around the clock to turn six hundred acres without stopping. The night crew would break twenty

acres. The day crew would break twenty acres. Marveling at this, the *Avalanche* proclaimed: "This is the way we do things in this section. Come to Lubbock."¹⁴⁶

Steam also furnished another interesting sidelight, for some of the first irrigation wells were pumped by large steam engines often as tall as a modern house.¹⁴⁷

As it turned out, however, steam power was only a minor threat to horses and mules. The records indicate that increased farming was accompanied by increased numbers of work animals. By 1910 the Lubbock trade area counted 68,395 horses and mules (4 percent of the state total), and in 15 years this number swelled to 115,159 (6 percent of the state total) for an area-wide increase of 68 percent. A portion of this phenomenal increase was undoubtedly a reflection of the magnitude of farm operations as well as the expansion of farming. This was not a forty-acres-and-a-mule-country. Turning the sod was a chore. Much power was required. For example, plowing on the Nairn farm entailed the use of eight draft horses; four were hitched in front of the plow and four next to the plow, with the plow hand riding one of the horses, not the plow.¹⁴⁸ Twenty-six or more mules were required to cut and thresh 100 acres of wheat per day on the E. Ramey Bros. farm in Castro County during August 1923.¹⁴⁹

With such a demand for horses and mules it was only natural that some persons found profit in raising the animals. Nairn raised his own work horses and sold the young fillies.¹⁵⁰ L. T. Mayhugh of Plainview became renowned as a breeder of large sturdy workers. He had a herd of brood mares and employed a shrewd classification system in breeding them. On the local market he got about \$500 per span for well broken three and four year old heavy mules. Hefty draft horses brought him about \$400 per span.¹⁵¹ At Lubbock J. K. Caraway found mule trading to be very profitable. He would buy yearling mules, furnish them first class pasture, plenty of water, and good attention. Then, at 18 months he would start

feeding them grain to push growth. At two years he would begin selling them at slightly over \$100 per head.¹⁵² As early as 1905 the city could boast a Lubbock Percheron Draft Horse Company. Associated with this business were J. T. Showalter, president; W. G. Nairn, vice president; R. C. Burns, secretary; and J. C. Bowles, W. N. Copeland, H. B. Reed, T. M. Bartley, J. C. Burns, Albert Taylor, and F. E. Wheelock. As advertised, the concern featured Mignon, “. . . [a stud] bred and raised in France, foaled May 16, 1902 . . . bay brown, 16 hands high . . . weighs 1700 lbs . . . [will] make season at F. E. Wheelock’s stable in Lubbock [with] terms \$20 [and] no charge unless mare gets in foal. Money due May 1, 1906 . . . [and] not responsible for accidents.”¹⁵³

Then, as late as 1932 the city was the site for the organization of the Lubbock Horse and Mule Market, which by 1940 with its barns, offices, auction ring and yards capable of handling 400 to 500 head per week (about 20,000 per year), was paying out about \$500,000 to 475 consignees in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado.¹⁵⁴

The draft animal did well on the plains, as attested by the following comparison of per acre labor costs prior to harvest:¹⁵⁵

<i>Region</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Man Hours</i>	<i>Animal Hours</i>	<i>Total Hours</i>
Piney Woods of East Texas . .	1931(?)	50	38	88
Black Lands of Central Texas	1925-26	30	30	60
High Plains of West Texas . . .	1931	6	18	24

But farmers strained at the bit as their desire mounted for power to work more and more land faster and more efficiently. They quickly took heart when, at the beginning of World War I, the tractor became an instrument for farming.¹⁵⁶ Many overly optimistic planters bought tractors even in the years before dealers were able to supply proper auxiliary equipment.¹⁵⁷ Under these conditions the use of the tractor was promising but limited. It could be used only to plow and

harrow in preparing the soil for crops; all planting and cultivating was done with teams of horses and mules.¹⁵⁸

It was not until after World War I that the big change in power began. It was then that the use of internal-combustion engine tractors became a challenge to animal power. Many sources cite 1925 as the year the row crop tractor was introduced, and hence this date is reckoned to mark the advent of the mechanical revolution on the prairie plains.¹⁵⁹ That year farmers in the Lubbock area possessed 1773 tractors (11 percent of the state total). Modest as this number may seem by today's standards, it was sizable enough that some observant wag might rightfully have exclaimed that the "hand writing was on the stall." Certainly a radical change was afoot. The cold facts favored machine power over animal power. One man with a four-horse team could cultivate only 124 acres as against 269 acres which could be handled by one man with a tractor.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, figures compiled during the 1930's show that the machine could be operated 87 cents per acre cheaper than the animal.¹⁶¹

During the fifteen years from 1925 to 1940, the number of tractors increased in the area by 934 percent, rising to a total of 18,361 (19 percent of the state total). The old familiar "gee" and "haw" were heard with less frequency as the number of mules and horses was reduced by 101,667 head from 1925 to 1950. This 88 percent nose-dive was followed by a 22 percent loss during the period 1950-54, and coincidentally the number of tractors increased steadily. Gains averaged over 7000 every five years from 1940 to 1954. By 1954 the area had 39,444 tractors and but 10,540 horses and mules.

But mechanization, alone, was not enough. Much of the bloom on the prairies resulted from the teaming of mechanization with irrigation. The role of irrigation was indicated as early as 1901, when Willard Johnson, utilizing the terse, objective style of the scientist, assayed the High Plains in regard

TRACTORS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of State</i>	<i>Percent of Change</i>
1925	1,733	11	..
1940	18,361	19	+94
1945	25,105	15	+37
1950	30,838	13	+23
1954	39,444	14	+28

HORSES AND MULES

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of State</i>	<i>Percent of Change</i>
1910	68,395	4	..
1925	115,159	6	+68
1950	13,492	3	-88
1954	10,540	4	-22

to agricultural potentialities. He spelled out the crucial requisite — artificial aid, or irrigation — in these terms:

. . . it is apparent from the records of precipitation . . . that the natural supply would need only to be slightly supplemented to render . . . [the] entire vast area highly productive . . . if however that small additional supply is not to be had, the High Plains are irreclaimable for agriculture . . . water from underground is obtainable in sufficient amount . . . [and] reclamation has in fact already begun, and is in process of gradual but sure development . . . and will be universally profitable.¹⁶²

Although by 1904 enough wells for windmills had been found to prompt the verdict that the Staked Plains had an “inexhaustible” supply of water at shallow depths, there was no irrigation except for gardens.¹⁶³ But the arid cycles, plus the perennial high winds, long hours of sunshine, high temperature, [and] high rate of evaporation, served as a constant prod to explore the possibilities of crop irrigation. Accordingly, “. . . in 1906, a well [for irrigation] was dug by hand on the Brown place [near Plainview]. Before they got to try [it] it began to rain and the well caved in [and the] people went back to dry land farming.”¹⁶⁴

Three years later irrigation wells were drilled near Portales, New Mexico,¹⁶⁵ and, spurred by their success, West Texans renewed their efforts to such an extent that 1910 was marked by a number of "firsts." On Running Water Draw, five miles west of Plainview, J. H. Slaton, backed by interested citizens, drilled a well and got a tremendous irrigation flow at 130 feet.¹⁶⁶ About the same time at Hereford, D. L. McDonald, subsidized by the Hereford Chamber of Commerce, drilled wells on his place near the Rio Draw and with the first hole made a 1000-gallons-per minute well at 133 feet, and with his second — drilled upon the level surface of the plains — made a similar well. At Muleshoe, Steve Coldron, with the Coldron Land Company of Chicago, drilled a well at this time.¹⁶⁷

In the vicinity of Lubbock the irrigation well activity was conducted by a number of persons, including Don H. Biggers, B. O. McWhorter, C. W. Post, George Littlefield, W. A. Bacon, and George W. Boles.

Alleging that he had the second large irrigation well on the Plains, (Slaton's being the first),¹⁶⁸ Biggers said that his well near Lubbock, in the vicinity of what is now 4th Street and Indiana Avenue,¹⁶⁹ was drilled some months after the wells at Portales. Biggers had visited the New Mexico site in 1910 and been inspired by what he saw there. He had also received encouragement from Uncle Hank Smith, and had been guided to some extent by the so-called, "Captain Livermore's geodetic survey report of 1868."

Biggers dug and drilled a well with a total depth of 112 feet which he described in these words: ". . . a pit six feet in diameter was dug to six feet below where water was struck, this to provide submergence for the pump. The dug part was 46 feet. From bottom of pit to river gravel a 16 inch hole was drilled."¹⁷⁰

Pumping with a twenty-five horse power gasoline engine, he had varying success raising water. A number of contemporaries including Rufus Rush, Miss Maggie Mallard, Mrs. Ann

Baze, and Ed Twitty agree that Biggers used the well for several years to irrigate cotton, grain sorghum, and garden produce. It seems, however, that Biggers' only success was with vegetables, and this was not a financial success because at that time there was no market for them in Lubbock.¹⁷¹ Later, after he had sold the place in disgust, and after thousands of cubic feet of sand had been drawn to the surface, the well began to produce a thousand gallons of water per minute from a supply that was "constant and irreducible."

In the meantime, C. W. Post, who said that Biggers put water on his brain,¹⁷² in 1910 drilled several irrigation wells on the plains, which he pumped with large gasoline engines. These wells were also plagued with sanding and high costs. Post did report in 1911 that ". . . the whole history of farming on the Plains depends upon these irrigation wells."¹⁷³

Perhaps the first irrigation well in Lubbock County that was successful enough to cause "heel-clicking publicity," was tested on the B. O. McWhorter Ranch early in 1911. The 93-foot well had a 14 inch hole, an 8 inch casing and the water stood within 28 feet of the surface when the pump was idle. During the "modified" test, the pump pulled 1500 gallons per minute and it was generally conceded that the well, when thoroughly tested, would produce 2500 gallons per minute. When put to work, the well was used to irrigate 30 acres of alfalfa and would have been profitable but for the high cost of hauling gasoline for the pump in a wagon from Lubbock.¹⁷⁴

Hand in hand with McWhorter's success came news that W. A. Bacon's well was nearly complete, and that all plans had been made to irrigate his eighty-acre truck farm near Lubbock.¹⁷⁵ Mention has also been given to other "firsts" in the vicinity of Lubbock during the period 1910-1912 - irrigation wells on the Sunshine Ranch and the St. Augustine School Land,¹⁷⁶ and George W. Boles' well east of town which produced three thousand gallons per minute.¹⁷⁷

Although many of these discovery wells were blessed with

tribulations rather than longevity and spectacular achievement, they did serve to open a new era of hope and endeavor. They had tapped the fabulous Ogallala formation which extends over 35,000 square miles of the South Plains. Proving the existence of this water supply served to banish forever the chronic fear of drouth, and erased from the geography books the brand of "desert" across the map of the *Llano Estacado*.

Very soon others were investing money in irrigation projects. West of Lubbock Arthur P. Duggan, Sr. and Major George W. Littlefield drilled wells and imported large irrigation pumps.¹⁷⁸ In the Plainview region Dr. Fredrick Pearson of New York organized a syndicate known as the Texas Land and Development Company to capitalize on the newly found source of wealth. By 1913 the syndicate had drilled and equipped 85 wells.¹⁷⁹ The next year, observers counted 140 irrigation wells on the plains, and in the next twenty years an estimated 160 more could be added to the total.¹⁸⁰ It is believed that this unspectacular progress was due to the relatively high costs involved in initiating an irrigation project and the lack of perfected techniques for applying the water to crops with maximum efficiency.

Drouth conditions, especially in the 1930's, served as an incentive to irrigate. A further lure was the inflation of commodity prices in the 1940's. Then, with the introduction of a moderately priced high speed turbine pump which could be purchased on terms, and improved tools for applying water to growing crops, farmers threw caution aside and plunged into the business of irrigating crops.¹⁸¹

It has always been difficult to ascertain the exact number of wells used for irrigation. Through the years, especially with an obvious increase in the number of wells, the guesses have varied considerably. Some, of course, have been better "guesstimates" than others. The optimists say "around 40,000"

which is enough to validate the claim that the region is the "largest pump irrigation area of the world."¹⁸²

More reliable and more germane than a count of wells, are the figures on irrigated acreage according to the number of farms reporting. These records show rather dramatically the rise of irrigated farming in the Lubbock trade area. Especially significant are the whopping increases occurring between 1934 and 1949. Also, as indicated in the table below, the extension and intensification of irrigation continued on into the 1950's.

FARMS IN THE LUBBOCK TRADE AREA REPORTING
IRRIGATED CROPLAND HARVESTED

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Farms</i>	<i>Percent of State</i>	<i>Percent of Change</i>
1934	428	3
1949	7,604	36	+1,676
1954	11,111	44	+46

IRRIGATED CROPLAND HARVESTED IN THE LUBBOCK TRADE AREA

<i>Year</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Percent of State</i>	<i>Percent of Change</i>
1934	15,672	3
1949	1,393,538	47	+8,791
1954	2,533,447	56	+82

Almost all "money" comparisons reflect the importance of irrigation, especially during the drouthy 1950's. In 1956 the per-farm income in the irrigated counties of the South Plains was between \$20,000 and \$30,000, whereas off the Caprock the range was from \$4000 to \$8000.

The ability to capitalize on technological advances has not been distributed equitably among the twenty-three counties of the Lubbock trade area. Irrigation and mechanization—accelerated agriculture—are concentrated heavily in nine counties. These are Castro, Crosby, Floyd, Hale, Hockley, Lamb, Lubbock, Parmer and Swisher. (See Figure 5.)

These are the counties with big production records. These

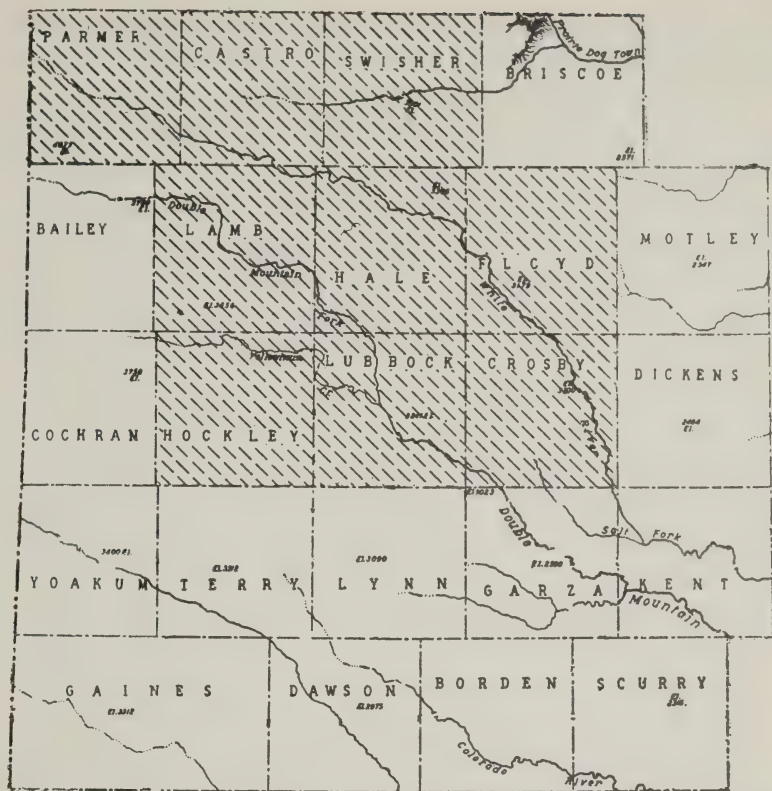


FIGURE 5. The twenty-three Texas counties in the Lubbock trade area showing in the shaded area, the "nine big counties" — the ones which are highly productive due to mechanization, irrigation, and the ability to capitalize on technological advances.

are the money makers — the rich hard core of Lubbock's agricultural empire that has caused the eyes of Texas and, for that matter, the entire agricultural world, to turn in amazement at the wonders being wrought on the South Plains.

In 1954, with each county having over 100,000 acres irrigated, these counties had a total of 2,186,175 acres of irrigated cropland harvested. This was almost half — 49 percent — of the state total. Within the highly mechanized region there were employed 24,910 tractors and 5620 combines. This was

63 and 60 percent, respectively, of the total holdings of these key tools in the Lubbock trade area.

The tremendous combined effect of mechanization and irrigation can be seen readily through statistics for 1954. With 81 percent of the wheat land, the nine counties harvested 85 percent of the wheat in the Lubbock trade area. From 64 percent of the grain sorghum acreage, they produced 80 percent of the grain. With but 31 percent of the area's cotton allotment, they produced 68 percent of the cotton. In addition, there was enough room and time left to put in 57 percent of the corn and 56 percent of the sorghum for all purposes (excepting syrup). The figures are equally impressive at the state level. With only 5 percent of the state's farms (those reporting cropland harvested) and only 14 percent of the state's cropland harvested, the nine counties produced 16 percent of the state's wheat, 26 percent of the cotton, and 44 percent of the grain sorghum. All of this was done in one year, 1954.

As might be expected, there was a pay-off differential. The nine counties, with 56 percent of the area's crop farms, received 72 percent of the total income from field crops sold—\$261,260,610. This tallies up to one fourth of the state total. More significantly, it represents a sizable increase in a 14 year period, to wit: 305 percent, 1940–1945; 164 percent, 1945–1949; and 57 percent, 1949–1954.

Interestingly, in spite of the seemingly concentrated field-crops-for-cash economy, the excellence carries over to livestock. The nine counties can count 44 percent of the area's cows and calves, 62 percent of the sheep and lambs, and 67 percent of the hogs and pigs. Accordingly, they "take home" some 60 percent of the area's income from all livestock and livestock products sold. Hence, here in the heart of the once great ranch country, modern cows and sheep and meat hogs contribute to new wealth. And these new fortunes are perhaps beyond the wildest dream of any pioneer—as well as

of many contemporaries. The net effective buying income in the nine counties during 1956 amounted to \$521,380,000.

All of the nine counties registered increases in farm income per county for 1956 over 1950. In six of the nine counties farm income increased over 50 percent — the range was 50 to 100 percent — and in the remaining three counties income advances ranged from 10 to 49 percent. In the same period, three other counties in the Lubbock trade area registered little change in income, and seven — less irrigated and less mechanized — sustained losses ranging up to 50 percent per county.

The early arrivals, the pioneers, did not possess an "open sesame" to the *Llano Estacado*. They were confronted with problems. So it has ever been with the inhabitants. But problems well met can be solved, and through trial and error, experimentation, and planning, the various chronic and acute obstacles to progress and profit have been met and dealt with by a type of teamwork that involved the herdsman, the man with the hoe, and the shopkeeper often pulling in harness together.

Lubbock was from the beginning oriented to the needs of the rural population. As the pivotal point in a thriving, expanding agricultural economy, the city's development reflected this inter-relationship and inter-dependence. The townspeople were striving continually to provide goods and services and local marketing places for livestock and crops. Also, well aware that agriculture as a major industry could not develop until after a system of transportation was provided,¹⁸³ the people of Lubbock sought vigorously to obtain and maintain a fine system of railroads, highways, and farm-to-market roads. But the act of stimulating farm business, vital as it might be, was not enough. The city had a higher calling — to serve as a center of agricultural know-how and as a type of clearing house for ways to improve and strengthen farm posture. This was a new land where traditional methods of farming would not turn the trick. The growing season was

not long, the labor force was limited, and yet the land had a high production potential. Somehow, this potential should be realized.

The nature of this "call" for positive action was brought into sharp focus in an unobtrusive note under "Acuff Articles" by a "Happy Jack" which appeared in the *Avalanche* in 1905: ". . . now as cotton has proved a success in this country, we would suggest that the cotton raisers get better seed and an early variety. It does not pay to plant sorry cotton."¹⁸⁴

This simple statement seems to carry the implied suggestion that leadership, cooperation, and organization would be beneficial. In the light of history there is no doubt that citizens of the hub city and other agricultural protagonists answered the challenge.

A big move in the right direction came in 1909, when as a result of yeoman service by Lubbock's Commercial Club, Substation No. 8 of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station System of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas was opened near the city. It became a potent force in the development of agriculture on the South Plains.¹⁸⁵ Among other things, it served in the development of

- (a) new crops adapted to the region
- (b) techniques for soil preparation, planting and cultivation
- (c) adaptation of crops to mechanized farming
- (d) improved varieties of grain sorghum and cotton
- (e) irrigation management practices.¹⁸⁶

Furthermore, cognizant of the need for rapport with agriculturalists, the Chamber of Commerce in 1916 investigated the possibility of obtaining a farm demonstrator.¹⁸⁷ Such vigilance for ways to be the good partner and lend a helping hand has forever characterized the citizenry.

In the early 1920's Lubbock waged an aggressive campaign to obtain Texas Tech, which was envisioned by many as a "farm school." While it is true that, through the years, "the

Tech" broadened in scope to fill an increasing need for a "University of West Texas," there seems to be consensus that the institution has served admirably Lubbock's far-flung agricultural complex. The college's present dean of agriculture, Dr. Gerald Waylett Thomas, states that ". . . the biological, mechanical, and chemical revolution in American agriculture . . . [has] stemmed from education and research . . . [and] currently, research projects are underway in the School of Agriculture [in Lubbock] and at the 16,000 acre Pan Tech Farms [in the Texas Panhandle] on many problems confronting today's agricultural industry."¹⁸⁸

Because of Lubbock's verve and its reliance on irrigated cotton, it is not surprising to find it the headquarters for organizations such as the High Plains Underground Water Conservation District No. 1 and the Plains Cotton Growers, Inc. The water group was instigated for the purpose of administering rules deemed necessary for the orderly development and provident use of High Plains water. Since its creation in 1951, the district has required well spacing to prevent mutual interference of wells, encouraged wise use of ground water and precipitation, and furnished a wealth of information on production and use of the ground water.¹⁸⁹

With a program based on service, research, and promotion, the "cotton people" organized in January 1956 to promote and protect the interests of the Plains cotton growers . . . and allied industry and businesses. Within three years the PCG was representing approximately 25,000 cotton-minded residents of the area.¹⁹⁰ In recognition of its "job well done," the organization was named in 1959 as the winner of an Award of Merit by the American Society of Association Executives. The annual competition was open to fifteen hundred key associations in business, industrial, technical, and professional fields in this and other countries. Among other things, the award was given in recognition of PCG's efforts to improve cotton quality on the High Plains.¹⁹¹ In a sense, this award was

symbolic of the change and the progress that had taken place — the victory over problems well met by many area agencies and a multitude of individuals in both this and previous decades.

Technology had given the irrigators better pumps, concrete pipe, sprinklers, and the invaluable siphon tube. Mechanization, exemplified by cotton strippers, combines, rotary hoes, and scores of other devices, had not only taken up the slack in the man-power-short area but had spurred the farmers to greater heights of production. Grain sorghum, through hybridization had been purposefully altered and shaped not only to grow vigorously and to produce bountifully in the prairie environment, but to stand precisely for the sweep of the fast-moving combine. Cotton, with the coming of the age of chemicals, could be protected easily from insects and fed nutriments economically. At picking time it could be chemically defoliated in readiness for the machine harvesters. Moreover, since the perfection of large storm-proof bolls, large yields were assured.

By 1959 it seemed that not only cotton production but all agricultural pursuits were nearing the end of a long row and that to some extent "Happy Jack's" fifty-four year old homespun plea for positive action had been given an answer.

The process of establishing the agricultural industry on the *Llano Estacado* was characterized by rapid change. The effects of this change are measurable in both the city and the countryside. Not only Lubbock's content, but its shape, size, and economic strength reflect very accurately the enormity and the impact of this change.

Perhaps the most vital of these changes has been the financial growth. In 1954, for instance, area banks held 5 percent of the money on deposit in Texas, whereas in 1911 they had but 2 percent. Between 1911 and 1957 the dollars on deposit increased from \$3,784,930 to \$559,161,000. The percentages of increase were as follows:

<i>Period</i>	<i>Percentage of Increase</i>
1911-1946	4,425
1946-1951	121
1951-1954	17
1954-1957	26

In 1958 Lubbock banks held \$227,566,285 and the city ranked sixth as a depository of Texas money. This strong financial position, both in Lubbock and in the area as a whole, is a most fortunate circumstance, because with the beginning of Lubbock's second half-century a new and formidable problem loomed on the horizon. Bluntly: ". . . the irrigation waters are being consumed at an alarming rate . . . the Ogallala aquifer is a trapped body of water, formed in the geological past, which is being replenished by nature at only a minute fraction of the rate of withdrawal."¹⁹²

But the new *Llano Estacado* has cultural forces with which to meet the challenge. Its institutions are backed by wealth that agriculture made, and the agencies of technology are efficient and alert. It can be assumed that the citizenry will face up to the new area-wide problem and, somehow or other, avert the disaster of letting the "garden spot" dry up and die.

In the meantime, those persons oriented to farm production enjoy enormous temporal prosperity in this new *Llano Estacado*, where in a single lifetime everything in the countryside was transformed by man, except the blue sky above and the sand of the land.¹⁹³

The same warm, dry, sunny summers come. But the countryside is no longer marked by the lengthening shadow of the proud windmill tower. The winds rise and fall but there is no reassuring squeak from a mill mechanism. The same invigorating hog-killing-days arrive with the winter season. But these days, too, are different. No longer are they occasions of festive bustle at homesteads, beginning with the plaintive squeals of swine and culminating with the gay shrills of coun-

try children running in and out of the house, blowing up the pig bladders.¹⁹⁴ The signs and the sounds of the past, like the deeds of the past, are now history—a memory of men and things and places.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Unless indicated otherwise, all figures and percentages are from materials adapted from the federal census, the Texas Almanac, area newspapers and other sources by the staff of the Southwest Collection during 1959–60. This statistical study is listed in the bibliography thus: Dunn, Roy Sylvan, *A Statistical Study of Agriculture in the Lubbock Trade Area*. Unpublished Research Compilation. Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas, 1960. Also, supported by research funds from Texas Tech, Dunn is currently conducting a socio-historical analysis of the effects of weather on agriculture in Texas. Although weather, per se, is not considered in this work on Lubbock history, appropriate data from the weather project were utilized as necessary.

² This incident is adapted from J. Evetts Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas and The Early Days of the Llano Estacado* (Chicago, 1929), 204. Haley was quoting from Forest Crissey, "The Vanishing Range," *The Country Gentleman*, March 1, 1913, p. 4. It seems possible that the man in question could have been A. C. Babcock, who visited the XIT lands in 1882.

³ Adapted from a twenty-four page booklet published by the Lubbock Commercial Club, 1909.

⁴ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, May 22, 1960.

⁵ Cresap, McCormick and Paget (Management Consultants; New York, Chicago, Washington, San Francisco), *Industrial Survey of Lubbock, Texas*, February 3, 1958, (VI-1).

⁶ Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, *Pictures and Facts of Lubbock, Texas*, (Lubbock, January 1, 1958), 2.

⁷ These data on cotton and the crop of 1957 are compiled from *Ibid.*, 4. See also, *The Hub* [Official Publication of the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of City Development], April 1942, p. 2, and other Chamber of Commerce publications.

⁸ This term is used in Cresap, *Industrial Survey*, VI-3.

⁹ According to Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, *Pictures and Facts of Lubbock*, p. 13, the effective buying income for 1956 was \$917,965,000. The area embraced twenty-three counties in Texas and three in New Mexico. Through the years various observers, and for a variety of specific reasons, have defined Lubbock's area of influence in differing ways. Interestingly, just since World War I, the number of counties involved has ranged from 13 to 51. For this study of agriculture, the twenty-three Texas counties used and referred to as the Lubbock trade area coincide with usage in Cresap, *Industrial Survey*, II-4. See Cresap, II-1, for data regarding retail sales.

¹⁰ Walter Prescott Webb and H. Bailey Carroll (editors), *The Handbook of Texas*, (Austin, 1952), II, 69.

¹¹ Leon R. Tabor, *Services Used by Farmers in Lubbock County, Texas*. (MA Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1950), 12–13.

¹² Willard D. Johnson, *The High Plains and Their Utilization* (Washington, D. C., 1901), 610.

¹³ The arrival of Williams, *et al*, is established by Dr. Seymour V. Connor in Chapter 3, pp. 50-51, of this work.

¹⁴ Roy Sylvan Dunn, "Stangel and His Imprint on Nation's Agriculture," *Southwestern Crop and Stock*, Vol. 12, No. 12 (December, 1958), 16, 17, 37.

¹⁵ All data concerning Nairn are drawn from the files of the Southwest Collection, and these include tape recorded interviews, Mrs. Ida Collins (Nairn's daughter) to Jean Paul, August 22 and 26, 1958. For information concerning wool and sheep marketing see Mrs. Eppie Barrier to Jean Paul, interview, August 16, 1958, and Mrs. Ida Collins to Jean Paul, interview, August 22, 1958.

¹⁶ Frederick W. Mally, *The Panhandle and Llano Estacado of Texas* (Austin, 1910), 133-134.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁸ Clarence Laurence Baker, *Geology and Underground Waters of the Llano Estacado* (Austin, 1915), 97.

¹⁹ J. Sullivan Gibson, "Agriculture of the Southern High Plains," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (July, 1932), 261.

²⁰ Don L. Jones to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, March 30, 1960.

²¹ *Southwestern Crop and Stock*, Vol. 10, No. 11 (November, 1956), 60.

²² Wilma Hixson, *The Influence of Water Upon The Settlement of the Llano Estacado* (MA Thesis, West Texas State Teachers College, 1940), 54.

²³ *Ibid.*, quoting J. Evetts Haley, *Charles Goodnight*.

²⁴ For data on Slaughter, see John Allison Rickard, *The Ranch Industry of the Texas South Plains* (MA Thesis, University of Texas, 1927), 25, 180, 183.

²⁵ Claude V. Hall, "The Early History of Floyd County," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, XX, (1947), 34.

²⁶ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, II, 624; I, 438.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 157.

²⁸ Rickard, *The Ranch Industry*, 28.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

³¹ Lela D. Puryear, George C. Wolffarth (MA Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1946), 42.

³² For data concerning the Snyders and The Spade, see Orville R. Watkins, "Hockley County: From Cattle Ranches to Farms," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, Vol. XVII (1941), 48, 49, and Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, II, 648.

³³ Rickard, *The Ranch Industry*, 178-179.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 147; Watkins, "Hockley County," 48.

³⁵ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, II, 940; Rickard, *The Ranch Industry*, 177.

³⁶ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, I, 438; William Curry Holden, *Alkali Trails* (Dallas, 1930), 49-50.

³⁷ Holden, *Alkali Trails*, 50.

³⁸ Smylie Wilson to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, May 9, 1960; Rufus Rush to Jean Paul, interview, August 5, 1958.

³⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, November 10, 1905.

- ⁴⁰ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.
- ⁴¹ Ray Jones to Staff member [Mrs. W. C. Holden] of Museum, Estacado Reunion, 1956, interview, August 12, 1956.
- ⁴² Wilson interview, May 9, 1960.
- ⁴³ L. F. Sheffy, *The Life and Times of Timothy Dwight Hobart, 1855-1935* (Canyon, 1950), 182.
- ⁴⁴ Mayme Carol Ludeman, *The Land Phase of the Colonization of the Spade Ranch* (MA Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1938), 18.
- ⁴⁵ Mrs. Nellie Witt Spikes to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, February 19, 1957.
- ⁴⁶ Seymour V. Connor (editor) *The West is For Us, The Reminiscences of Mary A. Blankenship*, (Lubbock, 1958), 37.
- ⁴⁷ Wilson interview, May 9, 1960.
- ⁴⁸ G. D. "Leslie" Ellis to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, August 12, 1956.
- ⁴⁹ Walter Prescott Webb, "The Story of Some Prairie Inventions," *Nebraska History*, XXXIV, No. 4, p. 243.
- ⁵⁰ Spikes interview, February 19, 1957.
- ⁵¹ Puryear, George C. Wolffarth, 43.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ For data concerning fencing in the area, see the following interviews to Jean Paul which are filed in the Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College: Judge George R. Bean (August 8, 1958); Clayton Carter (August 4, 1958); Bob Crump (July 7, 1958); and Mrs. Olive Fluke (July 24, 1958).
- ⁵⁴ Dewey Davis, *Standard Ranch Practices on the South Plains of Texas*, (MA Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1936), 17.
- ⁵⁵ A. W. Blankenship to O. R. Watkins, interview, November 2, 1939, quoted in Watkins, "Hockley County," 53.
- ⁵⁶ Haley, *The XIT*, 188.
- ⁵⁷ Rickard, *The Ranch Industry*, 163.
- ⁵⁸ Watkins, "Hockley County," 50.
- ⁵⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche*, August 25, 1905. For other data see William Curry Holden, *Rollie Burns*, (Dallas, 1932), 232.
- ⁶⁰ Puryear, George C. Wolffarth, 64, 68.
- ⁶¹ For data concerning George Boles' bull see Homer Hunt to Lubbock Women's Club, History Roundtable, interview, May 1, 1958, and Mally, *The Panhandle and Llano Estacado*, 118.
- ⁶² Davis, *Ranch Practices*, 35.
- ⁶³ Dave Gross to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, July 30, 1960. See also, *Southwestern Crop and Stock*, Vol. 4, No. 9 (September, 1950), 12, and Vol. 13, No. 11 (November, 1959), 12.
- ⁶⁴ *Southwestern Crop and Stock*, Vol. 13, No. 11 (November, 1959), 12.
- ⁶⁵ Gross interview, July 30, 1960.
- ⁶⁶ Rickard, *The Ranch Industry*, 147.
- ⁶⁷ *Lubbock Avalanche*, November 17, 1905, January 3, 1908.
- ⁶⁸ Rickard, *The Ranch Industry*, 152-156.
- ⁶⁹ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, I, 438.
- ⁷⁰ Rickard, *The Ranch Industry*, 180, states that the cattle on the Spur range were sold in 1910 to W. J. Lewis of Clarendon. Another reference, William Curry Holden, *The Spur Ranch* (Boston, 1934), 208, states that ". . . the last of the Spur cattle were disposed of in 1909."

- ⁷¹ Watkins, "Hockley County," 48. See also J. Evetts Haley, *George W. Littlefield, Texan*, (Norman, 1943), and biographical sketches of Littlefield and Reed, both by Roy Sylvan Dunn, in Seymour V. Connor (editor), *Builders of the Southwest* (Lubbock, 1959), 135-137, 198-201.
- ⁷² Ludeman, Spade Ranch, 22.
- ⁷³ Rickard, *The Ranch Industry*, 148.
- ⁷⁴ Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, *Lubbock "The Hub of the Plains" 1923*, p. 24.
- ⁷⁵ The Southwest Collection is the repository for a wealth of detailed information on pioneer Lubbock. Especially helpful for writing this paragraph have been the following interviews to Jean Paul: Mrs. Albert Taylor (June 7, 1958); Mrs. Grace Hurd (July 16, 1958); and Mrs. Frank Revier (July 24, 1958).
- ⁷⁶ William Curry Holden, "Experimental Agriculture on Spur Ranch," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XIII, No. 1 (June, 1932), 19. See also, Holden, *The Spur Ranch*.
- ⁷⁷ Adapted from Mally, *The Panhandle and Llano Estacado*, 118-119. See also Puryear, George C. Wolffarth, 97-98.
- ⁷⁸ Mally, *The Panhandle and Llano Estacado*, 173.
- ⁷⁹ Baker, *Geology*, 97.
- ⁸⁰ A. H. Leidigh, "Agriculture on the South Plains," *A Guide to the South Plains of Texas* (Lubbock, 1935).
- ⁸¹ *Southwestern Crop and Stock*, Vol. 12, No. 9 (September, 1958), 8.
- ⁸² *The Hub*, (August, 1939), 4.
- ⁸³ *Feeder's Forum*, No. 1 (Summer, 1959), 1.
- ⁸⁴ B. W. Lewter to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, August 1, 1960; Leonard Paris, "The Big Beef Factory," *Monsanto*, XL, No. 3 (Summer, 1960), 24-27.
- ⁸⁵ Leidigh, "Agriculture on the South Plains."
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ Reginald Kelsey Harlan, *The Socio-Economic Development of Hale County, Texas, Since the Great Depression*. (MS Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1954), 43, quoting the *Lubbock Avalanche*, November 16, 1952.
- ⁸⁸ Jones interview, March 30, 1960.
- ⁸⁹ Unless cited otherwise the materials dealing with the application are from this *Brief*.
- ⁹⁰ Hixson, *The Influence of Water*, 66-67.
- ⁹¹ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, I, 13-16.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, I, 438.
- ⁹³ Mrs. Hattie Linn Bryant to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, August 12, 1956.
- ⁹⁴ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, I, 422 and II, 422; Ellis interview, August 12, 1956; R. E. Karper to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, October 8, 1960.
- ⁹⁵ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, I, 775.
- ⁹⁶ The beginning of agriculture in Lubbock County is presented by Dr. Seymour V. Connor in chapters 4 and 5 of this work. See also, *Lubbock Avalanche*, February 22, 1924.
- ⁹⁷ Mrs. Lou Stubbs to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, August 27, 1957.
- ⁹⁸ Puryear, George C. Wolffarth, 61.
- ⁹⁹ Rickard, *The Ranch Industry*, 164.
- ¹⁰⁰ Haley, *The XIT*, (new edition), 206-207.

- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 208.
- ¹⁰² This account of crops on the Spur is adapted from W. J. Elliott, *The Spurs* (Spur, Texas, 1939), 60, 61, and 91; Holden, "Experimental Agriculture on Spur Ranch," 17, 18, 20 and 23.
- ¹⁰³ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, I, 15.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, November 17, 1905. See also Will P. Florence, *A Prospector's Guide to West Texas and Llano Estacado* (Lubbock, 1901), and Will P. Florence, *Hopeful Visions on Higher Ground* (Slaton, 1936).
- ¹⁰⁶ Holden, *Alkali Trails*, 239.
- ¹⁰⁷ Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 188.
- ¹⁰⁸ Lubbock *Avalanche*, February 22, 1924.
- ¹⁰⁹ The information concerning S. S. Rush was furnished by his son, O. E. Rush to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, June 29, 1960.
- ¹¹⁰ William Curry Holden to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, June 2, 1960.
- ¹¹¹ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, I, 15.
- ¹¹² Holden, "Experimental Agriculture on Spur Ranch," 22.
- ¹¹³ Matador Land and Cattle Company, Limited, *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report*, 1907.
- ¹¹⁴ Watkins, "Hockley County," 53.
- ¹¹⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, October 27, 1905.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, December 22, 1905.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1956.
- ¹¹⁸ E. J. Lowrey Papers.
- ¹¹⁹ Leidigh says 94,921 bales; Lowrey claims 100,970.
- ¹²⁰ *The Hub*, (April, 1942), 2.
- ¹²¹ Jones interview, March 30, 1960.
- ¹²² Lubbock County Agricultural Agent. "Lubbock County Agricultural Information" (Lubbock, ca. 1958), n.p.
- ¹²³ Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, I, 15.
- ¹²⁴ Leidigh, "Agriculture on the South Plains."
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁶ E. J. Lowrey Papers and Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.
- ¹²⁷ Leota Lightfoot Matthews, *The History of the Lubbock Experiment Station*, Substation No. 8 (MA Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1959), 11, 12.
- ¹²⁸ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.
- ¹²⁹ Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, *Application for A Homestead Colony on the South Plains of Texas* (Lubbock, February 15, 1934), 6, 20.
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.
- ¹³¹ *Dallas Morning News*, January 13, 1941.
- ¹³² *The Hub* (November, 1944), 6.
- ¹³³ *Southwestern Crop and Stock*, Vol. 10, No. 11 (November, 1956), 30.
- ¹³⁴ Harold E. Reagan, *Parade of Progress, South Plains Yearbook*, 1957 (Lubbock, 1957), n.p.
- ¹³⁵ *Southwestern Crop and Stock*, Vol. 12, No. 9 (September, 1958), 30.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (June, 1953), 18, Vol. 11, No. 3 (March, 1957), 22, Vol. 12, No. 9 (September, 1958), 23.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, No. 6 (June, 1951), 44, Vol. 4, No. 5 (May, 1950), 40.
- ¹³⁸ Harlan, Hale County, 42.
- ¹³⁹ *Southwestern Crop and Stock*, Vol. 13, No. 9 (September, 1959), 14.

¹⁴⁰ For news-notes and articles on these new crops see *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (September, 1949), Vol. 8, No. 12 (December, 1954), Vol. 11, No. 3 (March, 1957).

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, No. 10 (October, 1949), 8.

¹⁴² Lubbock County Agricultural Agent, "Lubbock County Agricultural Information." [ca. 1958].

¹⁴³ Holden, *Rollie Burns*, 233.

¹⁴⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

¹⁴⁵ W. P. Martin to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, June, 1958. See also Dunn's sketch of Martin in Connor (editor), *Builders of the Southwest*, 142-145.

¹⁴⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 2, 1911.

¹⁴⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

¹⁴⁸ Collins interview, August 26, 1958.

¹⁴⁹ Partially identified newspaper clipping from the *Plainview Herald*, 1952. The "E. Ramey Bros." were Edgar and Edwin, twins.

¹⁵⁰ Collins interview, August 26, 1958.

¹⁵¹ Mally, *The Panhandle and Llano Estacado*, 129.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 25, 1905.

¹⁵⁴ *The Hub* (December, 1940), 10.

¹⁵⁵ Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, *Application for a Homestead Colony*, 8, quoting "The Farm Business Report, High Plains Cotton Area, 1932 from the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics."

¹⁵⁶ W. L. Broadhurst to Lubbock Women's Club, History Roundtable, interview, March 6, 1958.

¹⁵⁷ Walter A. Myrick to Jean Paul, interview, August 26, 1958, typescript in the Southwest Collection.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Matthews, Lubbock Experiment Station, 95.

¹⁶⁰ Hubert Copeland, *Standard Farm Practices and Information Relative to Farmers in Lubbock County, Texas* (MS Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1935), 25.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Johnson, *The High Plains*, 611.

¹⁶³ *Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide* (Galveston, 1904), 246.

¹⁶⁴ Broadhurst interview, March 6, 1958. Also Broadhurst to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, November 8, 1960. Broadhurst did considerable research on this well. Among others he interviewed Winfield Holbrook. He received quite a bit of data from Col. R. P. Smythe. He also located early issues of the *Plainview Herald* which contained materials pertaining to pioneer irrigation. He states that a large engine had been ordered from Walter Tips Co. in Austin. The engine was shipped to Amarillo and then hauled to the well site. The engine was a gear pump, crude and inefficient. After it started to rain, and after the well caved in, the promoters became discouraged and returned the engine to Austin. Broadhurst, regarded as an expert on irrigation, states that none of the irrigation wells flowed, and that the measurements of "gallons per minute" were rough estimates.

¹⁶⁵ Hixson, *The Influence of Water*, 67.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 69, quoting D. L. McDonald to Hixson, interview, July 10,

1940; Broadhurst interview, March 6, 1958. See also Hi Plains Underground Water District No. 1, *Hi-Plains Irrigation Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (March, 1952), 9, which states that the well, promoted by Dr. J. O. Wycoff, was dug by E. B. Green, and when success was assured [the well pumped 1,700 gallons per minute] Slaton, as agreed previously, reimbursed Wycoff.

¹⁶⁷ Hixson, *The Influence of Water*, 68-70.

¹⁶⁸ Unless indicated otherwise, data concerning Biggers are from Don H. Biggers, "Exploration and Tests of Underground Water on the Plains," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, XVII (1941), 77-82

¹⁶⁹ E. J. Lowrey Papers.

¹⁷⁰ Biggers, "Underground Water," 81.

¹⁷¹ Interviews to E. J. Lowrey, February 11 and April 23, 1959, from Lowrey Papers.

¹⁷² Biggers, "Underground Water," 82.

¹⁷³ Charles Dudley Eaves, "Colonization Activities of Charles William Post," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII, No. 1 (July, 1939), 82.

¹⁷⁴ The story of McWhorter's well was headlined as "Lubbock's First Irrigation Well," in the Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 2, 1911. Supplementary information was furnished by the pioneer's son, Owen McWhorter to Roy Sylvan Dunn (August, 1958) who prepared the biographical sketch of B. O. McWhorter for publication in Connor (editor), *Builders of the Southwest*. A concise, but divergent, statement concerning the details of the well was prepared by E. J. Lowrey, who cites interviews conducted during 1959. See Lowrey typescript in B. O. McWhorter file, Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College. Lowrey states that the well was "about 50 feet deep"; the reporter for the *Avalanche* found the well to be 93 feet deep, and so on.

¹⁷⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 2, 1911.

¹⁷⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

¹⁷⁷ Homer Hunt to Lubbock Women's Club, History Roundtable, interview, May 1, 1958.

¹⁷⁸ Arthur P. Duggan, Jr., to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, August 17, 1956.

¹⁷⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

¹⁸⁰ Harlan, Hale County, 30.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 31; William Curry Holden to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, July 20, 1960.

¹⁸² See Conrad L. Lohoefer, "King Cotton 'White Gold of the South Plains,'" *South Plains Parade of Progress, 1957 Yearbook*; Broadhurst interview, March 6, 1958; Matthews, Lubbock Experiment Station, 82, quoting Don L. Jones. An interesting "horseback" survey of wells was conducted during 1959-1960 in twenty-four South Plains counties by the Pioneer Natural Gas Company. The final tally (actually an estimate): 32,948 wells, 23,500 of which were utilizing natural gas for pumping. A typescript "Count of Irrigation Wells by County, 1960," was furnished by Pioneer Natural Gas, Lubbock, Texas, to Roy Sylvan Dunn.

¹⁸³ Holden, *Alkali Trails*, 227.

¹⁸⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 1, 1905.

¹⁸⁵ Matthews, Lubbock Experiment Station, v.

¹⁸⁶ Adapted and summarized from *Ibid.*, v and vi.

¹⁸⁷ Sweetwater *Daily Reporter*, July 29, 1916.

¹⁸⁸ Gerald W. Thomas, "Progress and Change in American Agriculture," *Reports on Agricultural Industry* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter, 1960), 6. Thomas says that research and education have been of paramount importance in establishing agriculture in the area. Almost all of the crops grown today are new varieties which were developed, or adapted, to fit the requirements of the environment. This exacting work — with the Lubbock Experiment Station taking the lead and Texas Tech playing a key role — benefited greatly from the vision and craftsmanship of two outstanding agriculture personalities, R. E. Karper and Don L. Jones. Thomas to Roy Sylvan Dunn, interview, November 11, 1960.

¹⁸⁹ High Plains Underground Water Conservation District No. 1, *Water, Life of the Plains* (Lubbock, [1957]), n.p.

¹⁹⁰ *Plains Cotton Grower*, Vol. 1, No. 1 [1957], 2, 3.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (November-December, 1959), 1.

¹⁹² Cresap, *Industrial Survey*, II-7.

¹⁹³ This is paraphrased from the memoirs of Mary A. Blankenship, a pioneer on the South Plains. See Connor (editor) *The West Is For Us*. See also Dunn's biographical sketch of Mrs. Blankenship and her husband, A. W., in Connor (editor), *Builders of the Southwest*, pp. 18-21.

¹⁹⁴ For details of "hog killing" activities see Spikes interview, February 19, 1957.

10

The Economic Development of Lubbock

Harry S. Walker

THE GROWTH of Lubbock, "The Hub City" – "The Center of the Miracle Area," has been amazing, fascinating and of tremendous pride to city and area residents. Its spectacular growth is exemplified by the doubling of its population approximately every ten years, its constant business and economic progress, and by the preservation of the vitality so noticeable during its earlier years. Its growth has fascinated resident and non-resident alike as it has become a major city existing in a seemingly isolated location surrounded by semi-arid conditions. Its development has been a source of pride to all who know Lubbock, and this pride in turn has become a major asset of the city. The census returns reveal her accomplishments, the eyes observe her material achievements, and the senses detect a spirit of restlessness, cooperation, and progress.

The visitor crossing the high plains country with its characteristic geographical monotony, enters the city to find

cleanliness, opportunities in business and economic endeavors, well developed facilities for cultural and recreational activity, and feverish activity devoid of the usual hectic characteristics of the typical metropolitan area. Almost inevitably, one can predict the general reaction: What kind of city is this? What is its basis? How has it grown?

Lubbock, as any city, is a complex involving an anatomy consisting of diverse interrelated parts and a physiology giving life and breath and movement. As is true of any living organism, its internal composition alone does not suffice to explain its posture or its direction. It is modified by forces external to it and in turn influences the total environment of which it is a part.

The purpose of this essay will be to describe the predominant features of the business and economic structure of Lubbock, to answer the question of the basis upon which it rests and the course of its growth, and to note the influence of the surrounding area on the city and conversely the interaction of the city with the region around it. Necessarily, some comments must be made on facets of the city's life touched upon in other parts of this study, such as agriculture, population growth, religion, and cultural activities. It has seemed best to carry on the discussion through successive decades in order to bring out the progressive stages of the city's growth.

1910-1930

In 1910, nineteen years after her founding, Lubbock's economic landscape was one of a small (population 1,938) community dominated by agriculture, but including a nucleus of business institutions. From its beginning at Singer's store and post office in 1882 the settlement had grown by 1900 to include three mercantile firms, one barber shop, one grain store, two livery stables, two land firms, one hotel, and one newspaper. By 1910 Lubbock business establishments had grown to include eleven mercantile firms, three barber shops, two

grain stores, fifteen land offices, four hotels, three banks, three drug stores, four cafes, two confectioneries, two hardware stores, two meat markets, three grocery stores, one dentist, one tailor shop, one jewelry shop, a bakery, four abstract offices, three realty offices, two planing mills, seven lumber companies, a concrete yard, five lawyers' offices, two garages, a newspaper, an opera house, a printing company, and an oil company, and a gin which was established in 1909.¹

The basic business and economic structure of the city was oriented primarily toward the provision of services, with mercantile and land companies playing significant roles along with financial institutions. By this time it was already apparent to many observers that the development of the city would be dependent upon the course taken by the development of the surrounding area — whether it continued to be mainly devoted to ranches, or whether it turned increasingly to agriculture.

The base upon which the business edifice was erected was agriculture. In 1910 Lubbock County had 277,269 acres in farms and ranches, 27,561 of which were improved acreage representing 49.9 percent of the available land. The total farm acreage was valued at \$5,617,779. Although land values comprised the greatest percentage of total farm value, 1.3 percent of the total farm value was accounted for in agricultural implements and machinery (\$72,457). Sales of land and farm machinery were for the most part handled through the servicing facilities of Lubbock. While agriculture was different and more diversified than we find it today, in terms of major income groupings, (only 179 acres were in the present money crop, cotton, and there was no sorghum acreage), it produced an income for the county of \$41,221 from all crops. How much of this income, either for capital expenditures or consumer buying, flowed through Lubbock is not ascertainable. Nevertheless, a strong potential dollar demand from agriculture for Lubbock was present. In 1910 the mortgaged debt position of the farmer in Lubbock County was not overly burdensome.

Total mortgaged indebtedness stood at \$1,063,192, which was 17.2 percent of total farm value, with an average interest charge of 7.5 percent.² Indications are that a goodly amount of such financing was serviced in Lubbock, thus providing another source of income from the surrounding area.

Furthermore, Lubbock County was fairly typical of agricultural conditions in surrounding counties, so that a considerable portion of their financial needs were filled by Lubbock banks and business. A roundabout sort of evidence of the importance of agriculture lies in the strong suspicion that, although the majority of business firms in the city were small and employed an average of only one to three persons each, it is improbable that the internal population of the city could support the number or diversity of firms which existed.

Factors other than agriculture also contributed to the business advancement of Lubbock. The Lubbock *Avalanche*, for example, continually agitated for improved conditions in order that the city might continue to grow, and editorialized on the subject of Lubbock's advantages and potential. The Lubbock Commercial Club, under the initial direction of such men as C. Thomas, C. E. Parks, and Don Biggers, constantly publicized the area and worked for its development. And the coming of the Pecos and Northern Texas Railroad as a branch of the Santa Fe system prevented economic isolation and stagnation.³

Once the embryo of Lubbock had been formed, its relationship to agriculture firmly established, and a dynamic spirit been brought into play, the work of the next twenty years was the enlargement and extension of this beginning. The results proved Lubbock to be neither deficient nor hesitant.

The basic structure of the business community in 1930 remained as it had been in 1910, but with some important modifications. The concentration on land sales and allied services had decreased as a percentage of the total business activity. A small flutter of manufacturing development could be noted;

wholesale trade activity showed signs of becoming an important part of the business structure; and retail activity rose to new heights in keeping with population increase.

By the beginning of 1930, 40 manufacturing firms had been established in the Lubbock metropolitan area, employing a total of 489 wage earners. These firms produced goods to a value of \$5,756,288, with a value added to materials used amounting to \$1,492,360.⁴ Approximately one-fourth of this activity took place in Lubbock. Most of these firms were connected with agriculture in one way or another. Typical was the establishment in 1927 of the Dickinson Mill which produced feed stock by mixing molasses with cotton hulls, and the enlargement of the Stanton Feed Mill.⁵

By this time future growth patterns could be detected as other types of business activity emerged. The rise of the wholesale trade was reflected in the increase of wholesaling establishments to 67 firms in 1930 employing a total of 495 persons. Their annual net sales volume stood at \$25,180,516, while their contribution to the city in the form of payroll amounted to \$720,993 annually. The largest single category in this wholesale trade was in farm products. The city housed 24 establishments allied to agricultural trade, with 46 employees, \$15,112,622 in sales, and an annual payroll of \$76,104. There were also 12 food and grocery wholesalers with sales of \$7,177,000, 33 persons employed, and an annual payroll of \$407,000. While this type of growth was modest, it was steady and significant for the future.⁶

With the increased use of the automobile went a corresponding rise in the wholesaling of petroleum and petroleum products in the city. At the end of 1929, thirteen firms engaged in such activity had located in Lubbock, employing 40 persons, with an annual sales volume of \$835,000 and an annual payroll of \$112,000. This increased activity in wholesaling can be explained in part by the increase in population on the South Plains from 81,545 in 1910 to 250,642 in 1930, im-

proved and expanded transportation facilities in the area, and the over-all increase in agricultural activity.⁷

Retailing also occupied an important place in the business activity of the city. In 1929 there were 379 retail establishments employing 1079 persons, with an annual payroll of \$1,453,000, and an annual net sales volume of \$15,558,000.⁸

During this period down through the twenties the migration of branch offices into the city, as well as the establishment of new local firms, indicated an awareness on the part of businessmen of the potential of Lubbock as the focal point of business activity for the South Plains. While a complete listing would be impractical, a few citations will point up the diverse nature of new businesses. Swift and McIllhaney Creamery, Dickinson Mill (feed), Levine's Dry Goods, a district office of Phillips Petroleum, Rogers Asbestos, Lubbock Wood Works, South Plains Pipe Line, Titman Egg Corporation of New York, Scoggin-Dickey Motors, Associated Variety Store, and Lubbock Grain and Coal Company were established in the period under consideration.⁹

That the steady economic development of Lubbock did not result solely, or even mainly, from its own internal growth is shown by the fact that the city was still closely linked to agriculture and served a predominantly agricultural area. In 1930 Lubbock County boasted of 507,881 acres in farms. Of this, 136,518 acres were in cotton, representing 2029 farming units out of a total of 2495 such units. The total value of crops produced in the county that year lay between seven and nine million dollars, which included cotton, corn, hay, wheat, and sorghum (which ranked second to cotton). Livestock raising continued to play an important role, with the value of livestock in the county standing at \$1,911,806. From a low of 208 in 1910, the number of farm units in the county increased to 2495 in 1930, with an accompanying increase in land value from \$5,600,000 to \$27,500,000. Associated with these changes during this same period was a rise in the value of farm imple-

ments and machinery from \$72,400 to \$1,500,000. These increases brought a continuing rise in demand for services provided for farmers by urban businessmen, and help account for the spectacular rise in business and other activity in Lubbock.¹⁰

In addition to the impetus to wholesaling, retailing, and manufacturing which has already been noted, agriculture affected the city in other ways. Cotton became a dominant factor requiring an increase in service facilities. The number of gins in the city increased year by year, as did the number of cotton warehouses. In one year alone, 1926, more than a quarter-million bales of cotton were compressed in the city. The city fathers could proudly boast that their city ranked as the third largest inland cotton market in the world. Quite apart from this the city was also becoming a major feeding area for cattle, with between 2000 and 8000 head being handled annually.¹¹

The flourishing condition of agriculture served as an incentive for further immigration into the Lubbock area and for its continued development. Lubbock city officials did not fail to take note of this and to encourage it in various ways. As noted in the last chapter of this work, the Panhandle-South Plains annual fair provided a forum for publicizing the city and the area and helped make Lubbock a focal point for agricultural activities. The Lubbock Chamber of Commerce (which had replaced the Commercial Club in 1913), instigated an advertising campaign in 1927 designed to draw agricultural population into the area. The chamber was willing to devote \$100,000 to the drive, spreading it over a period of three years. The chamber's line of thought regarding the type of individual it desired to attract may be ascertained from its justification of the three-year stipulation: "A three year campaign as a minimum is recommended because the type of farmer desired is not the type that moves every year or that is always hunting the 'Promised Land' where no work will produce big returns."

The high priority given this campaign is indicated by the program outlined by the chamber. Project number one cited the development of a general advertising campaign for the colonization based on the low cost of cotton.

By 1930 the chamber was pleased with the results of its advertising efforts and so stated in its official publication, the *Hub*:

The report at the National Business Survey Conference stated, 'The Fourteenth Semi-Annual Survey of Real Estate Conditions, which has just been completed, shows that our business has been on a decline for the last several years . . .' This statement brings out the favorable conditions on the South Plains today as compared with other sections and may be taken as another indication that the advertising campaign of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, under the name South Plains, Inc., is producing results.¹²

The same issue revealed the rather startling fact that from August 1 to December 31, 1929, over eight hundred transactions involving farm property took place.

Chamber of Commerce activities did not end with the encouragement of agricultural relocation, for through other projects it constantly advocated a comprehensive system of good roads over the area, and pushed a major campaign to extend the trade area and create conditions favorable for new and more diversified industries in the city. Typical was the chamber's action in taking the lead in establishing in 1929 the semi-annual western wholesale market week, which provided for merchandise displays where area wholesalers and retailers could transact business.¹³

Factors within the city also contributed to the growth of population and the generation of income. One of the measures of a city's progress is to be found in the status of its bank deposits. In 1910 Lubbock's three banks held deposits slightly under \$300,000, as contrasted with \$5,153,710 in 1930. During the 1920's the average increase in deposits had amounted to approximately \$600,000 yearly.¹⁴ Important features of this

growth were the successful attempts at establishing chain banking relationships in the immediate area and the formation of a clearing association.¹⁵

This deposit position of the banks was, of course, much influenced by the growth of the city, combined with agricultural development. But another important contributing factor was the large amount of construction activity carried on in the city. Capital expenditures not only influenced the deposit position indirectly, but directly provided employment and income for an expanded population, led to an increase in service and productive facilities serving the area, and provided a more complex urban environment.

A sampling of building permits issued in the city during the twenties gives an indication of the size and diversity of such expenditures, as well as the way in which the city was developing. By 1924 the yearly rate of building permits had exceeded the million dollar mark — \$1,212,100 for 1924. By 1930 they had surpassed a figure three times that amount — \$3,337,041 in that year.¹⁶ In 1928 the Whaley Elevator Company was issued a permit for a building costing \$150,000, while the Lubbock Grain and Coal Company received one for an installation costing \$40,000. In 1929, the Western Produce Company invested \$200,000 in a new plant, and the South Plains Investment Company started construction on a \$75,000 three-story garage. In September of 1928, \$18,000 in permits for apartment houses and \$48,000 for warehouses were issued. Plans for a new twelve-story hotel, the Hilton, to cost an estimated \$700,000 were nearing completion. In addition, the Fort Worth and Denver Railroad was issued a \$45,889 permit to expand its service facilities, and the West Texas Gas Company was issued one for \$63,000.¹⁷

The "city of churches" was active during the period in enlarging its religious facilities, in itself a significant symptom of growth. Indicative of this type of activity was the issuance of building permits to the First Methodist Church (\$75,000),

the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (\$10,000), and the First Baptist Church (\$80,000). These expenditures had been brought about by the increase in population, and at the same time served as an attraction for more people to come to the city, while their construction provided additional work and income.¹⁸

Residential construction was still another factor of importance to the economy of Lubbock. Approximately one-half of the building permits issued each year were for residential construction—a fact not to be wondered at in view of the rapid growth in population within the city. With the population doubling approximately every ten years, it could be expected that the building trades, wholesalers, real estate firms, real estate insurers, lumber yards, and other servicing firms for the construction industry would become an important feature of the economic landscape.

One of the most important (if not *the* most important) economic, as well as educational and cultural, results of the period was the opening of Texas Technological College. In 1925, the first year of its operation, 1379 students enrolled in the college, the value of its plant stood at \$1,433,984, and its current operating expenses were \$281,502. By 1930 these categories had increased respectively to 3386, \$2,319,785, and \$766,677.¹⁹

The economic impact of the college upon the city and its growth was five-fold: (1) The growth of enrollment increased the demand for service and mercantile facilities, and in addition the majority of expenditures by the students were made in the local market. (2) The increase from year to year in the value of the college plant represented capital expenditures, a significant percentage of which flowed through local firms and the local labor force. (3) The yearly expenditures for current operating expenses represent another significant income flow through the economy of the city. (4) Growth of the college increased the number of employees (administra-

tive, faculty, and service), who became permanent residents and who expended most of their income locally. (5) Finally, the existence of the college led to an increased flow of visitors through the city, resulting in increased expenditures and demand for service facilities.

The growth of the city necessitated a corresponding increase in the size and scope of the activity of the municipal government. City governmental activities thus resulted in rising expenditures for municipal building projects, for enlarged employment opportunities in various branches of city government, and in investment opportunities in the purchase of city bond issues. Unfortunately, many city records have been destroyed, making data prior to 1930 unavailable. In 1930, however, the city employed 148 persons, who earned a total of \$178,605.29. Total expenditures for capital improvements in that same year reached \$133,516.69. In succeeding years these figures continued to rise.²⁰

The growth of transportation facilities kept pace with the development of the area. In the late twenties Lubbock had eight railroad outlets, seven bus outlets, and seven highway outlets. In 1928 another spoke in the transportation wheel was added with the completion of the Fort Worth and Denver Railroad connecting the city with the Santa Fe and Burlington systems. In this period an important development was the drive for a reduction in freight rates in order to put the city in a better competitive position with other grain concentration points.

THE 1930'S

Any reference to the decade of the 1930's calls to mind a national picture of unemployment, drought, bonus marches, bread lines, and soup kitchens as the economy of the country experienced extreme shock during the depression years. Although the intensity of the shock on regional and local areas was not equal, all felt it to some degree. Lubbock and its area

was no exception. Representative of the pattern of development, cash farm income of the agricultural area, upon which much of the economy of Lubbock depended, fell from a high point in 1929 of 47.5 million to a low point of 16.4 million in 1934, and slowly crept up to reach 38.7 million as the decade ended.²¹ In the face of this movement in its economic base, the city paused briefly and then continued its growth. Bank deposits increased every year after an initial fall from \$4,975,628.53 in 1930 to \$2,860,082.03 in 1931, culminating in a deposit position in 1939 of \$11,930,887.22.²² There is some indication, however, that the turnover rate of money slowed down during the period, which would mean that the economic health of the city was not quite as sound as the above figures indicate.

The population of the area and the city both increased over the decade. Area population rose by 42,802 persons, while the population of Lubbock grew from 20,520 in 1930 to 31,853 in 1940, not quite conforming to the generalization that it doubled every ten years.²³

As would be expected, building activity in the city showed the effects of the depression. Building permits dropped in value to \$122,204 in 1932, rose during the next two years, then fell back to a level of \$217,748 in 1935. From then until the end of the decade the value of building permits issued increased at the rate of roughly \$1 million a year.²⁴

The adjustments made necessary during the period of economic dislocation did not alter the basic long term growth pattern of the city. The economic structure was sound, and data at hand pointed to the resumption of growth patterns. Manufacturing plants by 1940 had increased in number to 55, which employed 584 persons, produced a wage payroll of \$533,186, and whose total output was valued at \$6,835,873.²⁵ The typical firm continued to be small, employing from one to three persons. Basically, these companies conformed to the past, in that they relied mainly upon agriculture. Some new

firms, however, showed a tendency to supply urban and construction needs. Examples of this latter trend were the founding of the Adams Printing Company (1932), the Moore Mattress Works (1935), the Blackwell Mattress Works (1930), Greer's Iron Works (1933), Haden Neon Sign Company (1937), Holsum Bakery (1933), Pioneer Cookie Company (1939), Keeton Packing Company, (1939), Jackson Manufacturing Company (delinting machinery, 1936), Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company (1939), Royal Crown Cola Bottling Company (1936), and Lubbock Sheet Metal Company (1936).²⁶ One should not conclude from this, however, that manufacturing had become a dominant part of the Lubbock economy. The continuation of the trend toward small firms and small output, which had been established prior to the thirties, was still in evidence. A survey of reports made by manufacturers clearly indicates that the majority of them considered themselves to be serving a local or district market. Cottonseed oil mills, dairy products, grain mills, water pumps, well casings, fertilizer, and creamery firms were becoming the significant sectors of manufacturing. During the thirties creamery operations, including milk, butter, and egg production, added significantly to the income of Lubbock, supported by poultry processing, reaching in some instances national markets.

The population census revealed the diverse nature of the employment of the industrial labor force. The construction trade employed the largest number (931), followed by the wholesale trade (860), professional services (835), finance, insurance, and real estate (572). The lowest groups were furniture manufacturing (36) and chemical manufacturing (113). This pattern of industrial employment reflects the nature of the city's economic growth, and shows the relative unimportance of manufacturing. It is interesting to note that only clerks and salesmen exceeded proprietors and managers as an occupational group, further illustrating the service-small shop nature of the economy.²⁷

Wholesaling showed a significant gain in 1940 from what it had been in 1930. During the decade the number of such establishments increased from 67 to 114, annual sales went up from \$25,180,506 to \$32,742,000, payroll from \$720,993 to \$835,000, and the number of employees from 495 to 665.²⁸ The development of Lubbock as a wholesaling center was becoming more and more pronounced, and a comparison of the city with the twelve-county area surrounding and including Lubbock brings out the dominance of the city in such activities. A study of wholesaling activity made in 1950 by the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas disclosed that in 1940 the total sales value of the area was \$48,038,000. Of this, Lubbock's share was more than double that of the remaining eleven counties.²⁹

Retail activity continued its expansion in conformity with the population growth of the city and surrounding area. In 1940 total retail sales volume amounted to \$21,111,000, as compared with \$15,558,000 in 1930. The number of persons employed in retail activities rose from 1079 to 2325 during the decade, with a consequent rise in annual payroll from \$1,453,000 to \$2,140,000. There were 379 retailing firms in 1930 and 577 ten years later. The composition of the retail trade points up the close ties to the Lubbock market and population development. The largest number of firms was engaged in grocery operations, with service stations and eating places second in numerical strength. The Lubbock retail operation represented approximately half of the total retail sales volume of the twelve-county area.³⁰

The agricultural base of the economy showed signs of the economic struggles of the thirties. Twenty-five percent of the farms were mortgaged in 1940, to the extent of an average of 38.7 percent of the total value of farming units. The cash farm income stood at \$38,700,000, which was lower than at the beginning of the period.³¹ Nonetheless, the agricultural sector of the economy was much stronger than that in many

comparable areas of the nation, due at least partly to the adoption of the federal farm program of the thirties. In cotton alone, government payments for 1940 were \$496,814 for the county.³²

In the South Plains area cotton had become the dominant cash crop, representing about 50 percent of the total income received by farmers, with grain sorghum, cattle, poultry, wheat, and dairy products as the other significant cash items. By 1940 Texas was producing approximately 24 percent of the United States cotton crop, with the South Plains accounting for 11 percent of the Texas crop.³³ As the ascendancy of cotton continued in the area, and as irrigated farming continued to develop, the economic fortunes of the city of Lubbock became even more closely tied in with the fortunes of this one crop. Although in 1940 irrigation was applied to only 8 percent of crop acreage, it was to increase tremendously in its significance after World War II.

And yet the city's dependence on agricultural income was far from complete, for, as previously indicated, growth in the business sectors of the city continued in the face of relatively unstable agricultural conditions.

During the thirties new demands continued to be made upon the construction industry as the influx of population continued. Construction activity began to show signs of renewed vigor during the late thirties, after having been slowed during the early and middle years of the decade. By 1937 the construction of new residential units had fallen to an annual rate of 323, representing a value of \$821,746 in building permits. But a year later residential construction rose to 786 units valued at \$1,855,000 in permits, and in 1939, \$1,978,020 in permits were issued for 649 units. Construction activity thus helped moderate the impact on the city of fluctuations in the agricultural sector of the economy.³⁴

Besides the contribution of residential construction to economic developments, important non-residential building ac-

tivity took place that contributed to the economic well being and growth of the city. In April 1930 construction began on a new American Legion Home to serve the area, and in April 1931 the \$650,000 Lubbock High School was completed. The American Body Works of Dallas began operations in the city in 1930, and a year later Kress Company entered Lubbock with a variety store. In 1933 College Avenue Baptist Church spent \$200,000 and St. Elizabeth's Catholic Church \$54,000 on construction. Negotiations were completed in August 1930 for an Oklahoma firm, Capital City Box Company, to locate in Lubbock. In 1939 plans were formulated and organization work was completed for the Lubbock National Bank building to cost approximately \$400,000, and late in that same year a new brick firm entered the city to manufacture brick from local deposits in the soil.³⁵

During the thirties the city government in its spending followed the general pattern of fluctuation. From \$133,516.69 in 1930 capital improvement expenditures of the city fell to a low of \$16,503.67 in 1934. In 1935 such expenditures rose slightly, jumped to \$130,053.55 in 1936, and reached a high at the end of the period of \$507,914.98. The payroll of city employees followed the same over-all trend, falling to \$147,897.90 in 1933 and rising steadily to \$330,758.08 in 1939.³⁶

Texas Technological College was not without significance in helping to prevent a major collapse of business activity during the trying times of the thirties. Enrollment did decrease from a high point of 3875 in 1931 to a low of 3620 in 1933, yet the latter figure exceeded the enrollment in 1929 when the community was entering the new decade. Following the general trend of the other components in the Lubbock economy, enrollment increased steadily after 1934, reaching a high of 5828 at the end of the decade. Economically speaking, this was important to the city because almost every student had to have recreation, clothing, food, and a host of other necessities, most of which were obtained from Lubbock busi-

nessmen either directly or indirectly. The college operations themselves contributed to the economy, since the largest share of them were made locally in the form of purchases of goods and services from Lubbock firms. During most of the period of the thirties yearly operating expenses of the college rose an average of \$100,000, reaching a level of \$1,247,622 in 1939. The physical plant of the college was also being expanded steadily with the addition of new buildings and other facilities. With the exception of 1935, the value of the physical plant increased each year, until in 1939 it reached a maximum of \$4,290,279. Without the college, Lubbock's economy would have suffered much more during the decade than it did.³⁷

The fiber and spirit of the business community should not be overlooked in this account of the attempt to cope with the great depression. In 1930, for example, an idea for "Howdy Stranger" banquets was brought to reality. These gatherings were designed to serve as a means of personal contact with newcomers to the city, as well as to advertise the opportunities and advantages offered in Lubbock. An article in the *Southwestern Retailer* summarized this rather unique friendliness of the city: "Courtesy pays and it pays cash. . . . That courtesy has a cash value in business and that a city can have a pleasing personality has been proved in Lubbock, Texas. . . . Lubbock's reputation is spreading . . . everyone is intent on making visitors like the city."³⁸ The business community recognized the asset a city's personality could be, and was doing its best to capitalize on it.

The Chamber of Commerce displayed this same type of spirit and progressiveness in securing a district administrative office and branch office of the Texas Cotton Cooperative Association.³⁹ The chamber was to receive a credit of five dollars for each new member it secured for the newly-established organization. This is merely one example among many others that could be cited of how the chamber, by convincing new enterprises to locate in the city, devoted itself through the

years to publicizing the virtues of the city and to seeing that they aided in its development. If chamber members had not themselves been convinced of the future of Lubbock, the organization could not have acted as the powerful propagandizing and attractive force that it was. A scanning of the pages of the chamber's publication, the *Hub*, quickly reveals the pride the chamber took in local achievements, ranging from the construction of new hotels, streets, and business establishments, to the steady growth of population, the spreading fame of such institutions as Texas Technological College and the Panhandle-South Plains annual fair, and the achievements of individual citizens. Such a perusal also reveals the very important role played by the chamber in looking out for the interests of the city. In the thirties it protested vigorously against announced plans to trim the operations of the college. In the forties it took an important part in the struggle to locate air force installations in the city. And since the late twenties the Board of City Development, brought into being by the chamber, has taken the lead in the long-range planning which has done so much to make Lubbock the attractive and appealing city it has become.

The development of this strong feeling of community pride, typical of so many cities across the country, was tempered by the awareness that Lubbock and her area were interdependent. Selfishness at the expense of cooperation was not practical. A good example of this realization were the efforts put forth by the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce and other organizations to aid plains towns and the railroads in securing permission for the Texas and Pacific Railroad to build into the area. Even though the line would not pass through Lubbock, a committee was appointed to aid both parties in their efforts. As the *Hub* expressed it, the philosophy was "As grows the South Plains — So grows Lubbock."⁴⁰

During the 1930's the chamber was active in securing the routing and official national designation of a highway through

Lubbock in order to connect the city with Oklahoma City and Little Rock to the east and Los Angeles to the west, which came to be Highway 62. Initial steps were also taken for the construction of a federal post office building costing approximately \$335,000. In addition, the chamber used its publication for two important projects. It ran editorials hitting hard at the need for city planning, and a strong editorial and coupon campaign was pursued in order to secure more conventions for the city.⁴¹

One of the most interesting examples of community spirit came in 1931 with the formation of the Lubbock Loyalty Council. A group of citizens banded together with the end in view of reducing business and community anxiety and of instilling confidence in the soundness of the city's institutions, especially the banks. Their pledge indicates their intent: "I hereby pledge my every effort to bring honor, rather than dishonor, upon my city; to uphold and not tear down its ideals, objects, traditions, and institutions and to try, by every word and deed, to quicken the public sense of civic duty, so that I may help to leave to posterity a better city than I found upon my entering."⁴² These are indeed high sounding phrases, but the impact of the council was also considerable. It has been credited with creating a more calm business atmosphere, as well as with taking steps to bolster public confidence in the city's three banks, so that there were no bank failures during the depression. Despite these efforts of the chamber and of other groups all was not smooth sailing, economically speaking, and the chamber was forced to suspend publication of the *Hub* in 1931 and to suspend the payment of dues by chamber members. But the economy of the city displayed a certain resiliency and quickly righted itself.

THE FORTIES AND FIFTIES

The economic development of Lubbock since the depression years of the thirties has been typified by a spectacular

growth in population, accelerated business activity, and an accompanying upsurge in construction activity. This resurgence was underway by the middle thirties, and was spurred by World War II, agricultural progress, increased oil exploration and discovery, the immigration of new businesses, and accelerated capital expenditures.

An excellent index of the development of the area and the city may be found in the rapid rise in population. At the end of the 1930's the population of Lubbock stood at 31,853, surged forward to 71,747 by 1950, and leaped to 128,028 by the end of 1959.⁴³ The growth pattern of past decades was maintained, although as the numbers increased it became more and more difficult to maintain the tradition of doubling the population every ten years. The ability to entice such numbers of people and to keep them gainfully employed was one of the proud accomplishments of the city. Lubbock was the major city in the county and influenced the latter's growth as it too showed a healthy increase in population. While the majority of the agricultural counties of the nation were losing people, Lubbock County gained over 30 percent in population, thus indicating that the economic health of the South Plains remained relatively sound.

A second indication of the growth trend of Lubbock was the rapid rise in the deposit position of the city's banks. The modest gains in bank deposits through the late thirties culminated in a deposit position at the decade's end of \$11,930,887. By 1950 bank deposits had risen to exceed \$106,936,031, and went on to more than double during the next decade, reaching \$242,597,854 by the end of 1959. This growth would indicate not only the general economic trend, but when combined with a healthy turnover rate of deposits, meant the dollar transactions for the city had by 1959 exceeded \$3 billion annually. By 1960 the resources of local banks had stretched past the \$200 million mark, with approximately one-third in

the form of cash, and the rest in claims on other banks, loans, and discounts.⁴⁴

Still another measure of the economic growth of the city and area was the trend in the generation of income during the decades of the forties and fifties. While total and complete figures were not available for the period, the general picture may be discerned by using net effective buying power as estimated by Sales Management Corporation. For the city of Lubbock net effective buying power increased from about \$12 million in 1939 to \$93 million in 1949, and then went up rapidly to a height of \$208 million at the end of 1959. For this same twenty-year period net effective buying power for the area primarily served by Lubbock rose from \$260 million to a fraction over \$2 billions.⁴⁵

At the same time, agricultural developments in the area displayed a vitality and rate of progress that provided an important source of revenue upon which the Lubbock business community could draw. Typical of the area movement was the growth in value of farm products sold in Lubbock County. In 1939 the value of all crops sold by the county's farmers was a little over \$4 million. By 1949 the figure had risen to \$35 million, and at the time of the last agricultural census in 1954 had gone up to almost \$50 million. By the end of 1959 estimates placed this value in excess of \$80 million. This development was closely tied in with cotton and grain sorghum production and prices. While other types of farm products continued to rise in value, these two basic cash crops increased their relative percentage of the cash farm income of the county from 64 percent to 80 percent of the total. For the Lubbock area the value of cotton alone rose to over \$300 million annually. Lubbock County became one of the leading cotton producers of the state. In 1946 over 53,000 bales of cotton were produced; ten years later production exceeded 230,000 bales. At the same time, production on the South Plains soared past the million-bale level.

The impact of these developments upon the business and economic community of Lubbock were felt as an increased demand for the wholesale, retail, financial, and production facilities of the city. Underlying the general movement, significant changes occurred which would affect the character of that demand. The work of the agriculturalist and the experiment stations in tenaciously pursuing research activities resulted in better varieties of crops, adaptations to mechanized production and efficient fertilization techniques. Mechanization and fertilization became a permanent part of the agricultural landscape, with tractors and allied equipment, plus the introduction of mechanical cotton pickers in the early forties much in evidence.

In addition, one of the most significant developments was the widespread use of irrigation. In 1940 approximately 8 percent of the farms in Lubbock County were irrigated, which represented about 7000 acres out of a total of 509,000 acres in farms. By 1950 approximately 66 percent of the farms had become irrigated, which increased to better than 80 percent in the late fifties. The monetary magnitude of this change was sizable, as can be seen by the capital expenditure required, which for the 1940 decade alone was greater than \$9 million.⁴⁶

One of the primary results of these changes was a rapid increase in the yield per acre of the farming unit. Indications are that from 1939 to the period of the fifties, yields rose about 80 percent.⁴⁷ This was further influenced by government programs such as the soil bank. While the number of farms and the acreage planted tended to decrease, the most desirable acres were planted, crops adaptable to mechanization were used, and increased irrigation-fertilization techniques were used. These changes placed Lubbock in the center of a dynamic agricultural economy characterized by expanded income, demands for production and storage facilities, and increased demands for diversified goods (fertilizers, insecticides, well casing, irrigation pipe, etc.). Lubbock rapidly became the cot-

tionsed oil capital of the world, a major storage center and supplier of the products needed in the new mode of production. In addition, Lubbock continued as a major butter-fat producer, a major poultry processor, and a significant livestock feeder and processor.

In the period after 1940 the economic base served by the city experienced an important addition in the form of oil development that was to rise in dollar volume to a level rivaling that of cotton. The first discovery of oil in the area came in the Permian Basin in 1923, with the first well being established in Lubbock County in 1929. The depression of the 1930's temporarily halted any major advancement in petroleum exploration and production. In 1935, however, activity was resumed with renewed vigor and was further accelerated in 1937 by the discovery of the Slaughter Field southwest of Lubbock and by further development of the field in the early forties. The area surrounding Lubbock became one of the major oil producing areas of the nation, which generated a significant additional income source for the city. Indicative of this rapid change was the progress made in oil production in the fifty-one county area identified as the Lubbock wholesale area. At the beginning of the period under consideration, oil production stood at over 32 million barrels and had by the middle fifties increased to over 231 million barrels, generating an income in excess of 300 million dollars.⁴⁸ For Lubbock this development presented another important pressure for increased and more diversified facilities for processing and servicing this basic industry. The impact on the city in terms of firms locating in Lubbock can be seen from a representative survey of the number and type of such firms. In 1940 the city had relatively few firms associated with the oil industry, but by the end of 1959 these had increased to include two equipment companies, four field service organizations, seventeen oil operators, fifteen oil producers, twenty-four establishments

handling oil properties, and over twenty organizations handling allied services.⁴⁹

As the economic base, composed chiefly of cash crops and petroleum, grew, the internal characteristics of the city also changed. The relatively small position manufacturing occupied prior to 1940 increased in its size and scope after that date. At the end of 1939 Lubbock had 58 manufacturing firms which produced a value added to materials used in the amount of \$1,963,119. By the middle of the 1950's the number of firms had grown to 109, with a value added figure of \$21,716,000. The growth of these firms partially absorbed the steady flow of people into the city. In 1940 manufacturing concerns employed only 584 persons, while by the middle fifties they employed 2646; their annual payroll increased from \$533,186 to over \$9,544,000 during this same period.⁵⁰

The tie-in of manufacturing with the surrounding agricultural area is clear. Meat packing may be cited as representative. In 1959 there were eleven firms engaged in meat packing operations, compared to the one major operator of the forties. Three of these companies served a strictly local market, six served a district market, and two served a state market. Producers of prepared foods rose in number from one major firm in the forties to seven in 1959. Of these, three served a district market, three a regional one, and one firm serviced a national market. The same general pattern was to be observed in the production of milk and milk products. Another important area of growth was to be found in the field of chemical and allied products. In the forties four such firms were located in Lubbock; by 1959 their number had risen to nine. Important in this increase was the rise of feed mixing, oil servicing firms, and the addition of one agricultural chemical company. The majority of firms considered that they served a regional market rather than a strictly local one, whereas they previously had served only a local or district market.⁵¹ The most significant type of such activity was in the production of cot-

tonseed oil, which had reached a daily capacity of over one thousand tons per day, with three major firms established.⁵² In keeping with the agricultural trend toward greater mechanization, it was not surprising that the number of firms producing farm machinery increased. In the forties three major firms existed that produced this type of equipment; by the end of 1959 there were fourteen such firms.

The basic trend in manufacturing firms catering to agriculture and the oil industry was duplicated by the other areas of manufacturing. The increase in income and population supported additional firms catering to consumer needs and construction activity. Representative of this growth from the early 1940's through the 1950's, in terms of types of producers, was the increase in bakery product firms from one major firm to twenty firms; the addition of two candy and confectionery firms; six bottled and canned drink firms; two food preparation firms; two textile mill product firms; five house-furnishing firms; eighteen millwork plants; two ceramic tile firms; eighteen concrete product firms and twenty-two fabricating metal firms. The rapid rise in the number of firms was also accompanied by a trend toward the servicing of a larger market; in many cases firms penetrated international markets. Indicative of this development were the Plains Cooperative Oil Mill, the Hancock Manufacturing Company, The Cotey Chemical Company, The Lubbock Machine and Supply Company, the Johnson Manufacturing Company, the Lone Star Ceramic Company, Moss-Gordon Lint Cleaner Company, and the National Cylinder Gas Company, all of which were active in international markets.⁵³

From 1939 forward, Lubbock solidified its position as an important wholesale center. At the time of the last complete census (1954), as compared to 1940, the number of wholesale firms in the city had doubled, the number of persons employed increased more than three times, and the payroll increased twelve times. The composition of this growth was

closely tied to the population and agricultural trend of the period. The largest sector, in terms of number of establishments, was the merchant wholesaler, a category which comprised 185 firms out of a total of 289. The greatest percentage of total sales transacted by this group was due to wholesalers handling farm products, followed by grocery, machine, hardware, automotive, and electrical wholesalers.

The increased wholesale activity was not only impressive, but from another perspective a further indication on the growth pattern of the wholesale trade is possible in terms of type of wholesalers. Typical of the trend were the changes that occurred for the Lubbock metropolitan area, with Lubbock the dominant factor, between the 1946 and 1956 census of business. In 1946 there were 11 manufacturing sales branches and sales offices with an annual payroll of over \$264,000 and an annual sales volume of over \$500,000. By 1956 wholesale operations of this type had increased to 23 firms, with a payroll in excess of \$1 million and doing an annual sales volume of better than \$20 million. During the same period wholesalers in petroleum and gas operations increased in number from 21 to 24, their yearly payroll advanced from over \$349,000 to over \$751,000, and their sales volume increased almost \$8 million to a magnitude of slightly under \$14 million. Another important group of wholesalers, which showed a similar enlargement, was the agent broker. The number of such firms increased threefold, the annual payroll tripled, and their yearly sales volume rose by over \$3 million.⁵⁴

The rise in wholesaling operations, both in magnitude and diversity, established these activities as major components of the internal business structure of the city, and firmly established Lubbock as the "Hub" of such economic endeavors. It was estimated by the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce that in the wholesale trade area (fifty-one West Texas counties), Lubbock had approximately one-fourth of the total wholesale establishments and did almost 40 percent of the total whole-

sale trade volume. This internal development was a major contributing factor to the continued high rate of growth in the city during the 1940's and 1950's.⁵⁵

To the casual and occasional observer, the geographical expansion of the city from 1940 onwards was as spectacular as the statistics of her economic accomplishments. At the time just prior to World War II, fingers of residential and business development could be seen projecting past Nineteenth Street. A series of aerial photographs taken at different time periods would show that during the next twenty years those extensions stretched south and westward past Sixtieth Street, northward and eastward beyond Mackenzie State Park and westward, in a belated fashion, past Slide Road. The *Avalanche-Journal* continually reported the establishment of new and larger residential areas through the creation of development projects. Whole areas, rather than a single street or a single home, were completed. To the late arrival a constant problem would be the identification and retention of the names of these rapid "block" developments.

With the rapid advance of residential building, growth and enlargement of business units was inevitable. A look at the same series of aerial photographs would reveal a parallel type of business development. The pattern resembled a type of "leap frog" advance, with residential areas sandwiched between each new enlargement of the city. In 1940 Nineteenth Street was becoming an artery of business activity, enclosing between it and Broadway a fine residential section. In the late forties and moving into the fifties, 34th Street developed into another major business artery, with the eastern end dominated by non-retail business firms, the remainder of its distance characterized by retail firms, and stretching almost the complete breadth of the city. This type of "strip zoning" was deplored by many but continued to exist. In the fifties the same type of progress seemed to be taking place along Fiftieth Street. While its business activity tended to become restricted

to a small area (between College Avenue and Indiana Avenue), it displayed features of a city within a city. The major retail establishments of the "older" sections of town located major installations in the largest shopping center within the city limits.

While the latest and largest of the shopping centers were located on Fiftieth Street, this was merely the culmination of an evolution under way since the end of World War II. Other shopping centers, such as Green Acres, Town and Country, Family Park, and Indiana Gardens pointed up the fact that Lubbock was following the trend in so many other cities toward a decentralization of retail outlets in outlying districts. But with this progress the city began to experience a problem common to older metropolitan areas: the revival, restoration, and even survival of its downtown area. Committees to investigate the problem were formed, experiments in the creation of malls were tried, and increased investments in parking installations were made in an attempt to keep vital the downtown area and prevent its gradual disintegration.

With the extension of residential and business activity outward from the center of Lubbock, major traffic arteries connecting the periphery of the city were provided. However, these predominantly north-south avenues did not develop as major business thoroughfares. College Avenue, bordering the eastern section of Texas Technological College, had practically no business development beyond Nineteenth Street; Avenue Q was of the same nature and streets in the eastern part of Lubbock, projecting from Broadway, had developed into major wholesale, warehousing, and servicing arteries, but failed to extend beyond 34th Street. Yellow House Canyon skirted the northern limits of the city, effectively blocking any substantial residential development northward similar to that which had occurred in the southwestern part of the city. But with easy access to the central business district and the railroad, this area came to be dominated by industry, manu-

facturing, wholesale companies, and other primarily non-retail establishments.

The growth of economic factors largely external to the city of Lubbock in the agricultural base and oil activity contributed significantly to this progress of the city. However, the internal growth of the city was further accentuated by factors which were a composite of external and internal forces, each of which tended to feed on the other. The rapid rise in retail activity during and after the war period was one factor of such a nature. In 1940 the Lubbock metropolitan area could boast of 577 retail establishments that employed 2325 persons, with an annual payroll of over \$2,000,000, and which transacted over \$21,000,000 of business. By the middle of the 1950's retail activity increased to 1138 firms employing 6592 persons, an annual payroll of \$15,800,000, and an annual net sales volume of \$159,588,000.⁵⁶ As one would expect, the number of establishments of a retail nature, as well as dollar volume, leaned heavily in the direction of food stores, department stores, automotive stores, service stations, eating places, furniture and home appliance stores, and apparel institutions. By the middle of the fifties the number of establishments, employees, payroll, and sales volume had more than doubled for the metropolitan area, with Lubbock proper accounting for more than 90 percent of that growth. The growth of retail business acted as a compounding factor, reflected through increased employment, the generation of additional income, revitalized construction activity, emergence of shopping centers, and the migration into the city of such chain-store operations as White Auto Stores, Western Auto Stores, Woolworth's, Kresge, Lerner, and Safeway.

Again must be cited that important contributing factor in growth, the construction industry. A visitor to the city in the forties and fifties could see everywhere the breaking of ground, hear the constant sound of hammer and saw, observe the rising of steel skeletons, and watch the feverish piling of

brick on brick. All this not only provided needed physical facilities for the city, but increased the demand for servicing and wholesaling companies, absorbed an important part of the population growth, and generated a flow of income which in turn further stimulated business.

The contribution of construction activity to the economy of Lubbock was no less startling than the population increase after World War II. Even after inflationary pressures are considered, a steady growth occurred over the period rather than the usual wide cyclical variations associated with construction activity. The last year prior to the decade of the forties building permits were issued in the amount of \$3,600,000, over a third of which were for residential construction; for the decade of the forties over \$76 million worth of building permits were issued, and had increased by over \$287 million for the decade of the fifties. A survey of the building permit pattern shows a slightly decreased activity during the war period, reaching a low point of \$270,000 in 1943, but steadily climbing each year to a high for the forties of \$16 million in 1949 and a continued climb into the fifties, culminating in \$55 million in 1959.⁵⁷ A significant portion of these permit values could be tied to the increase in population in the form of residential construction, while at the same time contributing to the economic support of that population. During the 1940's Lubbock increased its residential units by 6560 and in the 1950's constructed better than fourteen thousand residential units.

Non-residential construction likewise contributed to the city's growth. Typical was the rapid increase in the number of shopping centers, as noted above. By the end of the fifties almost \$10 million had been invested in such projects. In the forties the value of improvements made to department stores rose past the million-dollar mark with the construction of the present downtown store of Hemphill-Wells and increased expenditures by Dunlap's and Cobb's. This surge continued

into the fifties with the erection of Dunlap's new downtown store (its cost alone exceeded a million dollars), the founding of branch stores in shopping centers by all three major department stores (Cobb's, Dunlap's, and Hemphill-Wells), and the opening of a new Sears Roebuck store valued at \$1¼ million. The pace of construction was further accelerated by the putting up of additional office space and office facilities, as exemplified by the construction of the Leftwich Building, the Watson Building, the new Citizens National Bank and Motor Bank, the Great Plains Life Building, the First National Bank Motor Bank, the American State Bank, the Plains National Bank, and the major addition in 1959 to the Lubbock National Bank Building.⁵⁸

During the two decades being considered the city added a host of other installations. There came a new hotel (the Plainsman), major alterations to the Lubbock Hotel (renamed the Pioneer in 1960), major rental units (Highlands Place, Modern Manors, and the Lubbock, Cliff, and Plaza Apartments), a whole cluster of new motels, a feed producing plant (Ralston Purina), a trailer firm (Hobbs Trailer, Incorporated), major bakeries (Baldrige and Mead's), two major additions to the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, a steel fabricating plant (Panhandle Steel Products Corporation), three irrigation pipe producers (Brown Supply, Standard Concrete Pipe, and Gifford-Hill-Western), a lint-cleaning machine manufacturer (Moss-Gordin Lint Cleaner Company), and significant additions to the storage and cotton processing firms located in Lubbock (Western Cotton Oil Company, Lubbock Cotton Oil Company, Plains Co-operative Oil Mill, and Lubbock Compress Company). While this list is by no means intended to be exhaustive, it does indicate the diverse pattern of capital expenditures and the obvious willingness of the business community to invest in the future of the city.

Contributory to the overall vigorous construction activity

and continued drawing power of the city was the rise in capital expenditures in Lubbock for additional facilities that could serve the city and area. Starting in 1940, and continuing through 1959, the city expanded its hospital facilities by additional capital expenditures of more than \$7 million. The current West Texas Hospital was completed at an approximate cost of \$90,000, the present Porter Clinic was completed in 1948 at a cost of approximately \$100,000, the Taylor Hospital was finished in 1950 at an approximate cost of \$240,000, and Methodist Hospital was completed in 1953 at an approximate cost of \$4.5 million with additions (including a School of Nursing) in 1959 totaling \$1.3 million. The importance of these expenditures, economically, was more than the dollar effect on building permit growth. The existence of such facilities served as a drawing power from the area, while the enlarged physical plant required additional physicians, technicians, clerical employees, and supervisory personnel who resided in the city and expended the major portion of their income locally.⁵⁹

Overall construction activity was further accelerated by the construction activities of the churches in the city and modernization of transportation installations. For the 1940-1950 period major construction projects by Lubbock's churches added more than one million dollars to property values, and for the 1950-1960 period the churches expended more than \$7½ million on capital improvements. In 1940 the Lubbock Airport was considered an integral part of the nation's national defense posture. And thus the federal government extended financial aid in improving the installation. In 1950 construction of a new terminal at the airport was completed at a cost exceeding \$500,000. The physical plant of the major railroads in the city was improved by the building of a new Sante Fe passenger depot in 1953 costing \$200,000 and by the completion in 1957 of a new \$300,000 freight depot for the Burlington Lines. In 1956 a new \$300,000 ter-

minimal to handle the bus traffic moving through the city was opened. These investments not only increased the construction activity of the city but gave Lubbock, "The Hub of Transportation for the South Plains," modern and efficient servicing facilities to handle the ever growing freight and passenger traffic moving through the city.

In conformity with the overall geographic and economic expansion of Lubbock, the city had to increase its capital expenditures, which further added to the economic health of the town. The enlargement of various of its public services gave an added economic push to the expenditure growth of Lubbock. In the ten year period embracing 1940-1950 the city of Lubbock expended over \$10 million for capital improvements. Significant expenditures included over \$1 million on paving, the completion of a new \$1½ million Courthouse Building, an expanded water system, and an enlarged electrical plant. The following decade showed an accelerated growth in the city's capital improvements, for capital expenditures amounted to over \$44 million. Included was the completion of a new library building costing \$340,000, a second high school (Monterey) at a cost of \$3 million, a Municipal Auditorium-Coliseum costing \$2½ million and a more rapid expansion of the interior street system which amounted to five times the expenditure rate of the previous decade. The resulting economic effects of the city's operation, however, did not cease with increased construction expenditures. Employment opportunities provided by Lubbock increased from 280 employees in 1939 to 577 in 1949 and reached a peak of 1788 in 1959. Tied to this increase was the growth of income payments in the form of payroll which increased from \$330,000 in 1939 to \$1.5 million in 1949 and attained a maximum value of \$4.3 million in 1959. The total dollar impact of intangibles which resulted from these activities is difficult to identify. However, the fact that the city strove to make Lubbock a desirable place in which to live, locate and transact business, and constantly

develop a progressive metropolitan area was not without economic significance.⁶⁰

A major contributing factor to Lubbock's continued economic growth from 1939 through 1959 was the rise of Texas Technological College to a position as the second largest state supported institution of higher learning in the State of Texas. The occasional visitor to the campus was awed and impressed by the rapid change which had occurred between his visits — especially if they were several years apart. Grass gradually covered the once bared West Texas soil, buildings rose steadily as if reaching for the sky, and the student population grew to the point where the campus took on aspects of a human beehive.

For the city of Lubbock this growth had important economic and business repercussions. The continual expansion of the physical plant contributed significantly to the construction pattern of the city, and the income generated from all activities provided an important income flow through local trade channels. As noted previously, variations in the value of the college's physical plant do not give an accurate dollar capital expenditure nor does every dollar expended flow through local business firms; variations in the value of physical plant do, however, give an indication of the magnitude of the trend in capital expenditures, a major portion of which did flow through the local market. The value of the college's physical plant tripled during the forties, from \$4.2 million to \$11.5 million, and almost tripled again in the fifties from \$11.5 million to \$32.7 million.

The increase in the physical facilities of the college resulted in other factors that contributed to the economic growth and well being of the city. The current operating expenses, a significant portion of which entered local trade establishments, increased from \$1.2 million in 1939 to \$5 million in 1949 and continued to rise to a high point in 1959 of \$9.4 million. The permanent staff of the college had risen by 1949 to exceed

1400, with a yearly payroll slightly greater than \$5 million. Almost all of this income was expended locally in the form of residential purchases and consumer durable and nondurable expenditures. Juxtaposed with the growth of these factors was the increase in student population. From 1939 to 1949 enrollment rose just over 1000, and from 1949 to 1959 increased almost 5000, topping the 9000 mark in the latter year.⁶¹ The economic and business impact of this growth was noteworthy, for it was estimated that by the end of the fifties student expenditures had risen to an annual rate of \$9 million.⁶² Even if a most conservative estimate of \$50 expenditure per month per student were used, the income flow to the community would have been \$2 million in 1939, \$2.5 million in 1949 and \$4.5 million in 1959. Combined with the other income-generating operations of the college, the development of the city was aided by the existence of this institution in no small measure. Here again, as in other areas of development, intangibles played an important role. The drawing power of Texas Tech via its athletic programs, scholastic meets, conventions, professional meetings, cultural and entertainment activities not only brought income to the city, but tended to orient the entire area around the city.

Government activities in Lubbock provided an additional growth factor for the city in terms of both construction and income. Through the diligent work of Lubbock citizens, the municipal government, the Chamber of Commerce, and the district's congressman, Lubbock was successful in 1941 in establishing an advanced flying school west of the city. Initially known as the Lubbock Army Air Field, the installation was renamed Reese Air Base in 1949 and had become a permanent installation. The initial appropriation for the airfield was over four million dollars, its personnel numbered over three thousand, and it was estimated that its yearly payroll would be between three and four million dollars. In 1953 an additional construction program was completed in the form

of a four million dollar housing development. From its inception to the present time, the installation has developed to the point that its physical plant is valued at more than twenty-five million dollars and its permanent personnel is slightly over three thousand, accounting for a yearly payroll in excess of ten million dollars. For a brief period (1942-1945) Lubbock had a second airport installation, known as the South Plains Flying School, which was located at the present site of the municipal airport. While its economic contribution was short lived, it did aid in the improvement of the present airport facility.

The inflow of income because of government operations was further increased with the continual establishment of regional or branch offices of the federal government. Lubbock became the location of regional or branch offices of the Veterans Administration, with a modern building and a yearly payroll exceeding two million dollars, the United States Department of Agriculture, the Commerce Department, the Health, Education and Welfare Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, the Interior Department, the Labor Department, and the Small Business Administration. Aside from the capital expenditures made and the increase in payroll income, these offices also tended to make the area turn to Lubbock as a focal point of operations.⁶³

An interesting and important development of the postwar era was the rapid growth after 1950 of motel construction (Lubbock could boast of forty-three first class motels in 1959). This not only contributed substantially to the construction activity of Lubbock, but added an additional inward flow of income. The motel and hotel accommodations brought the city to a position of being the most outstanding convention site for West Texas. By the end of the 1950's the convention business had grown to sizable proportions. It was estimated that the yearly income from this source had by that time exceeded one million dollars and that the total income derived

from the traveling public topped the three million dollar figure.⁶⁴

As a city grows it sometimes happens that various forces are generated which help to stifle growth and lead to stagnation. A failure in community spirit, failure of communications or transportation facilities to keep pace, and a shift in the economic base are merely some of the things that can happen. But several factors helped Lubbock avoid such a fate. For one thing, the dynamic nature of its primary economic base, agriculture and oil, while experiencing temporary recessions, showed few signs of faltering. The sound financial position of the banks was also of prime importance in helping the city and area realize their potential. The three original banks were augmented in 1948 by the addition of the American State Bank, and in 1955 by the Plains National Bank. The record of no bank failures and no major foreclosures attested to the soundness of the financial structure. The financial resources of the city were further increased by the existence of two home loan associations which provided financial means for residential construction activity. Capital continued to display its willingness to migrate to the city, thus helping to keep alive the record of expansion built up during the previous decades.

Internally, the business community was influenced greatly by the rise of wholesale activity in the city. By the 1950's wholesale business in Lubbock exceeded the volume of retail business done and also the value of manufacturing production. While wholesaling had always been an important aspect of Lubbock's growth, the period after World War II showed an accelerated rate of growth in wholesale business. This can be seen in the growth of firms considered wholesalers from 1940 to 1960: seed wholesalers increased by twelve, plumbing fixture and supply increased by eight, wholesale paint firms increased by eight, wholesale lumber firms by sixteen, heating firms increased by fourteen, electrical supply wholesalers

increased by six, meat wholesalers by six, and wholesale dairy suppliers by five.

Another important economic factor that showed few signs of decreasing was construction activity. The continued expansion of Texas Technological College, enlargement of the facilities provided by the municipality, and the modernization and establishment of new churches supported construction growth. In addition, the construction of new retail stores in shopping centers, modernization of existing stores, physical improvements of existing hotels, construction of additional motel accommodations, and the building of new office buildings exhibited few signs of faltering. A partial result of the growth pattern of construction was the development of a strong group of private contractors, seven of whom grew to operate in the national market rather than operating exclusively in the local market. Also, the construction industry was the only major industry in Lubbock that experienced labor union activity. The formation of local unions dates back to the 1930's but has not spread to other industry groups. This fact can be partially traced to the fact that other industries were not typically the large scale "factory" type operation. Whether this was the major reason or not, and what impact this condition had on the growth of the city requires further investigation into the labor history of Lubbock.

The expansion of the city of Lubbock has been amazing, spectacular, and fascinating. The question facing the city as it enters the decade of the 1960's is whether maturity has been reached or whether new frontiers are in the making.

FOOTNOTES

¹For origins see: Lawrence L. Graves (editor) *A History of Lubbock*, as *The Museum Journal*, (Vol. III, 1959), and the *Lubbock Avalanche*, October 8, 1909. A map of Lubbock Square is located in the Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College.

²United States Bureau of the Census. *13th Census of the United States*, 1910, vol. III, Agriculture, pp. 645, 669, 673 and 691. A more detailed analysis

of agricultural development may be found in "Agriculture Builds a City" in this volume.

³ See Article "The New Century" in *The Museum Journal*, vol. III, 1959.

⁴ United States Bureau of the Census. *15th Census of the United States*, 1929, vol. III, Manufacturing, p. 508. The value added concept refers to the dollar value above initial cost of materials used as an addition to the final price of the product.

⁵ Lubbock Chamber of Commerce. *The Hub*, Lubbock, Texas. 1927-1930. Additional firms processing agricultural products included Economy Mills, Lubbock Cotton Oil, Lubbock Mattress and Lubbock Boot and Leather. Typical of other types of manufacturing firms were Lubbock Steel Works, Johnson Manufacturing and Weldrez Trend Generator Company.

⁶ United States Bureau of the Census. *15th Census of the United States*, 1930, vol. II, Distribution-Wholesale, p. 1420.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ United States Bureau of the Census. *15th Census of the United States*, 1930, vol. I, Distribution-Retail, p. 205.

⁹ *The Hub*, 1927-1930.

¹⁰ United States Bureau of the Census. *15th Census of the United States*, 1930, vol. III, Agriculture, pp. 96, 1374, 1437 and 1568.

¹¹ *The Hub*, December 1927, p. 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, March 1930, p. 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, April 1930, p. 6. This was the first wholesale market week west of Fort Worth in the state of Texas. This permitted a "showing of wares" by wholesalers and jobbers to retailers handling clothing lines.

¹⁴ Statements of Condition. Located at offices of the three local banks; *The Hub*, 1928-1930.

¹⁵ Chain banking operations consisted of one person holding bank securities in more than one bank. Combined with the function of clearing, banks through a recognized organization tended to bring a greater cohesiveness in the Lubbock area.

¹⁶ Records of Building Permits, located in the Department of Building Inspector, Lubbock, Texas.

¹⁷ *The Hub*. 1928-1930.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Figures compiled from Official Budgets of Texas Technological College, Office of the Comptroller, Lubbock, Texas. Enrollment figures include fall enrollment plus new additions in spring and summer semesters. The differences in yearly capital values are not exactly equal to new capital expenditures but do give an indication of capital expenditure magnitude and trend.

²⁰ Tabulations are from Official Budget, city of Lubbock, and Annual Reports of Lubbock located at City Hall, Lubbock, Texas.

²¹ These figures are for United States Department of Agriculture District classification I-S. This district does not correspond exactly to the definition of the Lubbock retail or wholesale market but to indicate the size of income and its growth of an area typical of the Lubbock markets. Source: Bureau of Business Research, *Texas Business Review*, vol. XVIII, no. I, February, 1944, p. 7.

²² Statements of Condition. Located at the offices of the three local banks, Lubbock, Texas.

²³ United States Bureau of the Census. *16th Census of the United States*, 1940, vol. I, Population, p. 1040.

²⁴ Records of Building Permits, located in the Department of Building Inspector, Lubbock, Texas.

²⁵ United States Bureau of the Census. *16th Census of the United States*, 1940, vol. III, Census of Business, p. 985.

²⁶ Bureau of Business Research. *Directory of Texas Manufacturers*, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Sampling of firms and their dates of inception taken from the issues 1940-1959.

²⁷ United States Bureau of the Census. *16th Census of the United States*, 1940, vol. II, Population, p. 1020.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. II, Wholesale Trade, p. 1010.

²⁹ Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas. *Economic and Banking Developments of Lubbock Area*, (Dallas, Texas, 1950), p. 49.

³⁰ United States Bureau of the Census. *16th Census of the United States*, 1940, vol. I, Retail-Area Statistics, p. 805.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1940, vol. I, part V, Agriculture, p. 509.

³² *Dallas Morning News, Texas Almanac*, 1940, p. 436.

³³ *Economic and Banking Developments of Lubbock Area*, pp. 14, 19.

³⁴ Records of Building Permits, located in the Department of the Building Inspector, Lubbock, Texas.

³⁵ *The Hub*, 1930-1940.

³⁶ Annual Budgets and Annual Reports of Lubbock, Texas, located in City Hall.

³⁷ Annual Budgets of Texas Technological College, Office of the Comptroller, Lubbock, Texas.

³⁸ *The Hub*, January, 1931, p. 7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, April 1930, p. 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, September 1930, p. 1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, February 1930, p. 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, October 1931, p. 1.

⁴³ United States Bureau of the Census. 1950 Census of Population, p. 21, and estimated population in preliminary reports of the 1960 Census of Population.

⁴⁴ Statements of condition, located at the offices of the five Lubbock banks.

⁴⁵ Sales Management. *Survey of Buying Power*, Sales Management Incorporated, New York, vols. 46, 64, 82.

⁴⁶ United States Bureau of the Census. *15th, 16th and 17th Census of the United States*, vol. I, Agriculture and 1950, vol. III, Irrigation of Agricultural Lands, pp. 15-15, 15-35.

⁴⁷ *Economic and Banking Developments of Lubbock Area*, p. 26.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁹ *Lubbock City Directory*, 1940-1959.

⁵⁰ United States Bureau of the Census. *1954 Census of Business*, vol. III, Census of Manufacturing, pp. 142-48.

⁵¹ Bureau of Business Research. *Directory of Texas Manufacturers*, (Austin, Texas, 1959).

⁵² Lubbock Chamber of Commerce. *Pictures and Facts of Lubbock Texas*, 1958, p. 5.

⁵³ *Directory of Texas Manufacturers*. Computations are based on standard

definitions of manufacturing classifications. See code classifications in the introduction of the directory.

⁵⁴ United States Bureau of the Census. *1948 and 1954 Census of Business*, vol. IV, Wholesale-Trade Area Statistics, pp. 43-26, 43-21.

⁵⁵ Lubbock Chamber of Commerce. *Dallas to West Coast Case*, vol. III, Docket no. 7596, Lubbock, Texas, March 1957, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁶ United States Bureau of the Census. *1954 Census of Business*, vol. IV, Retail-Area Statistics, p. 43-66.

⁵⁷ Records of Building Permits, in Department of Building Inspector, Lubbock, Texas.

⁵⁸ *The Hub*, 1940-1959.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1940-1959.

⁶⁰ Annual Budgets and Annual Reports of Lubbock, Texas, located in offices of City Hall.

⁶¹ Annual Budgets of Texas Technological College, Office of the Comptroller, Lubbock, Texas.

⁶² Estimate of Dr. E. N. Jones, immediate past president of Texas Technological College.

⁶³ *The Hub*, 1940-1959.

⁶⁴ Lubbock Chamber of Commerce. *Pictures and Facts of Lubbock, Texas*, January 1958, p. 27; *The Hub*, May 1959, p. 27.

Municipal Government in Lubbock

Winifred W. Vigness

CIVIC GOVERNMENT in Lubbock is in the hands of the mayor and the city commission, the only elected officials. All parts of the city's body politic function through them or their appointees. The purpose here is to trace the history of this group for the quarter-century beginning in the 1920's. The sources of this study are preserved in the minutes of the city commission housed in the Lubbock city hall.¹

Two important observations can be made as one surveys the major developments in the years under consideration. The first is that there are three periods of municipal growth. The 1920's reflect an exuberant, boundless enthusiasm devoted to building a first-class city; self-reliance was the keynote. The next decade and a half evidenced a retrenchment owing to the depression, and a brand-new concept in city operation occasioned by the availability of federal funds. Local planning had to dovetail of necessity with national requirements; significant in this period is how the leaders of Lubbock took full and wise advantage of these new resources. World War II, with additional controls and added awareness of the federal gov-

ernment, belongs to this period. Finally, at the conclusion of the war another era opened. With the release of materials and with a mature city government that "knew the ropes" and could audaciously plan spectacular growth, the contemporary city emerged.

The second inescapable observation is the sheer length of the roll call of citizens who have devoted their energies and frequently their treasure to foster the growth of a balanced municipality, with no remuneration beyond the satisfaction in seeing a job well done.

The first period of Lubbock's development indicated above can be seen in the administration of Mayor Percy Spencer, with the building of the city hall, the location of Texas Technological College near the city, the issuance of bonds for development of streets, sewage, and electric facilities, and the initial regulation of automobile traffic within the city.

Elected on April 4, 1922, Mayor Spencer was to be aided in city administration by commissioners H. G. Love, J. O. Jones, George Wolffarth and W. S. Posey, whose responsibilities were streets, finance, police and fire, and utilities respectively. Appointed to or continuing in service were other officials: R. A. Sowder, city attorney; M. S. Ruby, city manager and superintendent of the electrical plant; John M. Denman, city treasurer; Dr. G. C. Castleberry, city health officer; Sylvan Sanders, city engineer; and James H. Goodwin, city recorder. Some difficulties were to be encountered in retaining law enforcement officers. Shortly after the administration began Police Chief G. C. Hufstедler resigned. He was followed in turn by J. W. Robinson, then John W. LeMond, and in January 1924 B. A. Carter became chief of police.²

Much routine business was to come before the commission. A fire ordinance establishing the fire limits and building codes, and providing for a building inspector was adopted, and in January 1923 Ed Twitty of the volunteer fire department had his request for employment of a regular driver approved.

Sidewalks were paved according to standards for walks and curbs prescribed by the commission and along routes indicated by the local postmaster, H. C. Duering, in order to obtain home delivery of mail. And acting on a request made earlier by A. V. Weaver, the commission in May 1923 changed the name of 12th Street to Broadway and 11th Street to Main.³

One major innovation in 1923 was the inauguration of meat inspection in the city. In November three local butchers, Ed Ainsworth, Fred W. Sims, and J. A. Luster, along with the city health officer, Dr. G. C. Castleberry, appeared before the commission requesting that the sale of meat be prohibited without an inspection stamp of approval. They also requested the construction of a public butchering house that would comply with state sanitary laws. These requests were accompanied by Dr. Castleberry's recommendation for monthly inspection of food-handling places and prominent display therein of health cards. Dr. Castleberry stated that more stringent health regulations were necessary because the "advertising that we have and the size of our city at present is causing a great influx of people." The commission approved the requests and created the office of inspector of food responsible to the city health officer, and then sought information from other Texas cities, *i.e.*, Amarillo, Vernon, Brownwood, and Abilene about their provisions for slaughter houses and fresh meat inspection.⁴

Humming with the possibilities of the new college for West Texas, the city offered to furnish the proposed college without cost, water and sewer mains and light lines to increase the possibilities of it being located in Lubbock. Also at the suggestion of O. L. Slaton and H. T. Kimbro, the commission voted to do \$3000 worth of street improvement before the locating commission for Texas Tech arrived.⁵

This was followed by a special bond election for \$150,000, authorized in July 1922, to provide for extension of the water works and for rebuilding, extending, and improving the sani-

tary system of the city. Then, realizing that additional and more extensive improvements would have to be made, a citizens' committee composed of E. L. Klett, J. T. Inmon, T. B. Duggan, and Dr. W. L. Baugh was appointed to help plan for these improvements. After the opinions of several engineers had been sought, John B. Hawley and H. N. Roberts, consulting engineers from Ft. Worth, were employed to oversee the extensive expansion which the city had in mind for its facilities. In October 1923 Klett brought to the commission a petition signed by a sufficient number of property owners and taxpayers of the city to call a second special bond election. This time the people of Lubbock voted \$500,000 for municipal improvements: \$260,000 for paving; \$100,000 for storm sewers; \$50,000 for light and power extensions; \$75,000 for a new city hall; \$15,000 for water works extensions. In the early part of the next administration they were to vote a third bond issue, this time for \$225,000 for street improvement, water works, and sanitary sewer extension. The faith of the city in its own future was such that in this third bond election there were only six votes against any of the three proposals.⁶

On January 9, 1924, the commission met to approve the plans for the new city hall as presented by Dr. W. L. Baugh, chairman of the building committee. The plans were approved and the construction of the present city hall began with the awarding of contracts in February.⁷

As this was the first city administration to deal with the problem of the increasing number of automobiles, their ordinances are of interest. The first parking ordinance, passed in September 1923, provided for thirty minute parking on Avenue I (Texas Avenue) between Main and 13th Street, and prohibited parking of any vehicle in the middle of a paved street. Further signs of the development of downtown traffic was the passing of an ordinance to prohibit U turns at certain intersections in the business district.⁸

F. R. Friend succeeded to the mayor's office with the election of April 1924. All of the commissioners were reelected. However, Commissioner Love resigned to become inspector at the "Central Mixing Plant," and in a special election in September 1924, R. W. Blair replaced him. An addition to the city administration was R. A. Holland in March 1925 as tax assessor and collector; in April 1925 E. L. Klett was appointed city attorney, a position he was to hold until December 1935.⁹

Friend's problems were concerned with civic growth. His term saw a concerted search to obtain more water for the city; the appointment of electrical and plumbing inspectors; the inauguration of the city bus system; three major amendments to the city charter; and the question of the mismanagement of city funds by the city manager and the city secretary.

At the outset of his term Friend and his commissioners faced the ever present problem of the plains, water and where to find it. The mayor recommended that the city buy well sites for future use, since the demands on the local water supply were increasing rapidly. A new well and the repair of an old one were ordered immediately. In August 1924 and in March 1925, the matter was given special consideration. During the administration several well sites were acquired, one of which was to cause difficulty later.¹⁰

Personnel changes during this administration saw B. A. Carter resign as chief of police on October 9, 1924, and T. E. May succeed him and remain in office until February 4, 1927. Dr. Castleberry, long time city health officer, resigned in August 1925, and Dr. Rollo was appointed his successor. Dr. Rollo held this office until the reorganization of the city health department in 1949.¹¹

In January 1925 the electricians of the city petitioned for the appointment of an electrical inspector and the commission complied with the request, appointing Grover Merrill as electrical inspector. In April the position of inspector of

plumbing was created, followed shortly by an ordinance providing for the licensing of master (or employing) plumbers and specifying conditions to be met in all plumbing that was to connect with the city water mains and sewers. W. E. Bush was employed as city plumbing inspector. The following January the plumbing ordinance was changed and the licensing of plumbers was no longer required, but bonding for faithful performance of duties was established. This relaxation of licensing was done because of the emergency which the commission felt existed in connecting all houses to the new sewer lines, and because it was felt that the lack of licensed plumbers was retarding the work.¹²

The city had grown beyond a volunteer fire force and in January 1925 the nucleus of a regular fire department was formed by the hiring of former volunteer fireman Ed Twitty as fire chief and the purchasing of new trucks and equipment. A new fire ordinance was passed with stricter regulations about trash and obstructions to alleys, and to aid in keeping the city free of such fire hazards a new incinerator was purchased. As a contribution to the city-wide clean-up campaign the city commission instructed the secretary to write Mrs. W. L. Baugh that the city would be glad to do the hauling for the various civic groups who were to aid in the campaign.¹³

Telephone communication was improved to accompany city growth and technological advance. H. D. Phillips of the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company appealed for rate increases. The commission gave permission for the increases after evidence was submitted that the company was going to make several improvements, including the installation of a modern switchboard and underground facilities in the business district, in a program costing over \$250,000.¹⁴

In order to promote orderly development in the construction of paving, the commission voted that permission would not be given for anyone to put in his own paving in the city.

Held in early July 1925, the special bond election authorized the city to issue \$350,000 for street improvement, sewer extension and waterworks. This bond issue had almost the same success as the previous ones, as only nine people opposed the \$150,000 appropriated for sewer extension, twelve the \$150,000 for waterworks extension, and nineteen the \$50,000 for paving.¹⁵

During the month of August much attention was given to the bus service that was to be established in the city. The need was critical, it was felt, because of the imminent opening of Texas Tech. An ordinance defining bus service in the city, prescribing the method of obtaining a franchise, and providing that the city should be authorized to fix the routes, class or service, and rates was effected, establishing the precedence of the commission's authority in municipal transportation. R. C. Bowen received the right to operate such a bus line in September 1925 and was commissioned to "care for the travelling public, especially the student body of Texas Technological College." It was also specified that the bus service must be established immediately, before the college opened. Bowen and his associates retained the franchise until the following fall, when the franchise was granted to W. A. Izard under the same general conditions.¹⁶

One of the most important special elections to be called in the city's history was set for December 1925 for the purpose of amending the city charter. A committee appointed in June composed of E. L. Klett, the new city attorney, R. H. Sowder, the former city attorney, Roscoe Wilson, and J. R. Germany had considered the necessity of amending the charter and had recommended three amendments. One would include regulations fixing the power of the city in future paving and improvements to the city streets and alleys; a second would create a Board of City Development which would aid the commission and oversee matters necessary to city growth; the third would provide that the mayor continue to serve

two years but the commissioners be elected for four-year terms, two being elected in each city election. The proposed Board of City Development was to be composed of fifteen members serving without compensation, one-third of whom were to be appointed every two years. This board was to be supported by an annual tax of two mills on \$100 valuation of taxable property in the city, and was to make a semi-annual report to the city commission. Members were to be appointed by the city commission and could be removed for inefficiency or inattention. Hotly contested, the election was the largest yet in Lubbock and very close, but the amendments carried. The first Board of City Development was duly appointed in January 1926. Those selected to serve were Warren Bacon, James L. Dow, F. O. Kelley, J. A. Rix, and O. L. Slaton, two-year terms; H. L. Allen, J. H. Hankins, F. A. Norman, Pink L. Parrish, W. W. Royalty, four-year terms; J. B. Maxey, B. Sherrod, Spencer A. Wells, Roscoe Wilson, H. D. Woods, six-year terms. When Parrish and Hankins were elected mayor and city commissioner in April their positions were filled in June by the appointment of G. P. Kuykendall and Neil H. Wright.¹⁷

In December 1925 the first instance of difficulties with appointive officials arose when City Manager M. S. Ruby was dismissed. The problem concerned shortages in the city funds, and in February a complete audit of the city books was ordered. On April 8, the day after the new administration was elected, a meeting was called to discuss the audit with the city secretary, Germany. Following this, the office of city secretary was declared vacant and the newly-appointed tax assessor, R. A. Holland, acted in that capacity until F. W. Groce was appointed on April 28. Meanwhile, A. B. Davis, manager of the Chamber of Commerce, had been serving as city manager since January 1 and asked to be relieved, as he had only agreed to serve until after the election of the new administration. W. H. Perkinson of Durant, Oklahoma, was

employed as supervisor of Lubbock utilities and acting city manager at the end of April. The city made a compromise settlement in July 1927 for \$2300 in the suit of the *City of Lubbock vs. M. S. Ruby*, and in February 1928 City Attorney E. L. Klett was authorized to settle the bond suit of the city of Lubbock vs. J. R. Germany for the sum of \$8000. It was specified that the settlement was only with the bonding company and did not release Germany.¹⁸

On April 6, 1926, Pink L. Parrish had been elected mayor of Lubbock, and R. W. Blair, J. O. Jones, J. H. Hankins and W. S. Posey, commissioners. Since this was the first commission elected under the amended charter providing for four-year terms, the men drew lots for the two- and four-year terms, Jones and Posey drawing the two-year terms and Blair and Hankins the longer terms. Blair, however, resigned as Commissioner, Place 1, in August and A. V. Weaver was chosen for this place in a special election held in September.¹⁹

In addition to the difficulties already mentioned in the cases against the former city employees, this administration was to have to deal with questions arising out of the previous acquisition of certain water rights. It also acquired the land for a city park which later became Mackenzie State Park, began the work on the underpasses on Broadway and Avenue H, and attended to the routine business of an active municipality.

Certain changes in the officialdom were made. In July 1926 Marlin Smith became full time city engineer, serving until he became city manager in September 1942. T. E. May resigned as chief of police to enter private business in February 1927, and was succeeded by John W. LeMond. In April 1927 J. J. Graham was made superintendent of the electric department, anticipating Perkinson's appointment as city manager, a position he had been "temporarily" filling since his arrival in Lubbock as superintendent of utilities. A short time later Perkinson died and City Secretary G. W. McLeary was ad-

vanced to the position of city manager, his position as city secretary-treasurer being filled by W. H. Rodgers.²⁰

In answer to much public criticism of certain actions of F. R. Friend's administration with respect to the city water wells dug on his land, the city commission appointed a "committee composed wholly of fair and disinterested men selected outside the City of Lubbock" to investigate. The committee, W. E. Risser, mayor of Plainview, John J. Ford, mayor of Sweetwater, and Jeff. D. Bartlett, city manager of Amarillo, was to consider the value of the property taken and the damages done to it, as well as the benefits received by the construction, maintenance and operation of the city's wells, plants, pipes and equipment on the land. Their findings were to form a basis for the commission's decision regarding the respective rights and liabilities between the city and Mr. Friend. On August 21, 1926, the committee reported that the damages and the benefits of the water well sites offset each other and suggested that to avoid further controversy Friend convey to the city of Lubbock the site for each well "as now located," a tract 300 feet square, and give the city the right of way for the water, sewer, and electric lines now in operation, as well as the right to all water under the 120 acres owned in the disputed area by Friend. The committee further recommended that the city pay Mr. Friend \$25,000 for the land, well sites, and right of way.²¹

On August 24, the mayor and commissioners received a letter from Friend stating that he understood that a committee had been appointed to look into the matter of the well sites and that the committee had recommended that he be paid \$25,000 for these sites. He said:

Gentlemen, I appreciate your action in this matter . . . but I didn't ask or want the city to pay me anything like the true value of this land in the first place, and if you will accept the original grant as a donation I hereby tender it to you gratis.²²

Indicative of the public nature of the problem the com-



26. Spudding in Lubbock County's First Oil Well, the Watson No. 1, April 1926.

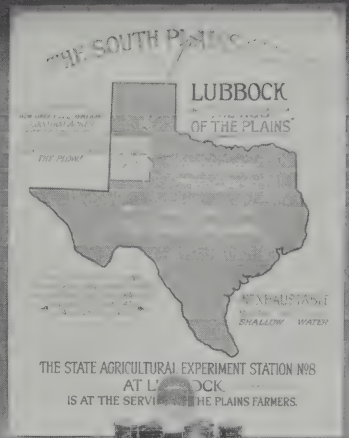
eeding Farms
 ssell's Big Boll
 tton Seed



AS.

LUBBOCK CO.
 ROCK COUNTRY

LUBBOCK HAS
 building permits received to date \$28,819,000
 4,801 students in public schools 47 units of affiliation
 from foreign countries in all with good cooperation
 Water gas per water and cheapest electric rate in state
 No Industries, Wholesalers, Jobbers and Manufacturers
 Railroad and state highway outlets
 (Production facilities)
 100,000 bushels of wheat 100,000 bushels of corn 500
 3,550 hours of sunshine per year
 Elevation 3,251 feet, 1,000 feet higher than the Ozarks
 Population of 115,000 people 98% native white
 (Production facilities for wheat, cotton, sorghum, and other
 and of the trade secretary made Lubbock a wonderful place to live
 and to business.

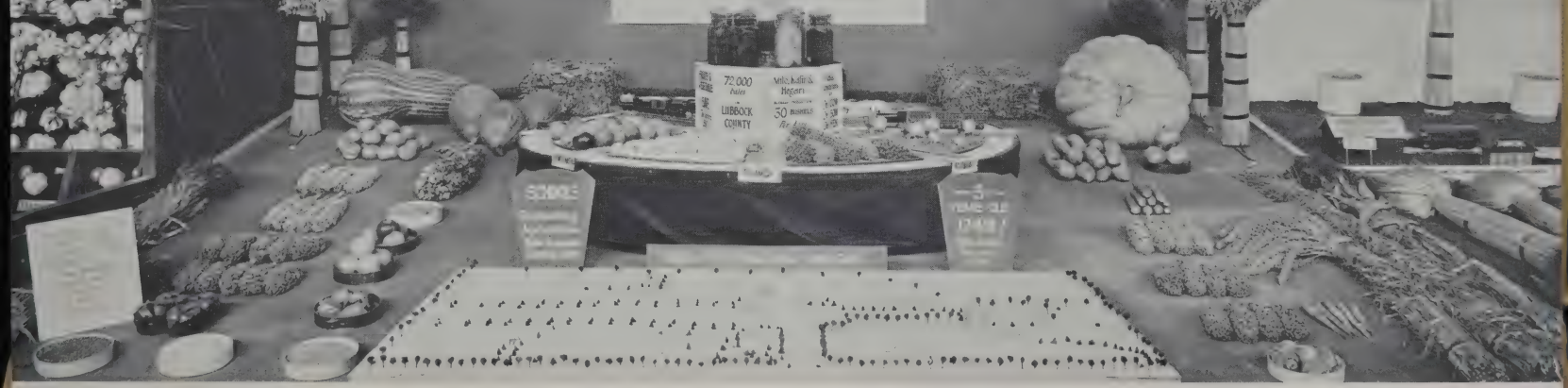


THE SOUTH PLAINS
 Produced the finest cotton in the world
 Has average yield of lint cotton 1 1/2 bushels per acre
 Has average yield of lint cotton 1 1/2 bushels per acre
 of 30 bushels per acre
 Grain sorghums have 98% the feed value of corn
 Has 21 inches of rainfall per year 17 inches from April to
 October
 and is 98% reliable
 (Production facilities for wheat, cotton, sorghum, and other
 and of the trade secretary made Lubbock a wonderful place to live
 and to business.)
 Manchester England

108 MILES OF RAILWAY
 88 MILES CONSTRUCTED 1927-28
 COUNTY VALUATION
 \$106,140,870.00
 NATURAL GAS

SHORT HAULS
 FROM EVERY FA

THE STATE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION NBS
 AT LUBBOCK,
 IS AT THE SERVICE OF THE PLAINS FARMERS.



27. Lubbock County's Exhibit at the State Fair, Dallas, 1928.



28. Home Economics Building and Administration Building on the Right.

The First Three Buildings on the Texas Tech Campus, 1926.

29. Textile Engineering Building.





30. The Old Lubbock County Courthouse, Built in 1916.

31. Entrance to Mackenzie State Park.





32. Looking West on Broadway in the Late Twenties.

33. Looking East on Broadway Toward the Courthouse, 1937.





34. Lubbock High School Under Construction in 1931.

35. Monterey High School After Its Completion in 1955.





WEST TEXAS MUSEUM

36. The Museum in 1938 When Only the Basement Was Completed and Occupied.

37. The Museum in the 1950's.





38. Buffalo Lakes Southeast of Lubbock Before Their Development into a Community Recreation Center.

39. Buffalo Lakes in 1959 as the Newly Completed Lakes Were Filling.



mission thereupon passed a resolution which they specified was to be recorded in the minutes and published in the paper. The resolution stated:

Whereas, in 1924 there was a shortage of water in Lubbock and after several tests were made it was found that the only available adequate supply of water that could be found was on the land adjoining Lubbock on the northwest, said land being owned by F. R. Friend, then Mayor, and

Whereas, F. R. Friend at that time granted the city permission to dig two wells on his land and lay water mains across said property, and deeded land for said purposes to the City of Lubbock, and

Whereas, later this transaction was criticised and questioned to such an extent that the Mayor and Commissioners unanimously voted to appoint an out of town committee . . . to determine the value of said grant from F. R. Friend to the City. . . .

Whereas F. R. Friend has refused to accept said sum and has again tendered said property and right to the city, gratis,

Now Therefore, Be it resolved by the City Commission . . . that said property and rights be accepted on behalf of the citizenship of Lubbock as tendered and Be it Further Resolved that the Commission for itself and on behalf of the Citizenship tender to Mr. Friend a vote of thanks and appreciation not only for the property and rights so acquired but also for his civic patriotism and magnanimity.²³

In November the city began acquiring title to the land which was later to become Mackenzie Park. The original land, 138 acres, was acquired from Mollie D. Abernathy and her husband M. G. Abernathy, Mrs. Bessie Vickers and her husband J. E. Vickers, John W. Jarrott and R. M. Jarrott. The city agreed with the former owners that not more than ten acres would be reserved for the purpose of an incinerator and that the balance, along with the adjoining tract to be purchased from S. N. Jackson, would be used as a city park.²⁴

In the spring of the following year a committee appeared before the commission to discuss the improvement and beautifying of the new park site. This group, H. D. Woods, representing the Board of City Development, Mrs. J. E. Vickers,

and Mrs. C. F. (Lou) Stubbs, representing the Business and Professional Women's Club, reported that Don L. Jones, manager of the State Experiment Station and others had agreed to donate about 350 trees and a number of evergreens for beautification of the new park and desired to know the attitude of the commission regarding such improvements and what assistance might be expected from the commission. After some discussion it was agreed that the trees and evergreens should be placed in part of the sixty-one acre tract acquired from S. N. Jackson. The mayor then appointed the three as an official committee to work with City Commissioner A. V. Weaver in overseeing the planting of the trees and making such other improvements as they deemed advisable, assuring them that the commission was ready to cooperate by loaning equipment and spending such funds as were on hand for such purposes.

A month later the park committee reported to the commission that the trees and shrubs had been planted and further recommended several methods for improving and managing the park. The city manager was authorized to work with the committee in purchasing playground equipment. In its written report the committee indicated that it had incurred expenses in the amount of \$175.15, that in all 536 trees had been planted, over half of which were donated by various parties and "are assorted as follows:

43 pecans	6 catalpas
28 walnuts	13 sugar maples
30 hackberry	3 ash
5 poplar	3 maple
136 American elm	4 umbrella China
104 Chinese elm	8 box elder
32 arborvite	6 cotton wood" ²⁵
8 willow	

In this administration the beginning of the delegation of many matters previously considered by the commission as a whole is increasingly evident. Traffic control required the

attention of the commission during the entire administration. In June 1926 the city manager was given authority to work out details of and to adopt a stop system for handling the city traffic. Shortly he was authorized to purchase thirty-six stop signs and a year later to purchase the first stop and go signals for downtown intersections. In addition, in 1926 the commission bought the first car, a "Chevrolet Roadster" for use by the "motorcycle cop."²⁶

Further attention to traffic safety involved a movement to construct underpasses beneath the Panhandle and Santa Fe Railway tracks on Broadway and Avenue H. In September 1927 J. C. Barton, division superintendent of the railroad, with attorneys Tom Blair and Roscoe Wilson representing the railroad, discussed with the commission the problem of such construction. Mayor Parrish appointed a committee to work out plans for getting these underpasses built. Because of the untimely death of City Manager Perkinson, one of the committeemen, this committee was replaced by a new one composed of Commissioner Hankins, H. T. Kimbro, and C. E. Maedgen. The latter group in April 1928 drew up proposals approved by the commission for submission to the railroad on the percentage of expense which the city would bear in the subway construction project. Final agreement was reached between the city and the railroad and the contract between the two was signed in December 1928.²⁷

In May 1927 the Board of City Development was notified that its books would be audited with the city books. The commission also considered the question of whether or not the Board of City Development needed all the funds raised by the two-mill tax as provided. This tax was later lowered to one-half mill. Later in the year the first issue of *The Hub*, an official publication of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce and the Board of City Development appeared. In it the relationship of the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of City Development was explained as follows:

"The terms, Lubbock Chamber of Commerce and Board of City Development, are used synonymously as regards the two organizations in Lubbock. The Board of City Development consisting of fifteen men appointed by the City Commission also acts as the Board of Directors of the Senior Chamber of Commerce."²⁸

As a final note on the expanding city functions before a change in administrations, the commission purchased a site for fire station No. 2 to be located on the corner of 19th and Avenue V and bids for construction were received December 8, 1927.²⁹ Bids were also received for the first city swimming pool, to be located in the city park. In June 1928 the city bus franchise was authorized an extension to the swimming pool. This pool was administered directly by the city government until 1931, when the city commission tried to turn its direction over to the Park Board, appropriating the money that would represent the difference between the gross receipts and the actual operating expenses for 1930. The Park Board immediately replied that it was not interested in running the pool. However, one member of the board, K. N. Clapp, was not willing to see the pool close and leased it for the 1931 season. The agreement was that the city would receive 10 percent of the gross receipts and not less than \$300. In turn the city would rent its baskets, suits, and towels for 50 percent of their value and furnish water at minimum rates if Clapp agreed to make all major repairs. This arrangement continued for a time, until the city manager resumed administration of the pool under the direction of the city commission. Finally, in 1945 the care and direction of the pool was turned over to the City Recreation Department.³⁰

The city elections were held April 3, 1928, and H. D. Woods was elected mayor. Places 2 and 4 were up for election and D. N. Leverton and J. F. Bacon filled those posts on the commission, serving with the incumbents J. H. Hankins, Place 1 and A. V. Weaver, Place 3. This administration

was to see further advances in the city park program, an initial effort at city planning, acquisition of a federal court, creation of the office of city auditor, the initiation of the practice of sending city employees to training schools in their respective fields, the beginning of city responsibility in case of death or injury of employees in line of duty, the completion of the underpasses, expansion of the city light plant, and the building of an airport.³¹

In 1927 C. H. Mahoney, head of the horticulture department at Texas Technological College, submitted an overall plan for the city park laying out the roads and calling for additional planting. Attention was now given to the expansion of the park system within the city, and in December a committee of five was appointed, with Mahoney as chairman, to begin a study of zoning and the location of future park sites. In 1931 a final report of this committee was accepted and a new committee on city planning appointed to serve under the same chairman. The new committee consisted of W. A. Bacon, Roscoe Wilson, J. H. Bryan, F. W. Standerfer, J. O. Jones, N. L. Peters, H. N. Roberts, and Charles A. Guy. At the same time the report was accepted, the Park Commission was granted \$16,000 to carry on its work. Mahoney, who had been a moving spirit in this, resigned in May, since he was leaving for another teaching position. The city commission voted him a unanimous expression of thanks for his contributions to the city in the area of parks.³²

Several changes in the city's official family occurred. R. J. Murray was appointed to the Board of City Development to fill the vacancy created when Woods became mayor. The office of city auditor was created and D. D. Martin employed to fill the position. J. C. Levens was appointed assistant city attorney in mid-1929, with specific responsibilities in the collection of delinquent taxes and to aid in enforcement of criminal law by attending police court when necessary. Near the close of the administration G. W. McCleary resigned as city

manager and was replaced by J. Bryan Miller of Bryan, Texas. Miller served until his resignation in April 1931, when W. H. Rodgers, whose position as city secretary was filled by J. L. Holt, was named city manager.³³

An addition to the court system of the area came in May 1928 when President Coolidge signed the bill creating a new federal court in Lubbock to serve the South Plains, the culmination of a fourteen year effort by local citizens. Roscoe Wilson, a Lubbock lawyer, had been a leader in the movement to obtain the court and in 1916 had headed a committee to get the measure through the United States Senate. World War I had delayed the matter; and Wilson again headed a committee in 1925, with Dr. I. E. Barr and A. B. Davis aiding him in securing the endorsements of the bar associations and chambers of commerce in the area. In 1927 R. B. Craeger, of Brownsville, national committeeman for the Republican Party, visited Lubbock and advised with local citizens working on the measure. A building site committee was appointed, chaired by C. E. Maedgen, and composed of Dr. I. E. Barr, Walter A. Myrick, Jed A. Rix, and Roscoe Wilson. The city commission obtained a recommended site and offered it to the federal government for one dollar, and representatives were sent to secure the endorsement of the federal judges in Ft. Worth and Dallas. After several trips to Washington C. E. Maedgen, J. E. Vickers and John L. Vaughn, the local postmaster, representing the city through the Board of City Development, were instrumental in getting the bill through Congress. Nineteen counties were included in the new district: Bailey, Lamb, Hale, Floyd, Motley, Cochran, Hockley, Lubbock, Crosby, Dickens, Yoakum, Terry, Lynn, Garza, Kent, Gaines, Dawson, Borden and Scurry.³⁴

The city began to send its officials to national meetings in their fields and Dr. J. W. Rollo, city health officer, reported to the commission on his trip to the National School of Sanitation in Chicago. The following year Fire Chief W. E.

Twitty was sent to the firemen's convention in Birmingham, Alabama, and R. F. Houk, city water engineer, was to attend the Southwest Water Convention at Tulsa, Oklahoma. In addition, in-service training schools were begun and a police school was held in Lubbock, to which all surrounding towns were invited to send representatives.³⁵

Early in 1929 the city was faced with the problem of its obligations when a public servant is killed in line of duty. Assistant Fire Chief Neuel Bryan was killed while driving the fire truck on an icy night in answer to a fire call. He swerved to avoid collision with a car, driven by a woman and full of children, which pulled into the intersection directly ahead of the rapidly moving fire truck. As the city carried no compensation the commission voted to pay Bryan's widow \$2500. Later that year the city commission voted to carry public liability and property damage insurance on all vehicles owned by or in the service of the city of Lubbock, and in November 1929 the commission accepted the Aetna group life insurance proposal for city employees made by Neil H. Wright, Aetna agent. This plan provided that all employees in service six months were eligible to carry \$2000 insurance at a cost of sixty cents per \$1000 per month, the city paying the remainder of the premium.³⁶

Final plans were made for the proposed underpasses, and in February 1929 bids were received for the underpass on East Broadway and in October for the one on North Avenue H. In both cases the Panhandle Construction Company presented the low bid and was awarded the contract.³⁷

In March 1929 a committee was appointed to investigate a new type of transport for the city, air travel. The commission wished to know the requirements for a municipal airport and wanted recommendations as to necessary action in securing such an airport. Members of the committee appointed to secure this information were George E. Benson, chairman, J. D. Slaughter, Roscoe Wilson, Charles A. Guy, John Dal-

rymple and T. B. Duggan. Having secured initial information, the city commission called a special election to provide \$75,000 necessary for the establishment of an airport for the city of Lubbock. In June Benson, Duggan, and Professor E. F. George were appointed to locate and price prospective sites for said airport and submit them to the commission, and in September the city purchased Section 28 in Block A, Lubbock County from J. Milton Jones and Mrs. E. M. Jones. The following month the commission authorized the mayor to take steps to secure federal aid for improving the airport. M. C. Butler Company was employed to draw plans and specifications for the municipal airport hangar, and in June 1930 bids were received for the construction of the building. Shortly the city manager, on instruction, obtained a beacon tower and provided the necessary materials for water and light systems at the port as well as a fence. Lubbock was now ready to launch herself into the oncoming air age.³⁸

The year 1929 saw the commission again wrestling with the problem of water and the decision of how far to expand the city light plant. In May two new well sites were obtained, one for a standpipe and water reservoir on 19th Street and the other for a new well in the northwest part of the city. Two additional sites on which to drill for water were purchased in the fall. Also, a citizens' committee was appointed to meet with the commission to discuss the problems of the city light plant. After "a very frank discussion of the City problems and City light Plant Extension," it was decided that the plant must be expanded to keep abreast of city development. In September the firm of H. H. Shell and Sons was awarded the contract to build a new one.³⁹

PROBLEMS OF THE THIRTIES AND THE WAR YEARS

The second period of Lubbock's development began with the advent of the thirties. General city elections were held April 1, 1930. J. J. Clements was elected mayor, J. H. Han-

kins was defeated for re-election for Commissioner, Place 1, by John E. Roach. George Benson was elected to Place 3 and with Leverton and Bacon as the holdover commissioners, the city administration faced depression's tightening grip.⁴⁰

Indications of the increasing gravity of the economic picture can be traced in the activities of the city government. In January 1931 the commission met with a committee on unemployment composed of T. B. Duggan, W. O. Stevens, Sam C. Arnett, J. A. Hodges, C. E. Maedgen, Homer Grant and I. C. Enochs. The secretary of the United Charities, Evelyn Richter, reported on their activities. The commission voted \$500 to assist United Charities in their relief work and declared that the city would create all work possible for those in need and that work would be given only to those recommended by United Charities. Further efforts to create jobs can be seen in 1933 when the commission wired an Amarillo contractor building the Montgomery-Ward building in Lubbock urging him to use only local labor.⁴¹

In August of 1931 the city announced that effective September 1, 1931, it would be necessary to reduce the payroll in various departments. Salaries were to be lowered and personnel was to be cut. At the same time the commission called in the officials of the West Texas Gas Company and the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company to discuss the possibility of lower gas and telephone rates in the city. The administration struggled with this problem for several years. Bids were sought from other natural gas suppliers, and before the close of 1931 an ordinance was passed making it unlawful to charge over a stated minimum rate. In December 1932 the John W. Moore Construction Company was authorized to furnish natural gas, but in May and June of the following year the time had to be extended on the franchise as the distribution system had not been built by the new company. Also in 1933, the city sought to buy the West Texas Gas company's distribution plant.⁴²

To cope with the increasing need the city commission met in joint session with the county commissioners court to adopt a constitution for a City-County Welfare Association. The Ministerial Alliance of the city through its president, the Reverend Jack M. Lewis, notified the commission that it had unanimously endorsed the proposed constitution. Both city and county commissioners approved the organization and Evelyn Richter was appointed general secretary of the association. The commissioners recommended that a board of directors not to exceed fifteen members be appointed, suggesting that each church associated with the Ministerial Alliance select one member to serve on said board. In September 1933 Joe W. Wilson became executive secretary of the welfare association, and in a joint meeting with city and county commissioners received their approval for the renewal of the 1932 contract with the Lubbock Sanitarium and the West Texas Hospital, by which the city and county agreed to pay for the care of indigents. The hospitals, however, were unwilling to accept the same contracts. The group reconvened and after discussion appointed a committee with power to act. They instructed the committee to make the best arrangement possible with the hospitals and if no agreement could be reached to approach the Slaton hospital to see if reasonable arrangements could be made there. Apparently agreement was reached for the matter is not mentioned again until the following year, when the two sets of commissioners again met with the welfare association representatives to draw up a new schedule for submission to the hospital on care of indigents. This schedule was as follows:

"Room	\$3.00	Saline Solution50
Major Operation	\$8.00	Plaster Casts: (including dressing)	
Minor Operation	\$4.00	Arm	\$ 2.50
X-ray	\$5.00	Leg	\$ 5.00
Anesthetic	\$5.00	Body	\$10.00"
Glucose	\$1.25		

The welfare association was to furnish all serums.⁴³

In face of declining revenues and increasing need, when the city commission met with the city planning commission to discuss the advisability of going ahead with city planning, the result was succinctly recorded, "No action." However, G. P. Kuykendall and B. Sherrod were appointed to vacancies on the planning commission. But the civic spirit was still in motion! In October 1931 the city commission sent a letter of appreciation to the Lubbock Loyalty Council through its chairman, J. O. Jones. The commission commended the council on its principles and policies, for the council was formed of citizens who had organized and agreed to prevent a run on the local banks that would cause them to close, as was happening in many of the surrounding towns as well as in the nation as a whole. But in spite of the monumental tasks caused by the depression, the city administration conducted most of its deliberations on routine matters. In late June of 1930 the need for space in the city hall became acutely apparent, so the county library and the Boy Scout office were asked to find other quarters. Also, the need for a park on the north side of the Santa Fe Railway tracks was seen and Block 15 of the Acuff Addition was set aside for the purpose. And, in May of 1931, a fire prevention board was established, with L. Wesley Read, chairman; Gregg James, J. C. McCelvey, A. B. Davis and J. H. Brock as members. The number of boards of this type was to continue to increase as the work of the city commission increased, for it became necessary to delegate to responsible and interested citizens certain areas of the city's interest for investigation and report to the commission.⁴⁴

General city elections were held April 7, 1932, and Mayor J. J. Clements was reelected. J. C. (Cash) Royalty was elected Commissioner, Place 2, and J. F. Bacon, Commissioner, Place 4, with John Roach and George Benson as holdover commissioners. Almost immediately John W. LeMond resigned as

chief of police but agreed to remain one month in an advisory capacity to W. L. Metcalf, who was to replace him.⁴⁵

The city commission minutes record the use of R. F. C. funds in March 1933 for the first time. Other evidence of the New Deal is found throughout the period. The municipality executed an agreement with the State Highway Department for highways improved under Section 204 of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The first portion in Lubbock was to be from the Broadway underpass to the east city limits, designated as Texas NRA project No. 422-H. In November of the same year the city manager was authorized to apply to the State Advisory Board on Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 for a loan to be used for the extension and improvement of the city's electric light and power system. The commission also authorized an extensive paving program to be worked out through the Civil Works Administration Relief Program.⁴⁶

The city government was still active and outreaching and in August 1933 the commissioners granted a fifty year lease to the Panhandle-South Plains Fair Association for a portion of Section 80, Block A, in Lubbock County, for the purpose of holding its annual fair. Some improvement in the economic picture was seen also, when the commission moved that effective February 1, 1934, the salaries of all city employees would be raised to the level of August 1, 1932.⁴⁷

Ross Edwards was elected mayor on April 3, 1934. W. B. Price and A. J. Richardson were elected commissioners, with J. C. Royalty and J. F. Bacon as holdover commissioners. Bacon resigned in October and in a special election George E. Benson was elected Commissioner, Place 4, to fill the unexpired term. Benson resigned the following year and on November 7, 1935, again by special election, B. E. Needles was elected to complete the unexpired term.⁴⁸

At the first meeting of the commission beginning the new

term, the commissioners voted to ask for the resignations of the city attorney, city manager, chief of police, city tax assessor-collector, and the city secretary, the resignations not to be effective until formally accepted. This motion was rescinded, but several resignations were requested. The new chief of police was H. L. Johnson. C. E. Luce was made city recorder, and W. O. Stevens was appointed city secretary. In late October E. C. Young was appointed tax assessor and collector. He remained in this position until August 1939, when V. R. Plummer became tax assessor-collector and Young became deputy tax assessor-collector. Plummer later resigned in April 1944 with a vote of commendation from the city commission, and Harvey Austin, the incumbent, was appointed in his place.⁴⁹ Changes occurring later in the administration were the resignation of E. L. Klett as city attorney, this position being filled for a short time by J. E. Vickers of the legal firm Vickers and Campbell. This firm resigned shortly after the city elections in 1936 and Durwood Bradley was appointed city attorney. Bradley remained in this office until 1945, when he resigned with a vote of thanks from the city commission and Vaughn E. Wilson was appointed city attorney, a position which he held until his death in the fall of 1960.⁵⁰

Also, City Secretary W. O. Stevens resigned in March 1936 for reasons of health. The commission expressed regret and voted to grant him a year's leave of absence. Stevens declined the offer and Miss Lavenia Williams, now Mrs. Lowe, was appointed city secretary May 15, 1936, and still serves the city in that capacity.⁵¹

During the first term of Edwards as mayor, the administration was again to face the problems of high rates for telephone and gas service, the conversion of the city park into Mackenzie State Park, the ever present water problem, and the increasing necessity for traffic regulation.

The city commission again notified the Southwestern Bell

Telephone Company that it was dissatisfied with the present rates and asked that the company make substantial reductions. Also the city again requested rate reductions from the West Texas Gas Company. At the same time Mayor Edwards and Chamber of Commerce Secretary A. B. Davis went to Washington to apply for P.W.A. funds for construction of a municipal natural gas plant. In April 1935 the city held a bond election to build the municipally-owned system. This is one of the few bond issues to fail in Lubbock. It was defeated almost two to one.⁵²

In September 1934 George Berry appeared before the commission and indicated that the state was planning to locate two parks in the West Texas area. He wondered if Lubbock wished to purchase land on which to locate a state park. The commission indicated that if it would be advantageous to the city, and if the people were interested, they would buy the land if the price was satisfactory. Early in 1935 the city bought additional land from Mrs. M. G. Abernathy to enlarge the city park site. Land was also purchased from P. F. Brown and the right given to the State Parks Board of Texas to take over and maintain the park. In April K. N. Clapp and J. B. Maxey of the City Park Board appeared before the commission stating that the board, which had the members appointed in 1928, as well as C. E. Russell and Mrs. Clark M. Mullican appointed by Mayor Clements, was opposed to turning the park over to the state. After some discussion the commission appointed the two men along with City Manager Rodgers to try and work out with the State Park Board the possibility of retaining the park under city auspices. A working arrangement was to be made later, but at this time the deeds for the Abernathy and Brown land were forwarded to the State Park Board in order that construction of Mackenzie State Park could begin.⁵³

One passing can be noted with nostalgia. Commissioners Price and Richardson and City Manager Rodgers were ap-

pointed to dispose of the mules, wagons, harnesses and such belonging to the city, such disposition to be final.⁵⁴

Having disposed of the four-footed problems, the commission then met with a traffic committee made up of citizens to discuss a proposed traffic code. Members of the committee were Durwood H. Bradley, chairman; Mrs. H. F. Godeke, Charles A. Guy, J. W. Jackson, Rev. Hocker, and H. L. Johnston, chief of police. The next year this same committee recommended a series of traffic regulations, which were incorporated in city ordinance 575. A committee from the city safety council, composed of George Dupree, Glenn Hess, and Arno Dalby, asked the city commission to place the traffic ordinances in booklet form to go with each automobile license sold. This was done. In late 1936 city ordinance 558 was passed providing for the installation and regulation of parking meters in the downtown section of the city. Two years later public dissatisfaction over the parking meters caused an election to be called to determine whether or not they should be kept as a method of regulating parking in the congested business areas of the city. In spite of the dissatisfaction the meters won and they were kept.⁵⁵

Ross Edwards was re-elected mayor April 7, 1936. W. G. McMillan and J. A. Fortenberry were elected commissioners, with W. B. Price and A. J. Richardson serving as the hold-overs. The only change in the established officialdom to be made during this administration was the appointment of Don Reeder as chief of police in August 1937, shortly after he returned from the F.B.I. school for police officers in Washington, D. C.⁵⁶

The water problem continued to plague the city government. In March 1937 the mayor was authorized to sign an agreement with the State Board of Water Engineers for construction of a dam ten miles southeast of Lubbock on the Double Mountain Fork of the Brazos. A short time later the city engineer was instructed to work with Mr. M. G. Aber-

nathy in locating a city water well site which Abernathy wished to dedicate to the city on his property northeast of town. And, in August, the city manager was instructed to write U. S. Senator Marvin Jones requesting information regarding application for part of the \$10,000,000 set aside by the government to construct ponds and other water conservation projects in the "dust bowl."⁵⁷

The commission in May 1937 formally protested the earmarking of Works Progress Administration funds in the bill pending in Congress, feeling that it would work undue hardship on projects underway and make additional funds more difficult to obtain. Shortly, the city began a cooperative summer recreation program. The city commission was approached by J. I. Kilpatrick, Dan Daniels, H. C. Pender and Miss Ziegenhals, W.P.A. representative, with the recommendation that the commission appropriate \$500 for the immediate inauguration of a recreation program in accordance with plans outlined by the W.P.A. of Texas. The commission answered the request by creating a recreation council to be composed of not less than five nor more than seven members appointed by the city commission. The council was responsible for planning and exercising general supervision over a permanent recreation program for the city and also for the selection of a recreational supervisor to direct the program. The annual budget was to be submitted to the appointing group. Before the ordinance creating the council was passed, it was referred to the Park Board for recommendation. The board recommended adoption of the plan and approved of the commissioners' choice for committeemen, consisting of J. I. Kilpatrick, chairman, W. O. (Dan) Daniels, vice chairman, H. C. Pender, secretary, Mrs. W. A. Jackson, and L. H. Liston.⁵⁸

The Park Board, represented by three committee members and Park Superintendent C. D. McGehee, presented the park budget for the coming year. The budget, approved, had by this time grown to \$36,404. An additional \$2870 was appro-

riated for the development of a new park located between Jackson and Monroe Avenues. This board had held one of the most consistent memberships of any city appointed group. Three members serving at this time had been on the board since 1928, K. N. Clapp, Mrs. C. F. (Lou) Stubbs and J. B. Maxey. Mrs. Clark M. Mullican and C. E. Russell had been appointed in December of 1932. Russell moved from Lubbock in 1937 and was replaced by O. W. Ribble. The board then remained unchanged until 1944, when it was reconstituted with little change in membership but with provision made for staggered terms. The change was the replacement of O. W. Ribble by H. A. Davidson after Ribble's election as mayor. Ribble was later to rejoin the board after his term was completed.⁵⁹

City finances were steadily improving and the employees received a second general salary raise and adjustment. For the first time in city history the commission in 1937 set minimum and maximum salaries for the various general job classifications. In 1941 further increases were given and graduated percentage raises were specified, those in the lower salary brackets receiving the higher percentage raises. The following year individual adjustments upward were made, as well as consideration being given to some overall plan of increasing employees salaries to take care of the rising cost of living. After making individual adjustments the commission decided to follow a monthly bonus plan based on the cost of living index, as published by the U. S. Department of Labor. Even this did not appear to be adequate, for in 1943 the commission decided that the bonus system adopted November 2, 1942, should be supplemented with salary increases.⁶⁰

Also, the commission met in 1938 to study civil service regulations for municipalities and to determine if such a program would be desirable in Lubbock. The matter was considered and it was proposed that it be submitted to the voters of the city. No action was to be taken, however, for ten years,

when civil service regulations were adopted for the fire and police departments.⁶¹

The dovetailing of city regulations to put them in harmony with national trends can be seen when City Building Inspector D. J. Schlag was instructed in February 1938 to be governed in his interpretation of the term "approved material" in the city's building code by the rating of the U. S. Bureau of Standards and those used by the Federal Housing Administration. Also, since building was on the increase the commission ordered that the building codes be brought up to date and published in booklet form.⁶²

The general elections were held April 5, 1938, and in one of the few closely contested political races in Lubbock's history Carl E. Slaton was elected mayor over former Mayor Pink L. Parrish. The two commissioners in the election were not seriously challenged and W. B. Price and Hub Jones were selected. Holdover commissioners were W. G. McMillan and J. A. Fortenberry.⁶³ This administration was to face new problems such as the increase in migratory labor, the necessity for city zoning, and the new national concern for low cost housing for low income groups, along with the old problems of administration of the parks and the city airport.

To keep pace with the increasing population the city applied for R.F.C. loans, one in the amount of \$100,000 for paving and another for storm sewer extensions in the amount of \$350,000. These were received. Shortly the city offered the federal government title to land if an armory were built in Lubbock.⁶⁴

The increase in the farming of crops requiring seasonal labor caused the national government through Mr. Cowan, representative of the Farm Security Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, to request the city to build a migratory labor camp. The commission agreed to do so and set aside a tract of land north of the city and adjacent to Highway 9 to be used by the Department of Agriculture for

this purpose without cost. The city further agreed to extend the necessary utilities to the property.⁶⁵

Providing other habitation caused the commission in December 1939 to create a housing authority for the city of Lubbock under section 5 of the housing authorities law of the state of Texas. This was done because of the shortage of safe and sanitary dwellings available to families of low income at rentals they could afford. Members of this first housing authority were H. C. Pender, chairman, Sam Rosenthal and J. Ray Dickey for one year terms, Charles Whitacre and W. O. Daniels for two year terms. Daniels resigned in the spring of the following year and Dr. D. D. Cross was appointed to fill his unexpired term.⁶⁶

On recommendation of the Park Board the city commission requested permission to lease from the state the concessions in Mackenzie Park. The permission was given by the State Park Board, June 11, 1938, if the city would agree to keep the park clean, sanitary, and policed. The following year the State Park Board leased to W. G. McMillan for fifteen years the concession for a golf course in Mackenzie park if McMillan would build and maintain the course. With respect to the other city parks, in 1940 a committee from the P.T.A. composed of Mrs. Vaughn Wilson, Mrs. H. F. Godeke and others requested that the city place tennis courts, baseball grounds and other playground equipment in them. This was later done, and the park program continued its steady expansion.⁶⁷

Although efforts had been made in the late twenties and early thirties toward city planning, the depression had ground these efforts to a halt. In February 1939 L. Wesley Read appeared before the city commission and requested the appointment of a city planning committee. A short time later such a committee was appointed with J. B. Maxey, chairman; Smylie C. Wilson, A. W. May, O. A. St. Clair as a representative of the Technical Club, and Wesley Read as a representative of the

Real Estate Board. The commission, at the suggestion of this group, accepted a bid from the consulting engineering firm of Koch and Fowler, Dallas, to make a study of the city's needs and to assist the committee and the city engineer in preparing a comprehensive plan and in preparing zoning ordinances.⁶⁸

In January 1940 a preliminary report was made by Read, Homer D. Grant, T. B. Duggan, Jr., S. H. Reid, and J. H. Murdough. A proposed zoning ordinance was submitted along with a map which outlined the various zones. A second map was also submitted which indicated primary and secondary traffic routes. In May the zoning committee made its final report to the commission. The commission had announced that the meeting would be open to the public and the public was invited to express its views on the proposed zoning program. The crowd of interested citizens which appeared was too great for the commission room, and so the meeting was moved to the American Legion Hall. The city attorney explained to the group the legal status of the proposed ordinance and G. H. Koch explained the zoning map and answered questions. Mayor Slaton then opened the meeting for protest and there were many, some objecting to specific parts of the zoning proposal and others objecting to zoning in general. The Mayor then announced that another meeting would be held the following month at which further protest could be made. The June meeting also had to be moved to the Legion Hall because of the size of the crowd. There were, however, fewer protests and these were against specific zoning proposals. Ordinance 661 was passed in March 1941, providing for comprehensive zoning, dividing the city into districts, defining terms, regulating location, size, and height of buildings, etc. Also, a zoning map was adopted as a part of the ordinance. The first Board of Adjustment was created and its powers and duties defined. Members appointed to serve on this board were

Knox Thomas, G. W. Parkhill, Owen McWhorter, J. A. Fortenberry and W. L. Bradshaw.⁶⁹

In October 1938 the commission looked into the operation of the municipal airport and discussed the formation of an Airport Board as well as investigation into methods used by other cities in administration of their airports. The following June the proposed board was created, with control and supervision of the city airport vested in it. First members to serve on the Airport Board were A. F. Holt, Ray F. Hinchey and Doyle Settle.⁷⁰

General elections were held April 2, 1940, and this time C. E. Slaton was unopposed in his race for mayor. W. G. McMillan and Garland Newsom were elected commissioners, with W. B. Price and Hub Jones serving as holdover commissioners. This administration had, in addition to normal activities, to cope with the entry of the U. S. into World War II and its effects on the municipality.⁷¹

August 1939 had seen bids received for the construction of a new central fire station and the following year bids were received for a new city police station. A bond election was held in January 1941 which provided \$175,000 for improvements and additions to the waterworks.⁷²

The advance of technology can be noted in the commission's equipping all police department automobiles with two-way radios and the purchase of an inhalator for the fire department. In buying the inhalator the West Texas Gas Company and the Texas-New Mexico Utilities companies agreed to pay one-third of the purchase price. The increase in traffic also involved the city in the project of widening 19th Street seven feet on each side of the existing curb from Avenue Q to College Avenue. This created many problems for the commissioners.⁷³

In August 1940 the city commissioners met in joint session with the county commissioners to consider using the Federal Food Stamp Plan for the City-County Welfare Association.

The plan was adopted and the commission authorized Mayor Slaton to sign a contract with the Surplus Marketing Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The following year the two commissioners courts met again to consider a supplemental food stamp purchase plan offered by the federal government. The group decided to accept the supplemental plan, since it would entail only one additional assistant at the food stamp distribution office and an additional case worker for the City-County Welfare Association. The program lasted until January 1943, when city and county commissioners were informed that the plan was going out of operation and some other method of obtaining food for welfare cases must be found. The two sets of commissioners voted to apply to the State Department of Public Welfare for participation in the state program of direct distribution of commodities.⁷⁴

The city commission had to look into one area of discord, the garbage department. The commission felt that the efficiency of the department was suffering because of the dissension and therefore relieved the head of the department, W. W. Stafford, and all the employees on June 1, 1941. The city manager was then instructed to re-employ Stafford and charge him with the responsibility of re-employing the personnel of the department as he saw fit, with full power to dismiss any employee in the future as necessary, thereby making him responsible for harmony and efficiency of the department.⁷⁵ This was increasingly to be the policy of the commission and a far cry from the early twenties when each employee was interviewed, hired, and fired by the commission as a whole.

Because of the steady increase of matters brought before the city commission for consideration, most of the routine items not involving policy were automatically referred to the city manager for disposition. However, they still waded through increasing floods of paving certificates, and even greater quantities of requests for zoning changes. One inter-

esting item that occurs at intervals is the appearance of the representatives of the Negro Chamber of Commerce regarding improvements needed or policies made for the colored section in Lubbock.⁷⁶

New trends in housing can be noted in the activities of the city's governing body. Several housing developments submitted proposed plats for approval of the commission. This is the beginning for Lubbock of the development of mass house construction. In September 1941 Homer Maxey, W. H. Evans, and J. A. Raley appeared before the commission with the tentative plat for an addition (Green Acres) to be located between Adams and Monroe avenues and 26th and 30th streets. The plat was approved and easements and streets were to be located as designated by the city engineer. In November the plat for Bobalet Heights was approved. Pearl Harbor and the immediate freezing of essential materials by the government brought to a halt this type of expansion. In January 1942 an election was authorized to approve annexation of the Maddox Addition, Arnett-Benson Addition, and the F. R. Friend subdivision and acreage tract. These annexations were defeated in the March election.⁷⁷

Shadows of the approaching war began to trace themselves through the matters with which the commission concerned itself in late 1940. In September, after the passage of the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Service Act, the commission voted that all full-time city employees called into military service be given back their jobs when they returned to civilian life and that all replacements be notified that jobs were to last only until the former employee returned. The city also offered the army space in its new fire station for recruiting purposes.⁷⁸

In October a committee was appointed to take options on land to be used by the federal government for a National Defense Airport. Members of the committee were City Attorney Durwood H. Bradley, City Manager W. H. Rodgers,

and Dr. I. E. Barr. In June 1941 the city purchased 1387.66 acres of land located in Lubbock County from the Lindsey family for use by the U. S. government in the establishment of an advance twin-engine air corps school. In July the commission authorized the mayor to lease, on behalf of the city of Lubbock, the land for \$1 a year, with the federal government retaining full title to all improvements and assuming responsibility for the upkeep of the land. This arrangement was continued until after the war and although the base was discontinued, the government continued to lease the land. In 1949 the city finally deeded title on this land to the federal government when the air corps decided to make the field a permanent installation.⁷⁹

A committee of the Lubbock unit of the Texas Defense Guard, composed of K. N. Clapp, Captain Chester Hubbard, and Lieutenant Newton Walton appeared in March 1941 before the city commission, requesting an appropriation of \$500 for guns, drill manuals, uniforms and ammunition for the unit. The city attorney was asked to investigate the legality of spending city money for this cause. Assured that such action would be legal, the commission voted \$400 to defray the expense of the home guard for national defense, the money to be disbursed upon receipt of invoices. An additional \$100 was authorized for the purchase of ammunition "if and when the guns arrive." The following year the Lubbock Defense Guard (Company A, 39th Battalion of the Texas Defense Guard) presented its budget for the ensuing year. The \$6515 was to be shared by the city and the county. The commission agreed to pay the city's half. The 1943 budget, smaller, showed that Lubbock County was to supply 35 percent of the funds, the city of Lubbock 50 percent, and the city of Slaton 15 percent.⁸⁰

In November 1949 a petition was presented to the commission from the fire department signed by every member of the department. They sought and received authorization for

deducting 2 percent of their monthly salaries for the firemen's relief and retirement fund. Shortly, Assistant Fire Chief Cecil Casey was employed as fire chief of the new Lubbock Army Air Field. John Nugent was appointed assistant fire chief and the commission took this occasion to define the duties of the fire chief and his assistant. The assistant was made personnel officer responsible for regular drills, uniform regulations, schedules, vacations, and at all costs to assure at least 50 percent of the men on duty at all times. The duties of the fire chief, primarily administrative, were those concerning the efficiency of the department and its equipment. The commission directed that all trucks be started twice a day to determine that they were in first class condition. It further requested that all firemen be trained in the use of the new inhalator. Finally, it directed that all correspondence pertaining to the fire department should have a carbon copy filed in the office of the city secretary. These fairly explicit instructions were indicative of the growth of the department into a large and complex organization, far removed from the "fire boys" of the volunteer force of the early 1920's.⁸¹

The attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, was to make many changes in Lubbock. Some had already begun—witness the building of the Lubbock Army Air Field, the establishment of a policy for employees entering military service, and the initial steps taken toward creation of a home guard. These beginnings were to be rapidly accelerated as World War II began on the U. S. home front.

In February 1942 the commission met to consider emergency action necessary at the municipal airport. Berry Brazile, airport superintendent, had received a bulletin from the Civil Aeronautics Administration stating that because of the war-time emergency the Lubbock Municipal Airport must (1) install alarm bells at the airport facilities; (2) provide for a telephone arrangement to call for aid by signal to the nearest police station; (3) maintain a day and night guard with police

authority at each hangar; (4) in the event aeroplanes were tied down outside the hangars maintain an armed guard for each area every night. This was brought to the commission on February 12, and the C.A.A. required that these conditions be met by February 15 or the airport would be closed. The commission instructed that all requirements were to be met at once, guards were to be selected by the chief of police, and Southwestern Bell Telephone Company Manager Tom Brown agreed to make the signal installation at no cost to the city, charging only rental on the equipment.⁸²

In January 1942 the Defense Recreation Council composed of Homer D. Grant, Knox T. Thomas, Charles Whitacre, Vernice Ford, Robert E. Maxey and Clifford E. Hunt requested that the commission sponsor a recreation project for the soldiers of the twin engine base. In October Knox T. Thomas and D. K. Bondurante, a sub-committee from the Defense Recreation Council, appeared before the commission to request that it purchase a lot and supply permanent foundations for a building which had been donated by the Panhandle-South Plains Fair Association for a recreation building for Negro soldiers. The colored Chamber of Commerce had agreed to furnish the money for moving the building and placing it on the lot if the commission would purchase it. The lot was purchased. In December the Defense Recreation Council met again with the commission to discuss the application which had been made to the Federal Works Agency for the remodeling of a building at 1211 13th Street for a recreational building and also for the remodeling of the Negro recreation building at 2101 East Avenue C. The F.W.A. had asked that the city put up \$10,000 toward the total project and also show that the recreational program would be carried on without the aid of federal funds. After consideration as to whether the recreation program should be operated by a local council or the U.S.O. it was decided that the former was

preferable. The city agreed to put up the necessary funds and provide for the council in the budget.⁸³

Carl L. Svensen was employed to perform all the necessary architectural and engineering services for the two buildings. In this construction the increasing power of the labor unions in federal projects can be seen, for in May the city commission passed a resolution fixing minimum wage rates on FWA Project Texas 41-578. A detailed list was drawn up, giving the minimum wage for all the different types of workers involved in the projects. For example, iron workers were subdivided into structural, ornamental, rodmen, etc., each with a specified minimum wage; roofers were subdivided into slate and tile, composition, tar, or gravel, each with differing and specified minimum wages.⁸⁴

On April 7, 1942, the general city elections were held. C. E. Slaton was re-elected mayor and W. B. Price and Hub Jones were re-elected as commissioners. This left the official family unchanged. However, in July W. G. McMillan resigned because he was moving outside the corporate city limits; in a special election on August 13, J. O. Jones succeeded to his seat on the commission. Difficulty appeared in the administrative offices and City Manager W. H. Rodgers and City Auditor D. D. Martin were asked to resign because of personal friction. Rodgers refused to resign, declaring that the commission had the authority to fire him. They did so. Martin, having remained silent, was dismissed. To fill these vacancies Marlin R. Smith, Jr., city engineer, was made city manager and R. B. Luker appointed city auditor. Arch L. King became the city engineer.⁸⁵

Various items were to come before the commission because of the emergency. The army was interested in establishing a second air base in Lubbock to be used as a glider school. The commission, in correspondence with Colonel Lyle Rosenberg, U. S. district engineer in Albuquerque, New Mexico, indicated that the land which the government wanted would be

too expensive, since there were seven or eight owners involved and therefore more improvements. The city suggested that the land north of the municipal airport was still in sod with the exception of two residences, and offered to purchase the land if the air corps would approve the location of an ordnance facility in the purchased area. The city had been approached earlier by an army board seeking such a site. The commission indicated that it was willing to buy 180 acres more than the air corps had asked for and also to lease the municipal airport if their recommendations were accepted, but was quite reluctant to purchase a new site altogether. The commission's recommendations were accepted and construction on Lubbock Air School No. 2, later known as South Plains Army Air Field, was begun.⁸⁶

Tire and food rationing under the OPA came to Lubbock in April 1942 when the commission met with the county commissioners to provide for the tire rationing board. The two groups decided to delegate the task of locating a space for such a board to Joe Wilson and to allow \$60 a month out of the City-County Welfare Fund for this purpose. When it became necessary to authorize additional help for the OPA rationing board, the commission found it convenient to use City-County Welfare Funds for this also. In February 1943, however, such temporary arrangements had to be corrected and Roy Furr, chairman of the Lubbock County War Price and Rationing Board, requested that the commission pay the expenses incurred by the local rationing board over and above the allotments made by the federal government for its operation. The expenses incurred were presented in an itemized list totaling \$929.99. Furr further informed the city commission that the county had agreed to pay half if the city would do the same. This was agreed. Then it was proposed that both agencies pay \$75 a month in the future for such expenses over and above the federal allotment.⁸⁷

In May 1943 Robert C. Stryker, district manager of the

War Production Board and E. J. Bymark, senior investigator of that body, appeared before the commission to request its cooperation regarding enforcement of War Production Conservation Order No. 1-21, which provided that application must be made to the War Production Board for any new construction or repair to existing structures costing in excess of \$200. They asked that the city not issue any construction permits in excess of this amount without prior approval of the board. The commission thereupon instructed the city building inspector to comply with this request stating, however, that "if a person insisted on a permit" it was to be issued advising the person that the WPB would be notified of their action.⁸⁸

The city also began to purchase defense bonds out of the budgeted items where a surplus appeared because further expansion was temporarily at a standstill. The first record of purchase was in July 1942, when \$18,750 out of the interest and sinking fund was designated for bond purchase. In 1943, \$260,000 out of the storm sewer, street improvement, sewage disposal, and fire station funds was also placed in government bonds.⁸⁹

In February 1943 the commission met with the city health officer, the chief of police, and the provost marshals of both air bases to discuss the increasing juvenile problem within the city. As a result a citizens' committee was appointed to investigate the juvenile situation and to submit its recommendations to the commission. Members of this group were Neil H. Wright, James L. Quicksall, J. D. Hassell, Knox Thomas, James G. Allen, Harry Morris, and W. C. O'Mara.⁹⁰

Possibly in connection with the above, and certainly because of increasing responsibilities in public recreation, the commission decided to combine the two existing recreation committees into a Recreation Department, supervised by a recreation council. Mrs. J. H. Stiles, Dr. Marshall Harvey, and Vernice Ford were to serve on the council until March

1945, and Charles Whitacre, Mrs. Durwood Bradley, Dr. J. M. Lewis, and Knox T. Thomas were to serve until 1947.⁹¹

POSTWAR GROWTH

Although much attention was given to the new needs created by World War II, the planning program begun so auspiciously in the late thirties was not forgotten; the third period of Lubbock's development was at the threshold. In September 1942, the second Board of Examiners and Appeals (later named the Board of Adjustment) was appointed, consisting of J. B. Maxey, Jack M. Randal, W. L. Bradshaw, J. H. Murdough, and G. W. Parkhill, with the city building inspector serving as secretary to the board and as an ex-officio member, in conformance with the zoning ordinance of March 1941, and in accordance with the comprehensive plan for city development. The following year attention was focused again on traffic routing; a committee of Glenn Hess, Robert W. Wright, and J. H. Beasley reported on property appraisal on Avenue Q between 19th and 34th streets for the purpose of widening it. The group urged the city to proceed immediately in the purchase of this right-of-way, and the commission agreed.⁹²

In August 1943 the chairman of the zoning commission, Wesley Read, appeared before the commission and recommended the creation of a city planning commission. This important step was taken; the first members were Dr. J. T. Krueger and J. D. Hassell, Jr., two-year terms; Charles A. Guy and K. N. Clapp, three-year terms; and L. Wesley Read, J. H. Murdough, and W. L. Bradshaw for four-year terms. This group was delegated authority in matters of right-of-way purchase and development proposals in the city. Among its first acts it accepted the Final City Plan Report by Koch and Fowler, consulting engineers, and invited O. H. Koch again to the city to explain the plan to the city commission and interested citizens, as well as to aid in putting the plan into

effect.⁹³ In 1945 the State Highway Department was asked to make a survey and prepare preliminary plans for proposed highway development in Lubbock and vicinity. An illustration of this planning program is the present traffic dispersal system. And finally, Koch and Fowler were re-employed in 1946 to draw up a new zoning pattern including all phases of the program in the city and in the newly annexed areas. In connection with this matter it is to be noted that three substations for the fire department were provided for, and in January 1946 the first of these was under construction.⁹³

Airline development was a source of difficulty. Several applications submitted by various air lines to place Lubbock on their routes had been rejected by the Civil Aeronautics Board. When the matter reached the city commission, authorization was given to petition the CAB for a rehearing on those applications that would be most advantageous to the city and pledging the city's full co-operation in the promotion of air transportation in this area. Early the next year the commission noted the upcoming hearing of American Airlines, Continental Airlines, and Braniff Airways for service through Lubbock and A. B. Davis, manager of the Board of City Development, was authorized to represent Lubbock at that hearing.⁹⁴

Although Lubbock was to receive commercial air service shortly, a primary hurdle — regaining control of the airport — had to be cleared. The successful invasion of Europe lessened the need for gliders and the activities of the South Plains Army Airfield were being closed down. The city then requested the army to release certain parts of the municipal airport for the city's use. This began a tug-of-war between the city and federal government. Later in the same year the commission stated the city's position as follows:

“Whereas, the City of Lubbock purchased approximately 1400 acres of land at a cost of \$50,758.35 and made same available to the Army Air Forces at a total rental of \$1.00 per year as a site for Lubbock Army Air Field; and purchased approximately 940

acres adjoining the Municipal Airport at a cost of \$71,500.00 and made this 940 acres plus the 640 acres in the Municipal Airport available to the Army Air Forces at a total rental of \$1.00 per year as a site for South Plains Army Air Field; the Municipal Airport and its improvements were valued at \$377,504.95, thus this plus the purchase price of \$122,248.35 for the additional land described above, makes a total of \$499,753.30 which the City has furnished virtually gratis to the Government during the war, and

Whereas two commercial airlines are now serving Lubbock and the third will start service in the very near future . . . the City would like back what was formerly the Lubbock Municipal Airport immediately or at least use of the runways and taxiways by removal of the planes stored there, and if possible would like to purchase the improvements of the South Plains Army Air Field.”

Although the city was to receive use of the airport, it did not receive the necessary instruments transferring SPAAF from the War Assets Administration to the city until 1949.⁹⁵

Discussion began in May 1945 concerning remodeling the offices at the municipal airport to provide a suitable lobby and office space for the three air lines that had certificates to operate in and out of Lubbock. It was decided instead to build a new administration building, and in February of the following year the architectural firm of Walker and Atcheson was employed to design and supervise construction of the new installation. About the same time the Airport Board, through its chairman, A. F. Holt, submitted to the city commission the proposed operating contracts between the city of Lubbock and Braniff Airways and Continental Air Lines. Approving the recommendations of the board, contracts were executed and regularly scheduled air travel commenced. The steady increase of air service required the adoption in 1948 of a comprehensive set of aircraft traffic regulations, followed by an even more rigid set the next year.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, elections in the city in April 1944 had made O. W. Ribble the mayor, with J. Ray Dickey and F. H.

Childress the new commissioners and W. B. Price and Hub Jones the hold-overs.⁹⁷

The inherent water supply problem was becoming more serious, and thus the city planning commission recommended in July 1944 the employment of an engineering firm to survey and report on the most suitable locations of sufficient underground and surface water to meet the needs of the city with a projected population of 100,000 to 125,000.⁹⁸ The commission acquiesced and by August, Mayor Ribble had contacted the State Board of Water Engineers, who in conjunction with the U. S. Geological Survey, shortly made such a study.⁹⁹ At the same time the commission employed a consulting engineer in Lubbock, H. N. Roberts, to make an independent survey of future water supplies; he shortly submitted such a report, including recommendations for other water possibilities.¹⁰⁰ In October 1946 a water emergency arose, and the city manager was instructed to proceed with digging additional wells immediately. Three sites were selected on the advice of both the state board, which indicated the general direction of water, and the local engineering consulting offices of H. N. Roberts and Associates, and Parkhill, Smith, and Cooper. The latter firms specified the tracts of land northeast of the city where water was most available.¹⁰¹

The following February the city commission sent a resolution to the state legislature and copies to the legislators from the South Plains area as well as to communities in the region urging the adoption of an exhaustive ten-point research and study program for "this indispensable resource," water. Lubbock's reaction to its own resolution was the appointment in September 1947 of a Water Resources Board of fifteen members, each serving for five years, with appointment of three new members each year. The first appointees drew lots to establish the length of their terms, with the following result: Robt. W. Wright, W. F. Eisenberg, and Roy Riddle, one year; Ruel C. Martin, C. W. Ratliff, and Owen Mc-

Whorter, two years; S. Lamar Forrest, Harry Holcomb, and Irving Jones, three; Joe Nislar, Neil Wright, Jr., and Ernest Pope, four; and Charles Maedgen, Jr., Spencer Wells, and R. D. Erwin, five. Forrest became chairman, Maedgen, secretary. The following year the commission went on record as interested in securing municipal water from the Canadian River by the construction of a dam; the planning phase of this program was nearing completion by 1960.¹⁰²

The Kiwanis Club approached the commission in 1945 concerning the construction of a badly-needed civic center. A committee was appointed to work with the Kiwanians, consisting of J. D. Hassell, Jr., W. C. Wood, Fred Childress, James L. Quicksall, Jr., M. R. Smith, Jr., C. W. Ratliff, and O. W. Ribble. In May the general proposals of the project were accepted; Haynes and Strange, Architects, were employed to particularize them. Representatives of the committee at city expense inspected projects of this nature in various south and southwestern cities, after which detailed plans were prepared. The committee felt that a bond issue would be necessary and that the civic center should be located within a reasonable distance of the downtown area in order that it might be used by the greatest number of people for a variety of purposes.¹⁰³

This program was to be combined with a bond issue designed to meet the increasing demands for expansion of the city. The eight proposals in the total amount of \$5,895,000 were as follows: (1) improvement and expansion of existing city buildings, the city hall, fire stations and equipment, garbage land and building, police building and equipment; (2) park improvement and an additional swimming pool; (3) expansion of the waterworks and sewer system; (4) additional storm sewers; (5) additional street lighting and traffic lighting; (6) airport improvement; (7) auditorium and civic center; (8) funds to purchase street and highway right-of-way.

Each of the proposals was to be voted on separately and all passed overwhelmingly in December 1945.¹⁰⁴

About this time M. R. Smith, Jr., city manager and long-time city engineer, resigned to enter private business. But his successor, Homer A. Hunter, also resigned—in December 1947—to enter private business, and Smith was re-employed, only to resign again in February 1949. This time he was succeeded by Steve Matthews of Pampa.¹⁰⁵

Following V-J Day and the deactivation of Lubbock Army Air Field, Homer D. Grant and Earl Collins, representing both a group of citizens and Texas Tech alumni, successfully asked the city commission to offer the use of the airfield to the college when it was returned to the city, in order that the facilities might be used in the G. I. educational program. A conference was held with the college's board of directors and the army with the view of making the housing and other facilities immediately available for the use of veterans enrolled at the college. The Lubbock Housing Authority obtained permission to use the facilities, and assumed the planning and administration of the proposed program. Funds were made available by the city in February 1946 to convert the barracks for this purpose. In June the city executed a supplemental agreement with the federal government permitting the use of the field as a military reservation and airport, as a regional headquarters for the Veterans Administration, and for use by the Federal Public Housing Authority.¹⁰⁶

The chief of the Real Estate Division, Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, in August 1948 asked that the city reaffirm a telegram of September 1945 to the Commanding General of the Army Air Force offering title in fee simple to the land used by the air field to the U. S. Government if a permanent installation were built there. The legality of such a transfer was found in Section 1269H, Revised Civil Statutes of Texas; thus the title was transferred in 1949, the air field

was reactivated as a permanent installation, and its name became Reese Air Force Base.¹⁰⁷

The elections in April 1946 made C. A. Bestwick mayor and W. B. Price and John Spikes the new commissioners to serve with hold-over commissioners Dickey and Childress. Much of the problem of water, discussed above, occurred during this period, as well as the construction of the city library, the creation of a cemetery board, the initiation of full-time work in child welfare, furtherance of the city's traffic dispersal system, the institution of civil service for police and fire departments, and another large bond issue for expansion of the city's services.

The demand for the construction of a city library was broadly based. A committee had constituted itself, composed of Mrs. H. F. Godeke, Mrs. C. J. Wagner, Mrs. Bryan Edwards, president of the City Federated Clubs, Mrs. F. A. Kleinschmidt, Ruel Martin, representing the businessmen of the city, J. G. Allen of Texas Technological College, Mrs. Jack Razor, secretary of the Library Association, the Reverend Halley Gantz of the First Christian Church, the Reverend John A. Winslow of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Mrs. A. W. Young, representing the Parent-Teachers' Association, Mrs. Pool representing the labor unions, and George P. Kuykendall. This committee presented a petition to the city commission requesting an election on a \$500,000 bond issue for the purchase of a site for and the construction of a public library for the city. In the face of such a formidable demand the election was called for May, and the bond issue carried.¹⁰⁸

The optimism in the city had returned, and growth was rapid. In spite of the large bond issue in 1945, and the library program begun earlier in the year, the commission felt confident when it planned a bond election to approve an aggregate amount of \$4,924,000 for city improvements in the power, water, and sanitary systems. The confidence was justified; electoral approval was overwhelming.¹⁰⁹

An election was called also to permit the qualified voters of the city to decide on the adoption of provisions of Senate Bill No. 36 of the 50th Legislature providing minimum salaries for firemen and policemen according to length of service and population. Also to be considered was House Bill No. 34, whose provisions established civil service for firemen and policemen in cities of 10,000 or more. Victory for the measures was narrow; a margin of 40 votes in 1054 cast in the December 1947 election decided it. To administer these provisions a civil service commission for the city was created in January following, and in September the city adopted final civil service regulations. This occasioned new and complete rules for both departments concerned by the city commission.¹¹⁰

In December 1947 the city undertook the operation of the Lubbock cemetery in response to recommendations of a committee appointed to study the question. The cemetery was to be a self-sustaining project under the supervision of the park superintendent, who would be therefore a member of the cemetery board. This board was appointed with Charles Bacon serving a two-year term, G. P. Kuykendall, four years, Joe Nislar, six years, O. W. Ribble, eight, and Charles Maedgen, Jr., ten.¹¹¹

The elections of 1948 saw Bestwick defeated in his race for a second term by former City Manager W. H. Rodgers. E. K. Hufstedler, Jr., and Clarence K. Whiteside, unopposed, were elected commissioners; John Spikes and W. B. Price continued to serve. Five amendments to the city charter had also been submitted to the voters, of which two were defeated and three approved. The latter related to the establishment of method and manner of disbursing payroll funds, to the appointment of a city manager and the elimination of the existing one-year residence in Texas requirement, and to the power of the commission to extend the city boundaries and annex adjacent territory by ordinance. In general, this ad-

ministration was to further the programs and plans already underway and discussed above.¹¹²

In the following years Lubbock's city government rode a tidal wave of expansion. Fortunately, the foundations had been well laid and subsequent commissions had both the precedent and the legal tools with which to guide the city in its headlong plunge through the "Fabulous Fifties" — a story belonging to another volume at another time. A dedicated citizenry had served Lubbock well. As the community grew from a village to a young city of promise, its leaders had steered it wisely through the shifting tides of depression and world war. At mid-century the city stood as a monument to the foresight and industry of its builders.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The basis for this study is the minutes of the City Commission, located in the City Hall. The writer wishes here to express appreciation in particular to Mrs. Lavenia Lowe, City Secretary, and her office, who made the records available and helped clarify many points.

² Lubbock City Commission Minutes, April 11, 27, 29, September 21, 1922, April 2, 1923, January 10, 1924, hereinafter cited as City Commission Minutes.

³ *Ibid.*, May 11, June 8, 22, August 30, 1922, January 25, February 8, May 22, 25, 1923.

⁴ *Ibid.*, November 15, 1923, March 6, 1924.

⁵ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1923, May 19, 1923.

⁶ *Ibid.*, June 8, 1922, September 6, October 11, November 21, December 20, 1923, December 9, 1924.

⁷ *Ibid.*, January 9, February 11, 1924.

⁸ *Ibid.*, September 27, 1923, March 6, 1924.

⁹ *Ibid.*, April 12, August 15, September 27, 1924, March 31, June 25, 1925.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 12, June 16, August 15, 1924, March 11, 1925.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1924, August 27, 1925, February 4, 1927.

¹² *Ibid.*, January 8, February 12, March 31, April 10, April 29, August 13, 1925, January 19, 1926.

¹³ *Ibid.*, January 8, March 17, April 23, 1925; Mrs. W. L. Baugh to Winifred W. Vigness, interview, December 14, 1960.

¹⁴ City Commission Minutes, March 31, 1925.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 10, July 2, June 25, 1925.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, August 13, 1925, September 23, 1926; City Ordinances 313 and 354.

¹⁷ City Commission Minutes June 25, October 22, December 11, 1925, January 19, June 30, 1926; City Charter, as Amended, December 10, 1925.

- ¹⁸ City Commission Minutes, December 26, 1925, February 15, April 8, 28, 30, May 15, 1926, July 22, 1927, February 15, 1928.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, April 8, August 12, September 9, 1926.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, June 26, July 8, 1926, February 4, April 5, April 28, May 16, August 15, November 25, December 8, 1927, September 10, 1942.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, August 5, August 21, 1926.
- ²² F. R. Friend to Mayor and City Commissioners, Lubbock, cited in *ibid.*, August 24, 1926.
- ²³ City Commission Minutes, August 24, 1926.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, November 5, December 4, 1926.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 11, April 28, 1927.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, June 5, 11, 1926, December 8, 1927.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, September 22, November 10, 1927, April 2, June 11, December 20, 1928.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, May 12, June 10, 1927; *The Hub*, November, 1927, p. 4.
- ²⁹ City Commission Minutes, October 2, 1926, December 8, 1927. This building is now used by the Community Chest.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, March 19, June 11, 1928, April 14, May 12, 1931, February 22, 1945.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1928.
- ³² *Ibid.*, April 12, 1928, March 12, May 19, 1931; *The Hub*, May, 1928, p. 7.
- ³³ City Commission Minutes, November 22, 1928, September 14, 1929, January 24, March 25, May 10, 1930, April 14, October 28, 1931. City Ordinance 429 created the office of City Auditor.
- ³⁴ *The Hub*, June, 1928, p. 5.
- ³⁵ City Commission Minutes, December 20, 1928, October 15, 1929, July 10, 1930.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, January 24, April 11, November 27, 1929; H. D. Woods to Winifred W. Vigness, interview, November 3, 1960.
- ³⁷ City Commission Minutes, February 4, September 14, October 7, 1929.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, March 14, April 11, June 19, September 5, 9, October 10, 1929, May 19, June 27, July 30, 1930; City Ordinance 434.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, May 20, 29, July 31, September 24, 29, 1929. Members of the Citizens' Committee were: W. A. Bacon, W. A. Myrick, C. E. Maedgen, G. P. Kuykendall, B. F. Hodges, W. O. Stevens, J. O. Jones, J. B. Maxey, J. A. Hodges, R. J. Murray, and George Benson.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, April 3, 1930.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, January 15, 1931, July 17, 1933.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, August 14, October 8, 1931, December 9, 1932, May 9, 26, June 3, 1933.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, August 28, 30, 1931, September 25, October 9, 1933, October 22, 1934.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, June 26, July 10, 1930, May 19, September 16, October 28, 1931. H. D. Woods to Winifred W. Vigness, interview, November 6, 1960.
- ⁴⁵ City Commission Minutes, April 7, 12, July 14, 1932.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, March 25, July 17, September 19, November 9, 23, 1933, February 22, 1934.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1933, January 11, 1934.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, April 5, October 11, 30, 1934, November 12, 1935.

- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, April 5, May 10, 24, June 15, October 25, 1934, August 2, 1939, April 7, 1944.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, December 12, May 15, 1936, May 31, 1945.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, March 26, May 15, 1936.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, July 31, 1934, April 18, May 9, 1935.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, September 22, 1934, January 9, April 11, September 6, 1935.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, June 13, 1935.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, March 23, September 24, 1936, December 9, 23, 1937, January 11, 1938; City Ordinances 558, 575.
- ⁵⁶ City Commission Minutes, April 7, 1936, April 22, August 26, 1937.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, March 25, April 8, August 26, 1937.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, May 29, June 10, 1937. In October, 1941, the following were appointed as members of the Recreation Council: W. G. Alderson, W. O. Daniel, W. H. Evans, H. C. Pender, and Marion Sanford. (*ibid.*, October 9, 1941).
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, December 8, 1932, May 13, October 14, 1937, November 28, 1941, September 28, 1944. Mrs. C. F. Stubbs resigned from the Park Board on April 11, 1946. Mrs. Clark M. Mullican resigned on September 12, 1946. C. D. McGehee, former Park Superintendent, completed Mrs. Mullican's term.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1937, September 26, 1941, November 2, 1942, September 22, 1943.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1938, December 9, 1948.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, February 28, 1938. D. J. Schlag was appointed Building Inspector March 5, 1937 (*ibid.*, March 5, 1937).
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1938.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, April 5, September 15, 1938.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, December 22, 1938.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, December 28, 1939, April 26, 1940. This same committee was still serving in 1944 when Dickey was elected to the City Commission. His unexpired term was filled by Newton Walton. In 1945 H. C. Pender moved from Lubbock and his position was filled by John T. Glover (*ibid.*, May 11, June 8, 1944, July 12, 1945).
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, May 26, June 11, 1938, October 5, 1939, April 26, 1940.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, February 23, May 9, 1939.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, January 9, May 17, June 11, August 22, 1940, March 13, 27, 1941; City Ordinance 661.
- ⁷⁰ City Commission Minutes, October 14, 1938, June 22, July 27, 1939. In 1944 this board was reorganized with a provision for staggered terms. Hinchey and Holt remained on the board and Robert Bean was selected as third member (*ibid.*, September 28, 1944).
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, April 2, 1940.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, August 28, 1939, October 2, December 26, 1940, January 14, 1941, February 27, 1941.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, March 27, April 10, 1941.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, August 2, 14, September 12, 1940, January 13, 1941, January 14, 1943.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1941.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, August 14, 1941, April 23, 1942.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, September 11, November 28, 1941, January 22, March 14, 1942.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, September 26, 1940, October 23, 1941.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, October 31, 1940, June 22, July 19, 1941.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1941, October 22, 1942, October 14, 1943.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, November 13, 1941, January 14, 1942.

⁸² *Ibid.*, February 12, 1942.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, January 8, October 8, December 21, 28, 1942, February 11, March 25, 1943.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1943.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, April 7, July 23, August 13, September 10, November 24, 1942.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, April 10, 29, 1942. The following year the mayor was authorized to renew the lease for the military reservation and airport for 940 acres and the adjacent airport in Lubbock County for one dollar a year, the same arrangement that existed with respect to the Lubbock Army Air Base. The former lease, that of the South Plains Army Air Field, is No. W781 eng-766 dated November 13, 1942; the latter, Lubbock Army Air Field, is No. W911-end 540 dated April 14, 1941, (*ibid.*, May 13, 1943, April 13, 1944.)

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, May 1, May 12, July 9, 1942, February 11, 1943. C. A. Bestwick served as Executive Secretary of the Lubbock County War Price and Rationing Board.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, May 27, 1943.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1942, April 12, 1943.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, February 11, 1943.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, March 11, 25, 1943; City Ordinance No. 690. In 1945 Dr. Marshall Harvey and Vernice Ford were reappointed for four-year terms and Mrs. M. C. Butler was added to the council for a four-year term. (City Commission Minutes, March 22, 1945.) Apparently the 1947 class served until 1948, for new appointments were not made until then, at which time Mrs. Durwood Bradley, Dr. J. M. Lewis (reappointed), G. C. Dowell, and William H. (Bill) Evans became members to serve until March 1951 (*ibid.*, March 25, 1948).

⁹² *Ibid.*, September 10, 1942, May 10, 1943; Ordinance No. 661.

⁹³ City Commission Minutes, August 12, November 16, 1943, January 13, February 10, March 7, 1944, February 8, 1945, January 24, March 31, 1946; City Ordinance No. 696. In 1945 Dr. J. T. Krueger and J. D. Hassell were reappointed to the Planning Commission for four-year terms; Charles A. Guy and K. N. Clapp, with terms to expire in November 1950; and J. H. Murdough, W. L. Bradshaw, and Homer D. Grant, with terms expiring in November 1951. (City Commission Minutes, November 8, 1945, November 14, 1946, October 23, 1947).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, May 24, August 12, 1943, January 24, 1944.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, February 8, November 8, 1945, January 8, 1949.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1945, January 10, February 14, 1946, February 26, 1948, March 24, 1949.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, April 4, 1944.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1944.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1944; M. R. Smith to Board of Water Engineers, August 16, 1948, in City Secretary's Office. The final report of the survey appeared in 1949 as Texas Board of Water Engineers, *Geology and Ground Water in Irrigated Region of the Southern High Plains in Texas, Progress*

Report No. 7, prepared in cooperation with the U. S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, March 1949.

¹⁰⁰ City Commission Minutes, September 14, 1944; Report of Mr. H. N. Roberts, in City Secretary's Office.

¹⁰¹ City Commission Minutes, September 26, November 14, December 12, 1946.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, February 13, September 23, 1947; City Ordinance No. 794.

¹⁰³ City Commission Minutes, March 22, May 14, August 30, October 18, 1945.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, November 20, December 11, 1945; City Ordinance No. 733.

¹⁰⁵ City Commission Minutes, October 2, 1945, February 14, 1946, March 1, 1948, January 13, 18, 1949.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, December 4, 1945, February 1, June 13, 1946.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, August 5, 1948; Vol. 407, Deed Records, Lubbock County.

¹⁰⁸ City Commission Minutes, February 27, April 24, May 24, 1947; Ordinance No. 811.

¹⁰⁹ City Commission Minutes, November 13, December 2, 1947; City Ordinance 835.

¹¹⁰ City Commission Minutes, October 23, December 2, 1947, January 29, September 9, December 9, 1948; Ordinance Nos. 831, 832.

¹¹¹ City Commission Minutes, December 16, 1947; Ordinance No. 849.

¹¹² City Commission Minutes, April 6, 1948.

Transportation

David M. Vigness

IT IS AXIOMATIC that the economic maturity of a section of the country is dependent upon its transportation systems and outlets. The reverse, of course, is also true: economic potential encourages the development of transportation. In the South Plains region these two are linked together closely, contributing to evolutionary if not revolutionary expansion and growth. And located in the center of this area is Lubbock, the "Hub of the Plains," beneficiary of and contributor to this phenomenon. Railroad building, highway construction, the development of bus and motor freight lines, and finally the introduction of the airlines are the keys that have turned some of the multiple locks of South Plains prosperity.¹

Of primary importance in this development was the railroad. The approach of the railroad to the city, chronicled earlier in this study, in effect ushered in the era of rapid growth on the South Plains. Through the Pecos and Northern Texas company, the Santa Fe system had built an extension of its line from Amarillo to Plainview into Lubbock in 1909, operating it through a subsidiary company, the Panhandle and

Santa Fe Railway Company. Plans were also completed to join the Belem Cutoff with the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe by building a line from Texico to Coleman; this task, begun in 1909, was completed by 1913, when through-service between the Gulf and West Coast was inaugurated. Lubbock was now on main-line traffic.²

The success of this enterprise was immediate, and the Santa Fe determined to spread its rails in other directions from Lubbock. In 1910 a branch line was built to Lamesa from Slaton. Rail contact was made with Crosbyton, one of the earlier, larger settlements on the South Plains, when the Crosbyton-South Plains Railway Company was purchased by the Santa Fe in August 1915. This line had been built in 1911 by John Stuart Conley of Chicago and Julian M. Bassett of Crosbyton, land developers, to hasten the settlement of a tract of land near Crosbyton owned by the C-B Live Stock Company, of which these men were the principal stockholders. To build the line it had been necessary, as in the then current practice, to receive cash donations for building costs and lands for right of way along the proposed route. Citizens of Lubbock had contributed \$25,000; Crosby County inhabitants had raised \$16,000; and lands had been received amounting in value to nearly \$40,000. The name of the company was changed in 1916, after its purchase, to the South Plains and Santa Fe Railroad Company.³

There were other efforts and proposals by the Santa Fe to expand South Plains transportation. An extension to Seagraves was completed in 1916, and another to Bledsoe followed nine years later when that sixty-five-mile branch was laid. In 1928 the Santa Fe company applied for the necessary charter to extend further the Seagraves line into New Mexico, contemplating a sixty-six mile addition into Lea County, with its newly discovered oil potential—the 1200-barrel Mid-West No. 1 had recently been brought in at 4,250 feet. The application was amended in January 1929 to propose reaching Lov-

ington, New Mexico. By May 1930, however, the plan was withdrawn, ostensibly because the Interstate Commerce Commission was unwilling to approve the amended application; a better reason, undoubtedly, was the pall of the depression that was settling over the country.⁴

The Santa Fe, therefore, had responded to the need for railroad expansion into the plains. It is not surprising that the immediate success it enjoyed invited other, competing companies to propose entry into the region. Rumors flew through the area again during the late twenties and early thirties and schemes were conjured concerning new roads coming through. On December 8, 1928, for instance, a preliminary hearing of the Interstate Commerce Commission was called to be held in Lubbock to consider the application of the Texas and Pacific to extend its lines north from Big Spring to Vega. And the Pecos and Northern Texas Railway Company, which had built the Santa Fe lines in the Hub area and had leased them to the Panhandle and Santa Fe Railway Company, met with representatives of the commission in the city police court room in city hall, Lubbock, with an application to build from Hale Center through Olton to Parmerton, construction to begin about May 21. The Frisco system, reaching Floydada from McBain in 1928 with its Quanah, Acme and Pacific subsidiary, surveyed a route from Floydada to Lubbock and on to its hoped-for ultimate destination, El Paso. A certain E. Kennedy from Houston was promoting a railroad from Snyder to Roswell through Brownfield and Lamesa or O'Donnell. The Santa Fe was angling for a direct line between the South Plains and the Fort Worth-Dallas area. But none of these plans bore a full harvest of fruit; the depression, again, deadened their efforts. Therefore, only one line in addition to the Santa Fe—the Fort Worth and South Plains Railway Company—was to pierce the South Plains area and Lubbock, becoming the eighth spoke of the wheel of which Lubbock is

the hub with its completion in May 1928, just prior to the depression.⁵

The building of the Fort Worth and Denver South Plains Railway system belongs to the larger story of transportation in the Southwest. In 1908 the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company had become the parent company of two smaller ones, the Colorado and Southern Railway Company and the Fort Worth Denver City Railway Company. Connecting the territories served by these two roads would permit the flow of goods from the Northwest to the Southeast. Furthermore, the economic advantage of lines into the Panhandle of Texas and the South Plains was becoming clearer; after all, the Santa Fe was to build the Belem Cutoff and the line to Plainview, proposing to come further South to Lubbock. But labor strikes in the coal fields of Colorado and New Mexico, followed by the outbreak of World War I, discouraged any activity except the search for possible areas of extension to the South Plains. Spectacular development of the region after the introduction of the Santa Fe and the building of its branch lines gave urgency to the matter, however; and by 1924 the Burlington, its previous obstacles removed, decided to begin construction immediately upon the receipt of approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Its proposal before that body was to stretch rails 202.1 miles southwest from the Denver main line at Estelline; it was argued that a northeast connection for the South Plains was needed, as well as a more direct connection by rail with Fort Worth and Dallas. Permission was granted in November 1926 over protests of the Pecos and Northern Texas, the Quanah, Acme and Pacific, and other railroads.⁶

The line into Lubbock was built by the Fort Worth and Denver South Plains Railway Company, chartered with the State of Texas on March 6, 1925, by the Burlington system. As in the case of the Santa Fe expansion, cities and towns along the proposed route were to raise money in support of

the project and to secure land for right-of-way, entering into formal contracts with the company to that effect. In Lubbock, this work was in the hands of the railway committee of the Chamber of Commerce, through whose efforts over two hundred citizens of the immediate Lubbock vicinity were mobilized to further in one way or another the railroad's coming. Among the active supporters of the project was A. B. Davis, manager of the Chamber of Commerce. Success of the Lubbock effort was described by Judge W. D. McKoy, right-of-way commissioner for the Denver road, while on a visit to Lubbock in January 1928: "Lubbock has given us better cooperation than any town on the entire line in getting their right of way and deeding it over to the railway on time," a sentiment expressed earlier by Frank E. Clarity, vice president and general manager of the Ft. Worth and Denver. The board of city development a week previously had publicly commended the various committees: O. L. Slaton, chairman of the Denver Railroad committee; W. A. Bacon, chairman of the collection committee; R. Q. Pierce and P. H. Sammons of the right of way committee for the city; and Dr. I. E. Barr and Ed Green of the right of way committee for the county.⁷

The big day came on May 14, 1928, when Thomas R. Rhea, foreman of the construction train, and his crew reached the city limits of Lubbock. It had taken from December 20, 1926, to reach this point on the southeastern side of Lubbock, the end of the line, from Estelline. Thousands gathered around the construction gangs to watch this completion of the linkage of Lubbock with a second great railway system, the Burlington. A momentary pause occurred when the question of crossing Avenue H came up. Mayor H. D. Woods, speaking for the city commission, agreed to close the alleys and streets necessary for the completion of the work, but since Avenue H lay half in and half out of the city limits, and the part outside was maintained by the Texas Highway Department, permission must be sought from that agency. That permission was

soon granted. Meanwhile, a depot was being built, a brick, L-shaped building at Avenue G and 18th Street on the southeast corner. It was opened November 20.⁸

The completion of such an important project as this was not permitted to slip by unnoticed. As when the pioneer Santa Fe had come in earlier, so now the introduction of a new railroad evoked a huge celebration. Special trains carrying some five to seven hundred interested persons from Dallas, Fort Worth, Wichita Falls, Childress, and Amarillo bore on Lubbock. The first of these would include officials of the Denver and Burlington system. A special committee of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, chaired by C. E. Maedgen and including W. W. Rix, W. E. La Fon, Richard L. Douglas, and G. W. Scott, had made all the arrangements. When the official train arrived it was met by delegations and brass bands from the city, and the officials of the company were paraded to the center of the city, whence they were transported by automobile to Texas Technological College for official festivities. Following a buffet supper in the gymnasium there was much "speechifying," the tone of which was reflected in this remark by Judge J. H. Barwise, Jr., solicitor general for the Denver road: "The eight million dollar investment into a territory we know and realize to be rapidly developing would be of no value without friendship and cooperation. . . . The Company wishes to join the development program of this section of the state."⁹

With the completion of the Denver road, the railroad growth into and out of the "Hub of the Plains" was to a great extent completed. There were eight spokes of tracks, seven of them operated by the Panhandle and Santa Fe Railway Company. Modernizations were to come with time. On the local Santa Fe scene, Diesel engines began replacing the steam engines; a great event for railroading in the city occurred in February 1955 when the Lubbock Streamliner was put on to replace the older train carrying passengers to Amarillo to

make the Chicago connection. Excitement had been generated in the city the previous May, when the Santa Fe officials had displayed in the region the new streamlined stainless-steel "Chief" which was to be placed into operation on the Chicago-San Francisco run. Another step was made when, to meet the new requirements of weight and speed, track maintenance crews were sent out in April 1953 to replace the tracks between Lubbock and the New Mexico line — tracks that had been used since the line was first built in 1913. And finally, the Santa Fe built a new station in 1953, dedicated on September 14, replacing a structure in use since 1911.¹⁰

With the Burlington service, two important developments are to be noted. In October 1950 passenger service to Childress for connections with the main line was discontinued. And the depot and yard facilities were moved in order to effect an improvement in the highway system through Lubbock when the extension of 19th Street eastward through the Fort Worth properties was required. The railroad then purchased 11 acres of land on Avenue A and 34th Street, where a \$300,000 freight depot was constructed and opened for use on January 15, 1954. Lands purchased were sold at cost for industrial development on the Avenue A side. Other land has since been purchased — 200 acres south of 38th Street and 157 acres south of 50th Street for warehousing purposes. As the areas are developed, the rails are extended to serve them — suggesting steady though unspectacular growth of rail transportation.¹¹

Almost too obvious to be noted in the increase in population and the quickening pulse of economic growth is the highway system. Dreams of railroads and of other forms of fast transportation were naturally more fascinating to the publicists of that time, as they are to ours; but it is in the day-for-day, common road system that an important aspect of development can be traced. Along with the roads and their improvement go the introduction of new forms of land trans-

portation, which have assumed an increasing significance in modern life.

The earliest roads in Lubbock were trails—Indian paths, buffalo tracks, military roads—as noted in an earlier essay. Even by the time the first wagons and automobiles came into general use on the plains, there were no highways of real importance—men going somewhere would simply strike out across the prairie in the direction they wished to go. Yet roads were developing; Lubbock's earliest establishment, Singer's Store, was located in Yellow House Canyon where the military road between Fort Griffin and Fort Sumner intersected the one from Fort Stockton to Fort Elliott.¹² As time progressed mail hacks and stage lines began operating to tie Lubbock with the outside world; the usual point of contact was at Colorado City, where the Texas and Pacific Railroad had established a station. Distances were great, yet the most significant barrier to the development of adequate transportation was the Caprock itself, whose existence may well have been one of the factors so long delaying the approach of the railroads to the South Plains.¹³

The first formal roads out of Lubbock, planned in 1891, were toward the four cardinal compass points. A "jury of view," in that year, composed of C. W. Mallard, E. Y. Lee, Will Sanders, Bill Tubbs, and a Mr. Kenedy, assigned county surveyor J. B. Jones to lay them out. One, to the east, led to Estacado; a northern road stretched across the plains to the Hale County line. Avenue H was the southern road, reaching ultimately to Colorado City; and the fourth went west to the county line, though traffic in that direction for some years was negligible.¹⁴ By 1910 these roads were serving to the point where one observer later noted that "Lubbock had passed from the village stage."¹⁵ The "Hub" was taking shape in another form as the roads began radiating in various directions.

The development of paved highways and roads adequate to meet the needs of burgeoning automobile traffic affected not

only Lubbock, of course, but the whole state and nation at large. No longer could county road districts be left completely independent in planning, building, and maintaining all roads; disparate burdens owing to geographical or demographical considerations, not to mention unequal planning and enthusiasm, made it seem more obvious that state supervision and aid was necessary. Agitation for state control, begun in 1911, resulted finally in the creation of the State Highway Department in 1917, an important pressure in this step being the Federal Aid Road Act in 1916, which would offer monetary assistance to states in their road-building if there were a state agency to receive and account for the funds. Since it soon seemed apparent that the counties would not or could not support their parts in road maintenance, this function, too, was taken over by the Highway Department on January 1, 1924. The Federal Highway Act of 1921 also contributed to the growing centralization of the functions of highway building and maintenance when the federal government agreed to bear half the expense of building and maintaining 7 percent of the state's total road mileage. The stipulation was, however, that the State Highway Department must have complete control of roads in order for them to qualify for aid. An early height in the improvement program was reached under the departmental chairmanship of Ross Sterling in 1928-30, who "took Texas out of the mud."¹⁶

Lubbock kept abreast of this development. By the late twenties there were highways out of Lubbock in seven directions. On them, highway markers were located every five miles for a hundred miles in every direction except toward Bledsoe, where they were placed to seventy miles. Also signs were erected to warn the drivers of impending curves and turns.¹⁷ More importantly, a paving campaign commenced in the late summer and fall of 1928, when the Good Roads Association inaugurated a program of advertisement and education to bring public realization of the need for improving the im-

portant county roads as well as paving the state highways. Engineers were engaged to make estimates on the expense and extent of this work, and other people were dispatched through the whole county to tend people favorably toward a bond election planned for November 15. The county expected to have to put up about \$2,000,000 for the task; even so, the cost would be split three ways, with the county sharing the cost with the state and federal governments. The roads to be paved were Number 9 (Plainview-Tahoka), Number 7 (Shallowater-Slaton), and Number 53 (Idalou-Brownfield). Other roads to be improved were the road east through Canyon and Acuff; Slaton to Woodrow; and Slaton through Idalou to the county line toward Petersburg. To spur the residents on in this bond issue, attention was called to the fact that other communities in the area were several years ahead of Lubbock County, but that this would go a long way toward bringing the county up to date.¹⁸

The campaign to win this first great bond issue of \$2,004,000 in the election of December 1, 1928, was waged by the Lubbock Good Roads Committee consisting of J. A. Rix, chairman, Roger Q. Pierce, E. L. Klett, S. A. Wells, B. Sherrod, and G. P. Kuykendall. Their principal argument was the necessity of the city to keep its road building program in line with growth in other directions—that the same drive and force in the community which had seen the coming of Texas Technological College, the Ft. Worth and Denver Railroad, and 187 wholesale houses in Lubbock for area distribution should be demonstrated in improving the non-rail vehicular traffic in the vicinity. This type of argument, noted in the Lubbock *Avalanche* and in the official publication of the board of city development, suggested a strong opposition to the bond issue. The opponents were powerfully aligned against it; the bond issued failed, largely because of the reluctance of the people in Lubbock to help finance sixty-five miles of roads in the county not directly serving the city.¹⁹

Immediately, a petition was circulated and signed praying that the county commissioners court issue a call for another bond election on January 12, 1929, to raise \$1,000,000 for a more modest proposal. This program included the same basic roads as the previous program, less sixty-seven miles of county roads. Again Highways 7, 9, and 53 would be paved, as well as the new highway—Number 14—to Levelland, and the road from Idalou north toward Silverton.²⁰ But again this effort failed, and the boosters of paved roads and Lubbock's improvement determined to qualify a third election. Petitions were circulated again; once more an election was set, this time for the pavement of all the state and federal highways in Road District No. 2 of Lubbock County. Again there was promotion of the cause by the Lubbock County Good Roads Association under the leadership of its new chairman, Charles F. O'Neal. The third time was the charm; on December 17, 1929, road bonds to the amount of \$991,000 were voted with a 5 to 1 majority for the purpose as stated.²¹

Once cleared, the paving could commence. The first leg was the Lubbock-Slaton part of Highway 7, begun in May 1930 and completed on October 14. To celebrate the event there occurred what was called a "good will feast."²² By the fall of 1931, fifty miles of paving had been completed.²³ Still to be immediately accomplished, however, was the paving of No. 13, west toward Levelland, and the designation as a state highway and paving of the road stretching from the county line northward through Slaton and Idalou and Becton to Petersburg.²⁴ These and other developments were impaled by the depression, however, and the little that was accomplished in the way of paving was done under the aegis of the WPA. Meanwhile, a significant step in highway centralization had been taken when the state in 1932 authorized one cent of the gasoline tax per gallon to be used in retiring counties' bonded indebtedness; and the state would assume responsibility for

paving and maintaining the state and federally-designated highways.²⁵

Before any great growth could take place in highway construction, as the depression eased, World War II broke out and absorbed the energies and interests of the people.²⁶ After the war, materials and funds were unlocked again for the improvement of roads. The need was urgent; maintenance and construction both had fallen behind. Early in 1945 members of the city commission and the county commissioners court made a trip to Austin to confer with the state highway authorities about improvement of the highways in the vicinity of Lubbock. The state policy with respect to routing through and around cities by this time had changed. Rather than by-passing cities with through traffic, the new plan called for dividing the passenger and commercial traffic before it reached the city, sending it through the city on various routes, and collecting it on the other side. Conforming to this idea, traffic survey engineers were in Lubbock in March 1945 estimating its needs. They concluded that Nineteenth Street, Fourth Street, Avenue Q, and Avenue A were the logical arteries through the city, with Fourth and A destined to carry the major commercial traffic. In order to break this traffic safely into the proper patterns, traffic circles and clover-leaves on all four sides of the city would be required. The necessity of purchasing about nine miles of right-of-way in the city and thirty-six miles outside the city limits was involved, with total expenditures to approximate three million dollars. The dispersal system — a ten year program — was approved with the passage of a bond issue in December 1945, authorizing the sale of bonds to the sum of a million dollars. By May 1947 the first contracts were let, and improvements were begun on Q and Nineteenth, and a new road was constructed to Idalou.²⁷

By the time this phase of the work was completed in January 1949, plans were under way on other stages of the program. These included extending Nineteenth Street eastward

to intersect with an extension of Broadway; widening Highway 84 from College Avenue to Shallowater; constructing a freeway across the campus of Texas Technological College to connect with State Highway 29; extending Fourth Street eastward to intersect with the Idalou Highway and Avenue Q northward to connect with Highway 87; building new roads to connect the traffic circle to the south of the city with the Slaton road in a southeasterly direction; and finally, a loop to surround the city, thereby making for the easiest possible traffic patterns through and around the city. All but the loop were completed by the spring of 1956, and work on this aspect of it—a project envisioning an expenditure of about \$20,000,000, the city bearing about \$1,200,000 of that cost—is in progress.²⁸

The story of highway improvement is not complete without mention of the farm-to-market roads. These rural roads, that is, those not designated as federal or state highways and designed for local use primarily, came under the supervision of the Highway Department on January 1, 1947, with the federal government sharing the costs of upkeep. Since that time many of the old county roads have been repaired and new ones built.²⁹

While improvement of the highways was underway, the modernization of the city traffic system was not overlooked. The beginning of the paving program has been noted earlier.³⁰ The Panhandle Construction Company had paved the first streets in 1920-1921—twenty blocks in the vicinity of the courthouse. Another surge was felt when the possibility of the location of Texas Technological College in Lubbock developed. A new bond issue in 1923 extended the scope of the paving enterprise (and accompanying storm sewers) until in 1927 the city boasted of 156 blocks of paving aggregating nearly 12 miles, with work on 14 additional blocks in progress. As in previous projects, construction consisted of laying bricks on a concrete base. The following year more paving was un-

dertaken, primarily to reach the new Fort Worth and Denver railroad depot. The Panhandle Construction Company was allowed \$113,316.45 for additional paving in 1928 and by January 1, 1930, there were 266 blocks and 14 blocks of alleys paved—a total of 16.35 miles.³¹ Since that time paving has been regularly continued as the need has arisen, until by mid-1958 there were 320 miles of paved and 120 miles of unpaved streets representing an investment of \$11,000,000.³²

A major development in the early days was the building of the underpass for automobile traffic under the Santa Fe railroad on east Broadway. This project was completed in July 1929 at a cost of \$200,000—one-ninth of the cost borne by the county, two-ninths by the state, and two-thirds by the railroad and the city equally.³³ Shortly thereafter the underpass at Avenue H was constructed. Another step in aiding both pedestrian and motorist was the installation of the first traffic lights a week before Christmas, 1927; with obvious satisfaction and relief, the officers noted that the motorists and pedestrians were observing them well.³⁴ The new traffic light system to correspond with the growth of highways coming through the city, was placed in operation in August 1947.

It might be noted here that the highway and street growth corresponded with the increasing number of vehicles on them. Though the rails had been primary in their economic influence in the community, and were to continue so, still, the highways began taking on more of the transportation responsibility.

In the area of freight, a need had always existed. In the days before the rails, the responsibility for moving goods fell upon the doughty old mule skimmers and teamsters who felt lucky if they made the trip from Ft. Worth to Lubbock in a month.³⁵ The trains changed that. Goods could now be imported rapidly from anywhere in the United States. But with the improvement of both highways and trucks, goods began to flow over the roads again. By 1947 there were fourteen motor freight

lines in the city, carrying over five hundred tons out of the city every day in more than fifty vans and many other types of vehicles. Direct service had been established throughout Texas and to many points in surrounding states. And through connections at various points, goods could be transhipped to any address in the United States.³⁶ By 1958 there were twelve freight lines serving as common carriers, and of these, one has local central offices—TIME, Inc., founded by Arno R. Dalby.³⁷

A public passenger service has not been ignored on the road systems. Busses were in Lubbock as early as 1905, when, we are told, Rollie Burns and F. E. Wheelock started a short-lived bus system to Plainview. Bus service became more important by the 1920's; in 1928 Lubbock busses were carrying passengers from Union Bus Terminal in and out of Lubbock on schedules covering 6782 miles daily. An indication of the rising importance of the city as a center of this type of operation is the location in it of the West Texas and East New Mexico Bus Owners' Association headquarters. Furthermore, in 1928 the Texas Railroad Commission, to which control of the operation of the busses in the state had recently been given, met in Lubbock to hear twenty-six cases having to do with the bus lines in West Texas.³⁸

One of the first of the bus lines in the '20's was the South Plains Coaches, Inc., of Garnett Abbott, running west from Lubbock with stops between Lubbock and Bledsoe, and having a certificate of "convenience and necessary" between the former and Sweetwater. Two daily trips to Levelland and once daily beyond that was the schedule of this bus line begun in 1928. Joe W. Bowman, from Dallas, and R. C. Bowen of Fort Worth in 1929 acquired the Abbott line. Bowman was elected president and Bowen became vice president. By 1934 they proceeded to buy out other companies, organizing the South Plains Motor Coaches, Inc. Three years later another line was organized when the McMakin Motor Coach Co.

merged with the Red Star Coaches to form McMakin Motor Coaches, Inc. Generally speaking, the South Plains line ran from Lubbock to Big Spring, Sweetwater, San Angelo, Clovis, Levelland, Morton, Amarillo, and Wichita Falls. The McMakin company operated from Lubbock to Vernon, Floydada to Clovis through Plainview, and Lubbock to Odessa, Hobbs, and Carlsbad. These two lines became the Texas, New Mexico and Oklahoma Bus Lines, Inc., with a merger in 1939. Its station in the city was in the Hotel Lubbock Building. In 1947 the operation was transferred to 13th Street, where it remained until June 1956 when the new terminal, built at a cost of \$300,000, was opened at 1313 13th Street. The general offices of the lines are located there. In 1958 it was reported that 490,000 passengers were carried on the busses.³⁹

Municipal bus systems have long been (and have been a more important) part of the transportation of the citizenry. The first such system was ordered by the city council to correspond with the opening of the college when R. C. Bowen and associates were given the operating franchise on September 10, 1925. On their first arrival, incoming students were to have their hand baggage carried free from the railroad station to the campus.⁴⁰ But as everything else in Lubbock was growing, the municipal bus system was weakening; in fact, Lubbock, according to a report by Philadelphia transportation engineers, was almost unique in that it had grown up without dependence on a public municipal transportation system.⁴¹ First, night service was abandoned; then Sunday service; and finally, by the Spring of 1959, Albert Fortenberry of the Lubbock Bus Company announced that his company would be unable to maintain service after March 31. Increasing expenses and declining revenues made this step necessary.⁴²

Great efforts were made by the city to keep the busses in operation; appeals were made for contributions for the purpose; and the old bus company agreed to run the lines until a new company could be located to take the franchise. So

it was that the American Transit Company of St. Louis, Missouri, assumed operations through a subsidiary, Lubbock Transit Company, on June 1, 1960.⁴³

As it did in the case of other forms of transportation, Lubbock determined to be in the van of the new airline industry when that mode became available. Talk of bringing air transportation to the city and building an airport to accommodate it, sprang up in many quarters during the middle twenties, but it was not until 1928 that active, concerted interest and action was shown. In that year the airport committee of the board of city development was coming to a conclusion as to the best means of getting an airport built. Two trips, for instance, were taken in 1928 to Fort Worth by Mayor H. D. Woods and Chairman Benson to talk with A. P. Barrett, considered an authority on airplanes. Barrett visited Lubbock with planes, and, giving rides to many "nonbelievers," was able to convert them to the practicality of air travel.⁴⁴ A temporary landing field was therefore arranged. Meanwhile, members of the airport committee were seeking a permanent site for an airport, asking for an area of land within five miles of the city and with good highway connections with the city. The following June an airport location was recommended by the new committee; and in July the city received title to a section of land five miles north on the Plainview highway, paying \$62.50 an acre for it. With that, the airport committee was renamed the aviation committee and asked to continue to serve.⁴⁵

Arrangements were begun immediately for preparing the airport. Improvements were begun in January; Mayor Woods announced after a meeting of the city commission on January 4 that: "With improvement work started on the airport here, Lubbock will be placed in the limelight as a progressive and air-minded city. We will make every effort, when this work has been completed, to get Lubbock designated as a stop on

some airline. Rapid strides are expected in the field of aviation in 1930 and we want to get in on the ground floor."⁴⁶

In order to build this airport, it was necessary to raise the needed capital through bond sales. The city commission, after recommendations of the Chamber of Commerce, had called for an election on a \$75,000 bond issue for April 23, 1929. The money was needed, it was argued, to purchase the tract of land necessary for the airport — not only for the moment, but for the expected development. The argument for the purchase of such a large tract was simply that other cities had planned their airports too small, resulting in costly enlargements of their land holdings after prices had gone up.⁴⁷ The bond issue passed.

The contract to improve the airport, including the building of a brick hangar 120 feet long by 80 feet wide, was let on June 17. It was felt, and rightly enough, that these improvements would expand the utility of the field, although it was already in use. In October it was completed. Another important step in Lubbock's history was accomplished, and Lubbock now boasted the largest airport in the Southwest.⁴⁸

During the depression the airplane business, as others, suffered. But throughout the period one of the most persistent pursuits was the effort to get the larger airlines working into and out of the city. According to reports, the first impressive effort in this direction came in April 1938, when the aviation committee was reorganized by the Chamber of Commerce. Now there were new aspects of the committee: airlines, air mail, airport improvements; and U.S. Army aviation. The chairman of this revitalized committee was C. E. Maedgen. Now it was but a short step to demonstrate the regional-mindedness of the community, when in May 1938 the Inter-City Aviation Committee was organized, on which people from Denver, Big Spring, San Angelo, and San Antonio, not to mention Colorado Springs and Pueblo, served. The purpose of this group was to recommend to Congress the desirability of plac-

ing air mail service along the route between Denver and San Antonio; an application to that effect was taken by the committee personally to Washington. And a municipal aviation board was created by the city commission, composed of A. F. Holt, R. F. Hinchey, and Doyle Settle.⁴⁹

It seemed as though events were moving to break the flood-gates of aviation to Lubbock. For one thing, the government was stepping up its interest in air travel owing to pressing needs of the defense program, though this was not made obvious in the news released. Too, air travel and transportation had made several marked improvements, and resistance to this form of activity was lessening, bowing to the sentiment always present in Lubbock to "do it quicker and do it better." Many applications came before the Civil Aeronautics Board in 1938 asking for connections into West Texas, the most impressive at the moment being the Braniff Airways, which wanted to connect Laredo with Denver through San Antonio, San Angelo, Big Spring, Lubbock, Amarillo, Pueblo, and Colorado Springs. Other companies with similar plans were Transworld Airways, Essair, Inc., Continental Airlines (omitting Lubbock), and American Airlines. When the hearings were held during the winter of 1938, Lubbockites in the persons of C. E. Maedgen, A. B. Davis, manager of the Chamber of Commerce, and H. Burton-Lewis were on hand to urge any of the applications that would give Lubbock a north-south service.⁵⁰

There was no immediate success with the CAB in obtaining routes through Lubbock. In 1943 (May) the board rejected the applications of Braniff, TWA, and Essair to operate their lines through Lubbock because it would be necessary to allow them to acquire new equipment, which was not available to the civilian lines at that time owing to the war. It is worth noting, however, that the board recognized that "a substantial public interest would be served by the establishment of air service to Lubbock and San Angelo and those cities are entitled to the benefits of that mode of transportation." Further-

more, the applications of Braniff and TWA were rejected because of "competition with existing lines within 125 to 150 miles."⁵¹

July of 1943 saw the Braniff organization and American Airlines again working to obtain routes through the city. On July 7, the American application was entered with the CAB for an east-west stop; in June of the following year Braniff reopened its efforts, and on May 9 of that year received the necessary rights. Other companies, including one of the original ones, Essair, received permission, but for one reason or another, usually financial problems, did not get an airline started. Continental Airlines, however, was successful and was authorized on May 18, 1945, to introduce service to Lubbock.⁵²

To Braniff Airways, however, fell the honor of being the first of the airlines serving Lubbock. July 1, 1945, was the important day, and a grand celebration was planned for the event, including locating sixty old-timers who had watched the first train puff into Lubbock in 1909. Thirty visiting dignitaries of the Braniff company added to the occasion with speeches and their presence, with Charles A. Beard, vice president of the company, making the principal address. The year 1945 also saw the beginning of the Essair operation. Though it carried only freight it had the honor of being one of the first so-called "local feeder service" lines in the country. Continental Airlines was to begin its service in March of the following year, while Pioneer Airlines inaugurated its service in February 1947.⁵³

The battle was not over for rights to bring air transportation to Lubbock. In April 1948 Captain Eddie Rickenbacker of Eastern Airlines publicized his company's plans for a proposed southern route across the United States which would stretch from San Juan, Puerto Rico, through Miami, New Orleans, Houston, San Antonio, to Los Angeles and San Francisco. It would be necessary, therefore, to have a landing schedule in Lubbock. During this same period the Braniff peo-

ple were making plans for extension of service from Lubbock, while Pioneer (which was the old Essair Company) wanted to extend to El Paso and certain places in New Mexico. Another large national company, Delta Airlines, was making application with the Civil Aeronautics authorities for a route through Lubbock to the West Coast; Continental wanted to expand to the Pacific; and Western Airlines petitioned for permission to enter Lubbock with service from the northwest.⁵⁴ But none of these were successful, and litigation continues at this time with Delta and Eastern for outlets through Lubbock to the west coast.

Meanwhile, the physical aspects of the airport were not ignored; those lines serving Lubbock needed the best in improvements. The first improvement was the paving of the runways, with a \$340,000 project shared jointly by the WPA and the city of Lubbock. Runways more than a mile long and 150 feet wide were asphalted and completed in early fall of 1941. This seemed enough for the time. But phenomenal progress in air navigation during World War II made necessary an enlargement of the facilities; and in 1947 the federal government allocated \$100,000 for those improvements, including a modern administration building. Part of the government's willingness to help finance improvements was that it had taken over and maintained the airfield as the South Plains Army Airfield, a glider base, and as an ordnance depot from 1942 to 1946, not finally releasing it to Lubbock until January 1949. The city's part of this new investment in progress would be the \$300,000 voted on a bond issue in 1945 for the purpose. The new building, constructed after the South Plains Army Airfield was returned to the city, and costing \$358,559, was dedicated in February 1949, and the control tower was opened in October 1950.⁵⁵

Briefly, such is the story of transportation in Lubbock. Truly "Cow trails to Sky trails," the slogan of the celebration of fifty years of "cityhood," is peculiarly apt when one con-

siders the great advances made in transportation during this period.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The term "Hub of the Plains," according to one story, resulted from a contest seeking a motto for the city in which the late Louie F. Moore won five dollars for suggesting it.

² Above, 117-119; S. G. Reed, *A History of the Texas Railroads* (Houston, 1941), 300-302.

³ *Ibid.*, 303.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 303-304; *The Hub* (official publication of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce and Board of City Development, hereinafter cited as *Hub*), December 1928, p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 1928, p. 6.

⁶ W. D. Jeter, *The Fort Worth and Denver South Plains Railway* (MA thesis, Texas Technological College, 1948), 40-45; Reed, *Texas Railroads*, 400. The Fort Worth and Denver line between those cities had been completed in 1888.

⁷ *Hub*, November 1927, p. 6; January 1928, p. 7, Jeter, *Fort Worth and Denver Railway*, 59-61. The Lubbock Railroad Committee included Chairman O. L. Slaton, Sam Arnett, C. E. Maedgen, J. O. Jones and R. W. Blair.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 67, 79-81.

⁹ *Hub*, November 1928, p. 5; Jeter, *Fort Worth and Denver Railway*, 86. The quotation is from the latter source.

¹⁰ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, January 2, 1953; April 12, 1953; May 24, 1954; February 5, 1955. A furor was created in 1954 when the Santa Fe announced the discontinuance of the passenger train to Amarillo for January 1, 1955. Official and unofficial protest effected a recantation; service was continued, and with the Lubbock Streamliner.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1952; January 19, 1954; Guy Southern, Burlington freight agent, Lubbock station, to David M. Vigness, interview, November 23, 1960.

¹² Myra Ann Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock, 1891-1909* (MA thesis, Texas Technological College, 1941), 3-4.

¹³ *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

¹⁴ Interview with J. B. Jones, Lockney, June 28, 1937, cited in Perkins, *Pioneer Lubbock*, 19-20.

¹⁵ *Reminiscences of Judge George A. Bean*, July, 1947, as taken from a copy loaned to Dr. S. V. Connor, October 21, 1959, in Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas.

¹⁶ Rupert Norval Richardson, *Texas: The Lone Star State* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1958), 352-356.

¹⁷ *Hub*, November 1927, p. 2. A committee of the Chamber of Commerce, including G. P. Kuykendall, J. A. Rix, and B. Sherrod performed this service. The Board of City Development had approved this action.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, September 1928, p. 1. The officers of the Good Roads Association were Jed A. Rix, Lubbock, president; Lloyd A. Wilson, Slaton, secretary; and E. T. Daniels, Idalou; P. C. Calley, Shallowater; J. T. Overby, Slaton;

M. T. Daniels, Wolfarth; and P. G. Stokes, Slaton. The rate of growth of automobile ownership in Lubbock County is indicated by these figures found in the *Texas Almanac* of the respective years: 7,456 in 1925; 18,582 in 1940; 47,077 in 1950; and in 1959, 81,820 license plates were sold. The last figure is from information supplied by the Automobile Division in the Lubbock County Courthouse.

¹⁹ *Hub*, December 1928, p. 5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, December 1928, p. 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, April 1930, p. 7; March 1930, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.*, May 1930, p. 8; October 1930, p. 3.

²³ *Ibid.*, August 1931, p. 5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, March 1930, p. 1.

²⁵ *Hub*, March 1941, p. 2; *Texas Almanac*, 1933, pp. 182-183.

²⁶ Frank Ogle and Bruce Bryan, to D. M. Vigness, interview, April 20, 1960.

²⁷ *Hub*, May 1947, p. 2; January 1949, p. 2; *Avalanche-Journal* August 27, 1956.

²⁸ All but the final step noted were completed by 1960; work on the loop is in progress at this writing. *Avalanche-Journal*, September 7, 1958.

²⁹ *Texas Almanac*, 1947, p. 208; *Ibid.*, 1951, p. 270.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

³¹ *Hub*, November 1927, p. 3; September 1928, p. 8; February 1930, p. 6.

³² *Avalanche-Journal*, September 7, 1958.

³³ *Hub*, July 1929, p. 8.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, January 1928, p. 7.

³⁵ Perkins, Pioneer Lubbock, 18.

³⁶ *Hub*, February 1947, p. 7.

³⁷ *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

³⁸ *Hub*, June 1928, p. 8.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, October 1928, p. 4; *Avalanche-Journal*, June 16, 1956; July 26,

1959.

⁴⁰ City Council Minutes, September 23, 1926. Ordinance 354 granted the bus franchise to W. H. Izard. In February 1935 the franchise was shifted to J. T. Maynard of Plainview and R. E. L. Farmer of Lubbock; in October 1936 it went to R. E. L. Farmer and Ray Farmer; and in October 1940 the transfer of the franchise was made to J. A. Fortenberry and Ray Farmer. (City Council Minutes, February 23, 1935; October 22, 1936; October 31, 1940).

⁴¹ *Avalanche-Journal*, March 15, 1959. The report cited was one made by the firm of Simpson & Curtin on April 1, 1957.

⁴² *Ibid.*, March 7, 1956; March 15, 1959.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1959; May 1, 1959; June 5, 1960.

⁴⁴ H. D. Woods to David M. Vigness, interview, June 9, 1960. The committee members were George E. Benson, Charles A. Guy, Joe Dick Slaughter, Roscoe Wilson, and John Dalrymple.

⁴⁵ *Hub*, September 1928, p. 6; June 1929, p. 3; July 1929, p. 3. The new committee was composed of Benson, T. B. Duggan, and Dr. E. F. George.

⁴⁶ Quoted in *Hub*, January 1930, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, March 1929, p. 1; *Avalanche-Journal*, August 26, 1956.

⁴⁸ *Hub*, October 1930, p. 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, August 1939, p. 8; December 1940, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 1943, p. 5.

⁵² *Ibid.*, July 1943, p. 2; August 1943, pp. 6-7; June 1944, p. 5; November 1944, p. 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, July 1945, p. 6; August 1945, p. 5.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, April 1948, p. 6; June 1948, p. 5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, July 1941, p. 7; November 1941, p. 2; November 1947, p. 6; February 1949, p. 3; *Avalanche-Journal*, August 26, 1956.

Part Three: THE CULTURAL EMERGENCE
OF LUBBOCK

Population Trends

Winfred G. Steglich

IT MAY SEEM strange to some readers of this volume that an essay on population composition and change should be included in a work entitled "A History of Lubbock." Such an essay does not deal with what is usually thought of as history. However, the inclusion of such a study in the history of a city is not at all out of place, for the composition of a community's population is a very sensitive index of the kind of community it is and of the forces which made it what it is.

The makeup of a community's population plays both a cause and an effect role in the life of the community. That is, the kinds of people who reside there both cause the community to be what it is, and they are there because the community is what it is. In any event, whether as cause or effect, one can gain insight into a community by studying its people from the point of view of population composition.

This point can be illustrated in many ways, and it will be illustrated in the body of this essay in the analysis of Lubbock's population characteristics, past and present. In a general way, however, and by way of introduction, a few of the more obvious relationships between social forms and population composition might be pointed out.

If a community's population contains a disproportionately large share of persons in the ages of dependency — those over sixty-five and those under twenty — it will have to provide for these economically non-productive segments of the population in the form of a variety of services, including schools, welfare departments, medical services, and possibly homes in which care can be made available to them. At the same time, the productive segment of the population — those in the twenty to forty-five, or twenty to sixty-five age group — will be disproportionately small. This small group must produce the taxable wealth out of which the above-mentioned services are provided. Thus, it can be seen that the age makeup of a population is a two-edged sword: proportionately, the fewer the producers, the greater the need for services for dependents, and, conversely, the more numerous the producers, the smaller the need for services for dependents. All other things being equal, then, a community with a concentration of numbers in the maximum productive ages (twenty to forty-five), will be richer than a comparable community with a more normal age makeup in its population.

Another illustration is the relationship between church participation and attendance, on the one hand, and the sex ratio,¹ on the other. In America — and throughout the Western World — religion seems to be women's business. Therefore, a community with a disproportionately large share of women can be expected to have more vital religious organizations than one with an excess of males. There are, of course, other factors which affect religious activity (for example, age, racial composition, class background, average educational level, availability of substitute activities, etc.), but the sex ratio is a basic factor. If all the above mentioned influences are equal, *then* the influence of the excess of women is clearly apparent.

It is the purpose of this essay to look at Lubbock's population historically, examining the changes that have occurred in order better to understand the contributions of population

development to Lubbock's status as the principal city of the South Plains. We shall look at three elements of Lubbock's population composition and the changes which have occurred in them: (1) the pattern of rapid growth; (2) age and sex composition; and (3) race and nativity composition. In the case of each of these aspects we shall compare Lubbock today with Lubbock in 1950, 1940, 1930, 1920, and 1910.² In the case of each of these factors, we shall discuss their significance in shaping Lubbock into its present position as one of America's one hundred largest cities which, nevertheless, has many characteristics of a western frontier town. We shall see that Lubbock is in many respects typical of the South Plains³ which it dominates, but that it is also in many other respects typical of America's metropolitan areas,⁴ regardless of region.

A preliminary word of caution is in order. Whereas the population data for the years 1910 to 1950 can be drawn from the decennial censuses of the United States, the data for 1960 are necessarily estimates. The Eighteenth Census of the United States (1960) is not available at the time of writing, although the enumerations were made five months before the final writing. Estimates — as many cities, including Lubbock, have learned to their sorrow and embarrassment — can vary greatly from an actual head count. Furthermore, estimates of specific elements in a population (e.g., Negroes, females, children under five, etc.), are much more subject to error than are estimates of the total population. It is to be hoped that the writer's estimates are more accurate than those made by the Chamber of Commerce when, in the first week of January 1960,⁵ they estimated the city's population to be 158,673, only to learn when the count of April 1, 1960, was revealed, that the city had 128,068 inhabitants, an error in excess of 23 percent.⁶

LUBBOCK'S PHENOMENAL GROWTH

Even though there was much embarrassment, and even some demand for a recount when the preliminary reports of

the census showed a city population of only 128,068 on April 1, 1960, Lubbock need bow its head to no other city in Texas when the fifty years of its incorporated existence are studied. Lubbock has grown from a village of 1938 inhabitants in 1910 to a metropolis of more than 130,000 inhabitants at present. This is an increase of sixty-six fold in a fifty year span. None of the twenty-one Texas cities which qualified as metropolitan areas in 1960 could come close to such a growth rate in the fifty year period. The nearest competitor, Midland, increased by only twenty-eight fold in the same time span.⁷ Only El Paso (108.6 per cent) and Amarillo (84.6 percent) had a larger proportionate increase in the decade 1950-1960 than Lubbock (78.5 percent).⁸ In the decade 1940-1950, Lubbock was America's second fastest growing metropolitan area, only Albuquerque, New Mexico, having a more rapid growth rate.⁹

The spectacular growth of Lubbock since 1910 can be dramatized in ways other than by presenting the commonly known statistics above. One can, for example, compare Lubbock's growth with that of the South Plains, the state of Texas, or the United States. While the population of the United States has almost exactly doubled since 1910, and that of the state of Texas has nearly tripled, Lubbock's population has increased by sixty-six fold. To put it another way, if Texas had grown at the Lubbock rate of growth in the past fifty years, there would be nearly 260 million Texans rather than 9½ million, a possibility too fantastic to contemplate. Or, if the United States had grown at Lubbock's rate, there would be nearly twelve billion United States citizens, more than four times as many as there are human beings in the world.

Not only has Lubbock's population growth been spectacular, but it has also been steady and uninterrupted. In no ten year period has the city's population increased by less than 50 percent. Only twice since incorporation has the increase been less than 100 percent (1930-40 when it was 55.2 percent,

TABLE I
Increase in Population of Lubbock, South Plains, Texas, and United States, 1910-1960 *

	LUBBOCK		SOUTH PLAINS		TEXAS		U. S. A.	
	Number	Percent Change	Number	Percent Change	Number	Percent Change	Number	Percent Change
1910	1,938	...	32,239	...	3,896,542	...	91,972,266	...
1920	4,951	109.0	64,974	100.1	4,663,228	19.7	105,710,620	15.7
1930	20,520	406.5	173,699	167.3	5,824,715	24.9	122,725,046	16.1
1940	31,853	55.2	193,983	11.7	6,414,824	10.1	131,669,275	7.2
1950	71,747	125.2	266,024	37.1	7,711,194	20.2	150,697,361	14.5
1960	128,068	78.5	341,398	28.3	9,502,206	23.2	179,500,000	19.1

* Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1910-1950, and Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, May 28, 1960.

and 1950-60 when the increase was 78.5 percent). The table on the preceding page summarizes these changes.

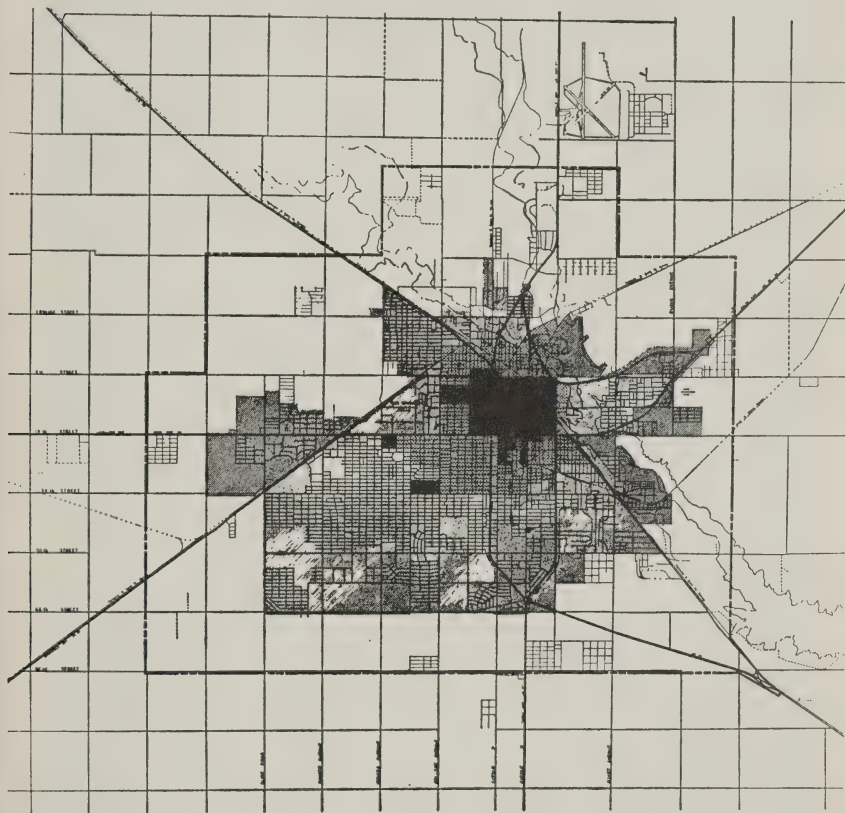
This uninterrupted growth is all the more striking when it is viewed against contemporaneous developments in the South Plains. The South Plains counties viewed as a group (there are individual exceptions) have consistently grown at a faster pace than the state of Texas or the United States (see Table One). However, during the decade of the 1930's, the increase was only 11.7 percent. Even in these drought years, Lubbock increased by 55.7 percent. Seven of the fourteen counties included in the South Plains¹⁰ lost population in this decade. Indeed, two of these counties are not much more populous today than they were in 1910.¹¹

In general, the city's land area has kept pace with the growth in population. Since its original incorporation in 1909 as a city of 2½ square miles of area (1628.94 acres),¹² the city limits have been changed 78 times. Figure 6¹³ shows growth in the area of the city of Lubbock through annexations to the city by decades. Of Lubbock's present 75.7 square miles of territory, 44.9 square miles were annexed in September 1958. There seems to be ample space for continued growth within the present boundaries of the city.

The two most frequently asked questions — for which nearly everyone wants answers and nearly as many think they have them — are: (1) why has Lubbock grown so rapidly, and (2) will such growth continue in the future? The writer does not have any special knowledge or competence which would make his answer better than other people's answers. Obviously, only two factors can cause a population to grow: (1) that births exceed deaths and (2) that more people move in than move out. Equally obviously, growth rates which average more than 100 percent per decade cannot be accounted for in terms of the excess of births over deaths. Therefore, even though Lubbock's crude birth rate is slightly higher than the average for the state of Texas (approximately

28 in 1958 compared with 26.2 for Texas), it would require a birth rate many times as high to account for an increase of 6600 percent in fifty years. No people can be that prolific!

Lubbock's rapid growth is obviously the result of migration to the city. Indeed, the Lubbock metropolitan area ranked third in the entire nation in migratory population change between 1940 and 1950.¹⁴



URBAN GROWTH
Lubbock, Texas

Legend

- incorporated area by decades
- 1909 to 1920
- 1920 to 1930
- 1930 to 1940
- 1940 to 1950
- 1950 to 6-26-58
- since 6-26-58



FIGURE 6.

Department of Planning

The remaining unanswered question then is, "Why do people migrate in such large numbers to Lubbock?" The answer lies in the attractive forces which pull them here, rather than to some alternative city, and in the expulsive forces which push them out of the places they leave behind. Since no systematic analysis of migrants to Lubbock has been made, we can only venture guesses and opinions regarding what attracts people here. It is quite clear from United States Census materials that the expulsive force is the continuing movement of people away from the farms and small communities to the bigger cities. The writer made a four month check of the column in the Sunday *Avalanche-Journal*¹⁵ which lists the names, addresses, and places of origin of the families who moved to Lubbock during the preceding week. He found that 980 families moved to Lubbock in that time, that nearly three-fourths of them were from other Texas communities, and that one-half of the total number of families came from the smaller communities in West Texas. If these 980 families are representative of the more than 3000 per year who have moved to Lubbock during the last ten years, it would suggest that the expulsive force is the agricultural revolution which is reducing the number of farmers, and the small town dwellers dependent on farming, in Texas and in the United States generally.

Another way to express this shift from the open country and small town population to the city, in Lubbock's case, is to compare the growth of the city of Lubbock with that of its hinterland. In 1910, the city of Lubbock represented six percent of the total population of the South Plains. By 1920, this percentage had increased to only 6.2, the South Plains growing almost as rapidly as the city of Lubbock (see Table One). Up to this time, growth in this part of Texas reflected the opening up of the area to agriculture. But from the 1920's onward, agricultural population declined as a proportion of the total. By 1930, Lubbock's population accounted for 11.8

percent of the total South Plains population. By 1940, this had become 16.4 percent; in 1950 it was 27.0 percent; and today it is 37.7 percent.

What are the attractive forces which cause migrants to come to Lubbock? Why don't they go to other alternative cities, such as Plainview, or Slaton, or even Amarillo? In a broad sense, the entire first volume of this *History of Lubbock* answers that question. To deal with it more specifically in this essay would require more space than has been allotted to it.

A report of the City Planning Commission¹⁶ presents an excellent analysis of the economic factors which have caused Lubbock to grow so rapidly. It is sufficient here to point out that there is no single factor responsible for it. Even all the economic factors lumped together do not singly account for it, for many people come here — as they do to cities of a similar kind, such as Austin — for non-economic reasons. That is, they come to allow their children to be educated in a superior school system; to permit their older children to go to college; to be in a city where cultural attractions of considerable variety are available (e.g., the West Texas Museum, Civic Lubbock, Little Theatre, Southwest Conference athletic programs); and so on.

Most, however, doubtless come for economic reasons. However, the economic reasons are plural, not singular. No single industry or economic service — not even agriculture — dominates the economy of the city. To an observer who is not himself a professional economist, Lubbock's economy seems to be basically a diversified service economy. It is the retail center of the South Plains, a 30,000 square mile area in West Texas and New Mexico. But it is also the wholesale center of an area twice as large as the retail area, including 51 counties in West Texas and New Mexico. Although this area is sparsely settled by comparison with the eastern part of the United States, the entire area is growing at a rate twice as rapid as

that of the United States. It is an area of nearly 65,000 square miles and includes a population of nearly 900,000 in 1960.

The question most commonly asked, both by residents of Lubbock and by those who have heard of the city's phenomenal growth, is: can it go on and, if so, for how long? It is the opinion of the author that it will continue, though the nearly fantastic rate of the past fifty years might be somewhat reduced. Simply because the growth of the past rests on a broad and diversified base rather than on a narrow or single base, the growth pattern can be expected to continue. The presence here of Texas Technological College, of Reese Air Force Base, and of a number of regional offices for private and public corporations and agencies (Veterans Administration, Internal Revenue Service, Southwestern Bell Telephone, Mobiloil, Swift and Company, to name only a few at random) would seem to provide a broad base for continued rapid growth. These and similar agencies bring families into Lubbock to carry on their agency work. For each such new family, five other families are needed to provide the services which these people demand. So long, then, as the economic picture is bright, expansion breeds expansion. Should a relatively severe contraction in the economy occur, however, none of the above observations would hold true. At the present, however, the growth of the city via in-migration continues; in the first eight months of 1960, the number of families moving to Lubbock numbered 2,428 compared with 1,959 in the same period of 1959, an increase of 24 percent.¹⁷

Although the growth of Lubbock has been very rapid from the beginning — and this is evidenced by the optimism of the early citizens regarding the future of the city,¹⁸ as well as by the “booster” spirit of the 1920's — there seemed to be a decline of this spirit during the 1930's and 1940's. Although the writer did not systematically canvass the *Avalanche* and the *Journal* during this entire period, systematic sampling of the newspapers reveals much less of this sort of thing in these

two decades. It was not until the 1950 reports of the United States Census began to point up Lubbock's spectacular growth in the preceding decade (the second fastest growing metropolitan area in the United States), that the "muscle flexing" kind of growth consciousness began to reappear. It was this excessive optimism regarding growth which led to the debacle of the 1960 estimates of population,¹⁹ including demands from some groups of citizens that the census do a recount when estimates proved to have been too high. The city fathers wisely refused to bow to such requests for demanding a recount of the Bureau of the Census.

Behind the optimism of the 1950's regarding future growth, however, was the frequently expressed fear that the irreplaceable water supply of the South Plains would not be sufficient to sustain such growth indefinitely into the future. It is true that since 1947 the water level in Lubbock County has dropped an average of thirty feet, as measured by the wells metered by the High Plains Underground Water Conservation District Number One.²⁰ However, 98 percent of this use is agricultural use. If one concludes that Lubbock's future is tied to agriculture completely, or primarily, then pessimism is justified. If, however, one projects the diversified basis of Lubbock's past growth, in which agriculture is only a part, into the future, one has reason to believe that much of the pessimism is not well-founded. It seems most unlikely that the area will become again the land "where the buffalo roam, and the deer and the antelope play." However, it seems equally unlikely that the city can enter the "million plus" category in another generation, as some citizens tell us that it will. The Lubbock City Commission's estimates of December 3, 1957 (280,000 by 1980, and 415,000 by the year 2000)²¹ seem to the writer to be not unreasonable and only a little too high.

A city which has grown as rapidly as Lubbock is affected by this growth in many ways. Most of these effects may be viewed as beneficial. Such cities tend to be wealthier, more

forward looking, less tradition-bound. These characteristics are due to the kind of people who typically migrate—the young, or those in the prime of life, who are ambitious and enterprising. These things will be looked at more specifically in the next section dealing with the age composition of the population.

At this point, however, there is one striking characteristic of Lubbock's social nature which seems obviously to be the product of its very rapid growth, and that is the lack of fixed social class lines. Once again, systematic research data are lacking; one can only offer impressionistic evidence. However, it is the opinion of many of the older inhabitants ("charter members" of the city, so to speak) that the emergence of social classes in Lubbock is a very recent (post-World War II) phenomenon.²² A sociologist watching the society pages of the local paper would find it difficult to delineate a true upper class. This is not to say that no classes, or class awareness, exist; it is rather to observe that the lines are still in the formative stages of delineation. It takes generations of time for privileged groups to become formalized in a community; Lubbock has existed for less than two generations. Also, in an expansive economic setting, new avenues to wealth and the social power which might accompany it, are continually providing challenges to the older and more established wealthy class. The first families who gained affluence in banking, for example, have been able to maintain their positions at the top through fifty years, but they have been joined by those who came in much more recently and who used avenues other than banking—for example, real estate, management, medicine—to reach the top.

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION

The age and sex composition of a population can best be presented by means of an age-sex pyramid (see Figure 7.)²³ As the label indicates, a "normal" population—that is, one

which is unaffected over several generations of time by fluctuations in its birth and death rates and which experiences no migration in or out—looks like a pyramid, or triangle. Males are represented in the left half of the pyramid, females in the right half. Age groups are represented—usually by five year categories—from the bottom to the top, from youngest (zero to four) at the base to oldest (seventy-five and over) at the apex of the pyramid. A trained observer, by careful scrutiny of such an age-sex pyramid, can tell at a glance whether the population has an excess of males or females, or an excess or deficiency in any age group. He can also tell whether there have been sharp fluctuations in the vital rates (birth and death) of the population, or whether migration in or out has been taking place.

Since the 1960 census data for the city of Lubbock are not available at the time of writing, a pyramid of Lubbock's present population, unfortunately, cannot be presented. The data of the 1950 census reports must be used instead. Since the accurate estimating of age and sex depends on an accurate knowledge of the total population under consideration, and since such accurate knowledge did not become available until quite recently, it has not been feasible to make precise estimates for recent years. There has been one such published estimate²⁴ in the last year, but there is good reason to have doubts about its accuracy and reliability.

Although 1950 materials are the latest accurate ones available, it is the writer's opinion that the 1960 census data will not show significant change from the 1950 data with respect to age and sex. Because the birth rate has been high throughout the decade (in Lubbock as in the United States generally), there has probably been a slight increase in the proportion of the population under ten years of age. Since there are more males than females in this age group (because approximately 106 boys are born for every 100 girls), the excess of males in the total population may be slightly greater in 1960 than in

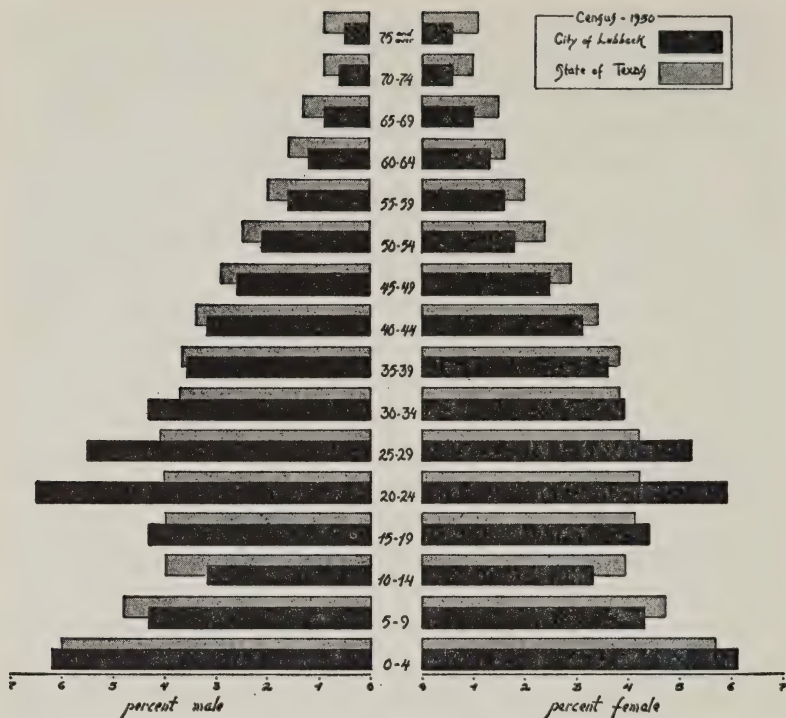


FIGURE 7: Age-sex pyramid, Lubbock and Texas, 1950.

1950. Since the birth rate of the 1930's was very low in the nation as a whole, the group aged twenty to thirty should be smaller than it was in the previous decade. However, in the Lubbock population, the natural deficit in the twenty to thirty group due to a low birth rate in the 1930's will be more than offset by the very high rate of migration into Lubbock, for it is this age group which is most migratory.²⁵

The two striking things about Lubbock's age-sex pyramid, as portrayed in Figure 7 are (1) the large surplus of people in the maximum ages of productivity, with a corresponding deficit in the older ages, and (2) the high sex ratio, especially in the age group twenty to forty.

The first feature is not difficult to account for. It is this age

group which makes up the bulk of the migrant stream from the farms and small towns to the cities. The cities are the beneficiaries of the manpower produced and reared in the rural parts of the nation. Rural America pays the costs of rearing them only to have them leave for the cities when they become old enough to contribute their energies to the development of the riches of the city. Lubbock has benefited in this way from the thousands of young men and women who have migrated here during the fifty years of its existence.

Accurate data on Lubbock's age makeup are available for only three decades — 1930, 1940, and 1950. In each of these years, the productive population (ages 20-64) of the city has been proportionately larger than that of the State of Texas or that of the South Plains. In 1930, 57.7 percent of Lubbock's population was in this category, whereas only 49 percent of the South Plains' population was in the productive ages; in 1940, the figures were, respectively, 62.9 percent and 54.2 percent; in 1950, 57.9 percent and 52.4 percent, respectively. If this comparison of Lubbock and the South Plains is expressed as a ratio — the number of Lubbock's population in the productive category per 100 productive persons in the South Plains — the ratio is 117 in 1930, 116 in 1940, and 114 in 1950. If one compared only the population in the *maximum* productive ages (20-45), the excess of producers in Lubbock would be even more striking. This is singularly evident from Figure 7, in which Lubbock's population is compared with the Texas population in 1950.

The dependent population consists of two parts, namely, the old (those over sixty-five) and the young (those under twenty). A glance at Figure 7 indicates that the deficit of dependents in Lubbock's population is not accounted for by a deficit of the young, for they are almost as large a proportion in Lubbock as in the state of Texas, but in the aging and aged. Only 4 percent of Lubbock's total population is over sixty-five years old, while in the state as a whole, approxi-

mately 8 percent are over sixty-five. This relative proportion has existed since 1920; in each of the census reports since 1920, Lubbock's proportion over sixty-five has been approximately half of that in the Texas population, and approximately four-fifths of that in the South Plains population.

The significance of this age distribution, with its heavy concentration in the productive years, is both economic and social. Lubbock's much higher than average family income²⁶ in large part reflects this fact. Also, the forward-looking, "booster" spirit which has been characteristic of most of Lubbock's history reflects its youthfulness, for young people are typically still "on the make," whereas older people typically are interested in defending that which they have made during their productive years. Furthermore, the superior quality of various social and public services in this city also reflects the predominance of this age group in its population.

The other characteristic—the unusually high sex ratio, especially in the age group twenty to thirty-five—is not easily accounted for. Typically, cities have more females than males in the population, while rural populations have an excess of males. Generally speaking, only cities whose major economic base is extractive industry, or heavy industry, tend to have surpluses of males. Conversely, cities whose economic base is light industry, or wholesale and retail distribution of goods, generally have a considerable surplus of females in the productive ages, for young women are needed to shuffle and file the billions of pieces of paper which make possible the distribution of goods in our society. Since Lubbock is the wholesale and retail center for the South Plains, it comes as something of a surprise to discover that males outnumber females by a considerable margin in these age groups in Lubbock's population.

A comparison of Lubbock's sex ratio (the number of males per 100 females) with that of the state and with that of Amarillo, a city comparable in size, geographic location, and growth pattern, is presented in the following table. A ratio

of Lubbock's and Texas' sex ratio is also presented in this table (column four); that is, the Lubbock surplus or deficit of males in comparison with the sex ratio of the state's population is presented in terms of an even sex ratio (100) for the state in column four of this table. This column indicates that Lubbock has a surplus of males, in comparison with the state norm, in ages 20-54 and 65 and over, and that the surplus is greatest in the age group 20-34.

TABLE 2
Sex Ratio by Five Year Age Categories
Lubbock, Texas, and Amarillo

	¹ <u>Lubbock</u>	² <u>Texas</u>	³ <u>Amarillo</u>	⁴ <u>Ratio of Lubbock to Texas</u>
0-4	101.3	104.0	101.7	98.6
5-9	99.1	103.2	101.7	98.2
10-14	99.3	102.1	94.8	97.1
15-19	96.7	105.4	104.6	94.2
20-24	110.0	97.4	83.1	112.9
25-29	106.1	97.1	92.7	109.3
30-34	109.3	97.9	99.2	111.6
35-39	99.5	97.1	96.0	102.5
40-44	103.0	100.0	96.0	103.0
45-49	105.7	99.9	101.5	105.8
50-54	102.8	101.4	107.9	101.4
55-59	98.5	101.1	99.5	97.4
60-64	98.3	100.1	95.9	98.2
65-69	89.4	89.3	88.6	100.1
70-74	100.0	91.5	77.4	109.3
75+	92.1	86.1	71.3	107.0

Another way to indicate the uniqueness of Lubbock's surplus of males is to compare it with other cities in the state. In 1950, there were twenty cities in Texas with a population of more than 25,000. Only two besides Lubbock had a surplus of males, namely, Wichita Falls and Odessa. Wichita Falls had one of the highest sex ratios of any city in the United States (132.5), but this is easily accounted for by the fact that Shep-

pard Field, an Air Force installation, is included in the count. Odessa, with a sex ratio of 105.2, is based upon a basic extractive industry, oil, which selects males in disproportionate numbers.

How, then, is this feature to be explained in Lubbock's case? The location of Texas Technological College in Lubbock, with its preponderance of male students,²⁷ might account for some of the surplus of males in the 20-24 age group, but it does not account for the equally large surplus in the age groups 25-29 and 30-34. Furthermore, it should produce a surplus in the 15-19 group, where, as the above table indicates, females are in surplus. The fact that Lubbock is an agricultural center might account for some of the surplus of young males. Also, the very rapid growth of building construction probably is a contributing factor. The fact that such industry as exists in Lubbock is largely based on the processing of agricultural products contributes to the male surplus. However, none of these contributing factors is a sufficient explanation of this unique feature of Lubbock's population. Lacking more precise information, one can only point out that it exists, without adequately accounting for it.

Whatever its cause, its economic effect is clear. Young males produce most of the taxable wealth of a population, and Lubbock is fortunate to be unique in this respect.

NATIVITY, RACE, AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION

When Lubbock was incorporated as a city in 1909, it was a community composed almost entirely of native-born Anglo-Saxon whites. There were apparently no Negroes or Latin Americans in the city, although there have been Latin Americans in the county and in the region²⁸ since before the days of Anglo settlement.

Although data are not available for the city of Lubbock in the 1910 census, there were very few foreign-born whites in the city in 1920, the census year in which the city was large

enough to be reported separately from the county. The table below presents a summary picture of nativity and race for the four census reports from 1920 to 1950, inclusive.

TABLE 3
Race and Nativity of Lubbock Population,
1920-1950

	<i>Total Pop.</i>		<i>Foreign-born White</i>		<i>Negro</i>		<i>Other Races</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Native White Number %</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
1920	4,051	3,922 96.8	66	1.6	63	1.6	..	
1930	20,520	19,114 93.1	305	1.5	1,100	5.4	1	
1940	31,853	29,364 92.2	255	0.8	2,229	7.0	5	
1950	71,747	64,820 90.4	669	0.9	6,229	8.7	29	

It will be seen from this table that only 1.6 percent of the total population (66 persons) were foreign-born whites in 1920, some of whom were doubtless of Mexican origin. In the same year 1.6 percent of the total were Negroes (63 persons). There were no persons of "other races" (Orientals and American Indians) in the city in 1920. Latin Americans can not be estimated since the census did not report separately on that population group in 1920. In short, nearly 97 percent of the city's population were native-born Anglos in 1920.

Lubbock has continued down to the present to be a city composed predominantly of native white residents. 1960 data are not available. However, as the table above shows, by 1950 the foreign-born whites in the city were only 0.9 percent of the total (669 persons). From the 1950 census report on persons who have Spanish surnames,²⁹ it is evident that at least 278 of these 669 (41 percent) were of Mexican origin. If these are not counted with the foreign-born whites, then only 0.5 percent of the 1950 Anglo population were foreign-born.

The table also indicates, however, that the proportion of the native white population had decreased from nearly 97 percent in 1920 to slightly over 90 percent in 1950. This de-

crease would be even greater if the Latin Americans were not counted with the native-born whites; if this group is counted separately, the native white Anglos represented approximately 86 percent of the population in 1950. This decrease is due to the rapid growth of the Negro and the Latin American elements in the city in the thirty year period under consideration. Negroes increased from 1.6 percent (63 persons) in 1920 to 8.7 percent (6229 persons) during this period. Latin Americans increased from approximately 100 persons (less than two percent) to 3193 persons (4.5 percent) in the period.

It is clear that the two minority groups in Lubbock have increased very rapidly since the founding of the city. They have, in fact, increased from none of either group in 1909 to substantial proportions in 1950. Proportionately, they have been increasing much more rapidly in Lubbock than they have in the state of Texas. The Negro proportion of the Texas population reached its highest point in 1920, when almost 20 percent of the state was Negro. In 1950 they made up only 12.8 percent of the state's population. In Lubbock, by contrast, they increased from 1.6 percent to 8.7 percent of the total. Latin Americans in Texas increased from 11.7 percent in 1930 (the only year in which they were enumerated separately) to 13.4 percent in 1950 (when the census gave a breakdown of population by Spanish surname). In Lubbock they increased from 3.5 percent (720 persons) to 4.5 percent (3193 persons) in the same period.

With respect to its race and nativity composition, the city of Lubbock is very much like the region and the state in which it is located. It is unlike the typical American city, for most of the approximately ten percent of the United States population which is foreign-born resides in our cities today.³⁰ In 1950, 96.8 percent of the white population of Texas was native-born, and if one eliminates the 188,000 born in Mexico, 99.3 percent of the white Anglos were native-born. In Lub-

bock, the native-born Anglos represented 99.5 percent of the Anglo population.

Since no 1960 data are available on these groups in Lubbock, estimates only can be presented. With the generous and capable help of the City Planning Commission and the Lubbock Superintendent of Schools,³¹ the writer has arrived at the following estimates: 11,000 Latin Americans, or 8.6 percent of the total population, and 9600 Negroes, or 7.5 percent of the total. If these estimates are correct, then the Negroes have decreased slightly as a proportion of the total in the last decade (from 8.7 to 7.5 percent) while the Latin Americans have increased very rapidly during the decade (from 4.5 to 8.6 percent).

Lubbock is not only geographically a part of the state and region in which it is located, but culturally also. Its attitudes on racial and ethnic matters are essentially southern attitudes; that is, segregation of the racially different elements is almost complete, but, as is the case in much of the border South, the segregation pattern is not absolute and it seems to be crumbling a bit in some respects. Since Negroes and Latin Americans are the only minorities, there being no "in-between" groups of recent foreign ancestry as is the case in most northern cities, the cleavage between the groups is much more noticeable than in those cities in which minority groups range on a continuum from the least visible to most visible, and from older arrivals to most recent arrivals. In short, the problem of the southern and southwestern minorities is not only that they are quite numerous, but that they have no company in their minority status. Conversely, the majority group is uniform and united in Lubbock and in the South, whereas it is not in most northern cities. However, as will be shown in the following pages, the treatment of the minorities and the attitudes toward them are much less harsh than they were a generation ago.

The segregation of both Negroes and Latin Americans in terms of residence is quite clear to anyone who knows the city.

Almost all of the Negroes reside in the area south of 19th Street and east of Avenue A. Their area of residence is not much larger than it was in 1940, when only 2229 Negroes resided in Lubbock, although the Negro population has increased by fourfold since then. The residential segregation of the Latin Americans is not nearly as fixed as is that of the Negroes. They reside primarily in the area north of Fourth Street and west of Mackenzie Park, but there are significant numbers in the area between 19th and Fourth streets west of Avenue A and in the area south of Fourth Street and east of Mackenzie Park. Some also reside in scattered areas throughout the city.

Both Negroes and Latin Americans are quite densely crowded into their areas of residence. Since these areas are generally the least desirable residential neighborhoods in the city, running along the railroad tracks and adjacent to the warehouses and industrial plants, living conditions are not desirable. In 1950, for example, 58.3 percent of the Latin American dwelling units had 1.51 or more persons per room, 29.5 percent of the Negro dwelling units had more than 1.51 persons per room, but only 9.8 percent of the Anglo dwelling units had more than 1.51 persons per room. To put it another way, 25.9 percent of the Latin American dwelling units contained seven or more persons, 8.9 percent of the Negro dwelling units and 2.7 percent of the Anglo dwelling units had seven or more persons per unit.³² This reflects the very large proportion of children in the Latin American population (in 1950, 56 percent of the Latin Americans were under 19 years of age compared with 36 percent of the Anglos) as well as residential crowding for economic reasons.

The degree to which both Latins and Negroes were inadequately housed in 1950 is clear from the 1950 census data on housing.³³ Thirty-two percent of the Latin dwelling units were classified as dilapidated, and 39.2 percent of the Negro dwelling units were so classified. Seventy-six percent of the

Latin dwelling units had no running water in the house; 54.3 percent of the Negro dwelling units had no running water. Eighty-seven percent of the Latin dwelling units, and 67 percent of the Negro units, had no inside water-flushed toilet. By contrast, only 2.2 percent of the Anglo units had no running water in the house, and only 5.1 percent had no inside water-flushed toilet. It is quite clear that the housing situation of the minorities of Lubbock in 1950 was inadequate in comparison with that of the Anglos. Little improvement in the situation since 1950 is evident, although it would seem likely that there have been some advances.

There are other respects, too, in which the minorities' status is not flattering to an otherwise outstanding city. Among the cities of Texas, Lubbock's Latin American population ranked lowest in 1950 in the median number of school years completed by the adult population — 1.8 years. By contrast, the average school years completed for the entire population of the city was among the state's highest — 11.8 years. With respect to occupations, the overwhelming majority of the 2829 Negroes in the labor force in Lubbock were in the categories of unskilled laborers (41 percent) or service workers (27.1 percent), if female. Only sixty Negroes were in the category of professionals, thirty of whom were teachers in the public schools; many of the rest were presumably preachers, but there is no way of determining the exact number. No similar occupational data are available for the Latin American population in 1950. No census data are available for either group in 1960. However, in 1960 there are 93 classroom teachers in the Negro community according to reports from the office of the superintendent of schools,³⁴ and reports from Negro informants³⁵ indicate that there are 23 clergymen, two medical doctors, two dentists, but no attorneys, in the Negro community. Among the Latin Americans in 1960, there was one attorney, no dentist, three physicians (only one of whom

practices exclusively among Latin Americans), and approximately thirteen clergymen.³⁶

On the brighter side is the fact that Lubbock integrated its public school system through the first six grades quietly and without incident in the fall of 1955, the earliest possible date after the Supreme Court decision of May 1955. According to Miss Frances Wilson, secretary to the superintendent of schools, there were no disturbances or incidents, nor were there any telephone calls of protest from Lubbock citizens to the superintendent's office. There were also no letters to the editor in the Sunday *Avalanche-Journal* protesting the integration action. In fact, there were virtually no news reports in the local newspaper of this change in policy; it made the front page only on August 9 and 10, and on September 7.³⁷ Many Lubbock citizens to this day are not aware that the city's grammar schools are integrated. The lack of protest, and the lack of newspaper editorializing or reporting on Lubbock's school integration, contrasts sharply with what was happening in other parts of the South and the state in that year and in succeeding years. It is in sharp contrast also with what the newspaper was doing in the first two decades of the city's existence.

If one may judge the opinion of a community by the treatment which a given issue or problem receives in the community's newspapers, then the transition in public opinion on minority group problems in Lubbock during a generation has been astounding. The publicly expressed anti-Negro and anti-Latin American opinions of a generation ago were crude by comparison with the climate of opinion in post-World War II America. This was the time in America's history when nativism was rampant, when our basic immigration laws were passed over presidential vetoes, when the Ku Klux Klan was revived to become powerful in many states.³⁸

The Ku Klux Klan was active in Lubbock in the 1920's. Immediately following the opening of a revival meeting at the

Cumberland Presbyterian Church on 16th Street on July 20, 1923, twelve hooded and robed Klansmen entered the open-air tabernacle adjoining the church and presented the pastor with a sealed envelope, the contents of which they instructed him to read to the assembly. It contained, in addition to the letter which he was to read, a twenty dollar note bearing the seal of Lubbock Klan Number 199. The letter included the following:

God give us men. This is our daily need and it is the desire of every true Klansman to be a man, a real, true, God fearing American, one hundred percent for right. We believe in the religion of Jesus Christ. We stand for freedom of speech, freedom of press, the public school and the untrammelled rights of free born white Americans . . .

The statement also pointed out that the Klan "stands for the sanctity of the home, the purity of womanhood, the sacredness of the marriage vow, and above all Christian citizenship." Only the enemies of the Klan, the statement declared, believe in tar and feathers and the leather strap.³⁹

Negroes had begun to move into West Texas long before they came to Lubbock, and the citizens of Lubbock were anxious that the Negroes be kept out of the city. On October 28, 1909, the local newspaper reported that several Negroes had been driven out of San Angelo, and one had probably been killed. The editor added the comment that "Lubbock can easily avert any such trouble in the future by forbidding any to come to town."⁴⁰ In subsequent weeks, the editor was warning the community that Negroes would be coming in on the newly established passenger trains. He was warning that if one or two are allowed to come, others will follow, for, he said, ". . . Negroes are like Johnson grass when it comes to taking root and increasing in a town."⁴¹ In his campaign against allowing Negroes to settle in Lubbock, the editor used phrases which were probably acceptable in that day, but which have an odd ring today. He referred to them as "kinky

headed coons . . . that the Lord made for no other purpose save to be servants of mankind . . . One serious mistake has been in trying to educate them. They are by nature unfitted for knowledge beyond that necessary to make common laborers of them . . .”⁴² One article was entitled “Slipping the Coons In.”⁴³ And an editorial “boosting” Lubbock on September 11, 1913, pointed out that in Lubbock “. . . the nights are cool and you can sleep the sleep of the just without being molested by Mr. Mosquito, Mr. Burglar, or Mr. Nigger.”⁴⁴

By 1916, there were Negroes in Lubbock, for a “census” conducted by the B.P.O.E., under the direction of a Mr. Pierce, reported that sixteen Negroes were living within the city limits.⁴⁵ In 1923, an ordinance was passed by the city council that “No Negro or persons of African descent or containing as much as one-eighth Negro blood shall own property or reside thereon in any part of this city except that part lying South of 16th Street and East of Avenue C.” It specified also that no person could rent property to Negroes outside those limits. Fines up to \$200 could be assessed against violators of the ordinance. The council minutes go on to indicate the fact that Negroes and persons of African descent and persons with one-eighth Negro blood “are residing in various portions of this city . . . and their residence is dangerous to the health and pollutes the earth and atmosphere. . . .”⁴⁶

During the next five years (until about 1928), the editor was carrying on his editorial crusade against the Negroes. On May 24, 1924, he editorialized about Negro women who were luring boys off the streets at night to participate in things “that will be a curse to them for the rest of their lives.”

. . . There is entirely too much freedom accorded the negroes (sic) of this town anyway. They are too promiscuous in their strolling about the city, both night and day . . . We do not see any use in our wife having to give a bunch of negroes the side

walk, but this is sometimes the case . . . All the negroes are not this way. Some of them realize they are negroes, but there are too many of them who do not realize that they are low-bred sons of Africa, and are not entitled to the rights and privileges of our streets . . .⁴⁷

Four days later, on May 28, a letter signed by eight Negro citizens of the city appeared in the paper. They stated that they did not approve of the conduct described in the editorial of May 24, and that they wanted to live at peace with the white citizens.⁴⁸ On May 29, the editor replied to the letter by pointing out that the citizens of Lubbock have "no fight with the Negroes who are staying in their place and know how to act toward white people." But he insisted that something had to be done to protect homes and boys and girls.⁴⁹

As late as June 21, 1927, the editor was still calling attention to the need for stricter residential segregation in Lubbock.⁵⁰ After this time, however, the climate of opinion seemed to be changing somewhat, at least as it was mirrored in the newspaper. Through the 1930's and 1940's, few references to the Negroes in the city are to be found in the newspaper. Apart from the fact that Negroes apprehended in crime were reported as Negroes—a practice which is still in effect in the *Avalanche-Journal*—one would hardly know from reading the paper that there were, and are, Negroes in Lubbock.

Latin Americans began to reside in Lubbock at approximately the same time as Negroes, and were receiving the same editorial treatment. On September 1, 1925, it was reported in the newspaper that the Methodists were soon to build a church for Mexicans. "They figure that it is cheaper to Christianize people than to grind them through the courts, and have them put back on us by pardon boards . . ."⁵¹ On November 6, 1925, a Mrs. N. S. McBride, worker with the local First Baptist Church missionary union, was quoted as saying that ". . . Cleanliness before prayer is the best means of tak-

ing care of the moral condition of the Mexican population of Lubbock . . . A bar of soap first, then the individual is better prepared for learning from the Bible.”⁵² Since that time, the Latin American population has grown by leaps and bounds to an estimated 11,000 in the city in 1960, augmented during the fall of the year by more than 18,000 migrant laborers of Latin American background.⁵³ But, as is true of the Negroes, they appear in the newspaper only when involved in crimes or delinquencies or in connection with the need for farm laborers in the fall of the year.

In summary, it is the writer’s opinion that there has been tremendous improvement in the fifty years of Lubbock’s existence in the attitudes toward, and treatment of, the two minority groups in the community. In an expanding city, they contribute to the growth of the city in various ways, especially in filling jobs which are commonly shunned by the Anglo population. They also contribute to the diversity of life—in foods, art forms and music, language, and in style of life generally—which distinguishes our cities from the smaller towns. As their educational level improves, they should continue to rise economically and socially. Perhaps they will also become more actively engaged in civic and political affairs of the community, although up to this time there has been very little such activity in either the Latin or the Negro community. Indications of such activity have begun to be evident during the past several years, however, both in Lubbock and in surrounding communities. Change in these matters seems to be slow, but it also seems to be inexorable.

Several summary conclusions may be drawn from this brief analysis of Lubbock’s population composition and growth. First, Lubbock’s population increase during its brief fifty year history is the greatest of any city in the state and ranks among the largest in the nation. Secondly, this very rapid growth in large part explains the age and sex composition of the city, that is, (a) the excess of young people in the productive ages and

the correlative deficiency of people in old age, and (b) the excess of males in the population. Thirdly, the age and sex composition of the population is a major factor in accounting for the city's status as one of the wealthier communities in the Southwest and for the superior quality of many of the social and cultural services available in Lubbock. Fourthly, Lubbock is typical of the region in which it is located in two respects: (a) the Anglo population is virtually 100 percent native born, and (b) the minority populations include Negroes and Latin Americans only, both of which minorities have increased very rapidly in the last thirty years. And finally, Lubbock's treatment of, and attitudes toward, its minorities are typical of the Southwest rather than the South. Although the Latin Americans and Negroes have increased in number and as a proportion of the total population in the past thirty years, their status in the community has improved greatly since the decade of the 1920's. Continued increases in their numbers and improvements in their status can be anticipated.

FOOTNOTES

¹The sex ratio is defined as the number of men per 100 women. If the number is greater than 100, there is an excess of males in the population; if it is less than 100, women outnumber men. A sex ratio of 115 would mean that there is a surplus of fifteen men for every 100 women, while a sex ratio of 85 would mean that there is a deficit of fifteen men for every 100 women.

²Throughout this essay, the decennial reports of the Bureau of the Census, Commerce Department, will be used as the basic source. No citation to the general reports of the decennial censuses will be made, since this would involve citations so numerous as to clutter up unnecessarily the body of the essay. Citations to census materials will be made only in the case of special reports.

³The term "South Plains" means varying things to different people. It is generally used as a designation for a twenty-three county area in Texas and a three county area in New Mexico. The Texas counties included are those lying between Gaines, Dawson, Borden and Scurry on the south; Kent, Dickens, and Motley on the east; and Brisco, Swisher, Castro, and Parmer on the north. The three New Mexico counties are Lea, Roosevelt, and Curry. Lubbock is situated almost perfectly in the middle of this nearly 30,000 square mile area. In the comparisons of the city of Lubbock with the South Plains which will be made in this essay, the South Plains counties used are Bailey, Cochran, Crosby, Dawson, Dickens, Floyd, Garza, Hale,

Hockley, Lamb, Lubbock, Lynn, Motley, Terry, and Yoakum, or the three tiers of counties of which Lubbock is the center.

⁴ A Standard Metropolitan Area as defined by the Census Bureau is a county, or group of contiguous counties, which contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more. Lubbock became a Metropolitan Area in the census of 1950. Its boundaries are the County of Lubbock.

⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, January 10, 1960.

⁶ There are many techniques of estimating population change. Utility connections, school censuses, vital rates (birth and death rates), and labor-force statistics are commonly used in making such estimates. However, in a rapidly changing population, none of these is very reliable. Sampling procedures are more accurate; see Bureau of the Census, *A Chapter in Population Sampling* (United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1949) for some of the standard procedures.

The most accurate estimates of the population of the city of Lubbock were made by the staff of the City Planning Commission, using a dwelling unit survey combined with a scholastic census. Their estimate of the population of Lubbock was only 4000 in excess of the census count, compared with the more than 30,000 excess in the Chamber of Commerce estimates. See their excellent report entitled *Lubbock Comprehensive Plan Population Report*, January 1959.

⁷ *1950 Census of Population*, Vol. II, "Character of the Population, Part 43, Texas," pp. 11-14. Odessa is not included in these comparisons because it did not exist as a city (more than 2500 inhabitants in an incorporated community) in 1910. It is the most rapidly growing city in Texas today, having increased thirty-three fold between 1930 and 1960.

⁸ *1960 Census of Population, Preliminary Reports, Population Counts for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, PC (P2)*, July 1960.

⁹ W. F. Ogburn, and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, (Boston, 1958), third edition, p. 398, Table 20.

¹⁰ See footnote 2.

¹¹ Dickens County had 3092 inhabitants in 1910, and 4896 in 1960; Motley County had 2396 inhabitants in 1910, and 2842 in 1960.

¹² City Department of Engineering map in City Manager's office.

¹³ The annexation map presented as Figure 6 has been prepared by the staff of the City Planning Commission and is used here with their permission. For a further and more detailed discussion of Lubbock's annexation history, see their report, *Lubbock Comprehensive Plan Population Report*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, November 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 and December 6, 13, 20, 27, 1959; also, January 3, 9, 17, 24, 31, and February 7, 14, 21, 28, 1960.

¹⁶ City Planning Commission, *Lubbock Comprehensive Plan Population Report*, pp. 9-52.

¹⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, September 4, 1960.

¹⁸ See the earlier essays in this study, especially Chapter Five.

¹⁹ See footnote 6.

²⁰ *The Cross Section*, Volume 6, Number 10 (March, 1960), p. 4. This

is a monthly publication of the High Plains Underground Water Conservation District No. 1.

²¹ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, December 3, 1957.

²² K. N. Clapp to Virgil Lawyer, interview, June 20, 1960; Walter S. Posey to Virgil Lawyer, interview June 21 1960; W. C. and Frances M. Holden to Virgil Lawyer, interview, June 27, 1960.

²³ The writer is indebted to Dr. Sam Schulman, Associate Professor of Sociology at Texas Tech, for his artistry in drafting Figure 7.

²⁴ *Survey of Health and Medical Services and Facilities*, (Lubbock, June, 1959). This report, published as a public service by the Community Chest and Council, Inc., is more commonly known as the Mustard Report, after Harry S. Mustard, survey consultant.

²⁵ A recent report, "Mobility of the Population of the United States, April 1958 to 1959," Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 104, indicates that the most migratory population is the age group 20-30, the least migratory being those over 45 years of age.

²⁶ *Sales Management*, May 10, 1959, pp. 663 and 669 lists the "effective buying income" per household for the city of Lubbock for the year 1958 as \$6577 compared with \$5602 for the state of Texas. "Effective buying income" is essentially income after taxes, or what the government calls "disposable income."

²⁷ The enrollment in the spring of 1950 at Texas Tech included 4124 males and 1339 females, slightly more than three males for each female. Source: Office of the Registrar, Texas Technological College.

²⁸ See the essay by Seymour V. Connor, "The First Settlers," *A History of Lubbock*, part one, p. 55.

²⁹ United States Census of Population, 1950, Special Report P-E No. 3C, "Persons of Spanish Surname."

³⁰ T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis*, (New York, 1948), pp. 51-54.

³¹ The writer is especially indebted to Mr. Milford Fleig — until October 1, 1960, a member of the Department of Planning of the City Commission — for his time and assistance in arriving at estimates for both groups. He is also indebted to Miss Frances Wilson, secretary to the superintendent of schools, for her help. Using a combination of dwelling units in areas of Latin American and/or Negro concentration, together with the known number of scholastics in each of these areas, it is estimated that there were 9486 Negroes in the two neighborhoods to which they are largely confined, with perhaps another 150 Negroes residing outside those neighborhoods. The Latin Americans occupy three neighborhoods almost exclusively and they share another with Negroes. The estimate of Latin Americans in those neighborhoods alone is 10,072. However, there are probably another 900 Latin Americans living in other areas scattered throughout the city, especially on the periphery of the city but within the city limits. This is clearly indicated in a study of births recorded to parents with Spanish surnames in 1958; this study was made by the writer in collaboration with the late Dr. E. L. Koos and Dr. Julius Rivera under a research grant from Texas Technological College.

The sharp increase in the number of Latin Americans is corroborated by school enrollment figures. Although no official figures on the enrollment of Latin Americans are kept, the estimate is that the enrollment of Latin

American school children increased from 8.3 percent of the total in 1956 to 11.8 percent in 1960. Since the rate of enrollment is not a constant figure, this could reflect increased enrollment of resident Latin Americans rather than a true increase of numbers. However, it seems likely that it does reflect a sharp increase in the Latin American population. Although the Negro enrollment shows an increase from 8.9 percent of the total in 1956 to 9.5 percent in 1960 this represents a slight decrease of the proportion of Negroes from the high of 9.7 percent in 1949-1950.

³² City Planning Commission, *Lubbock Comprehensive Plan Population Report*, p. 57.

³³ Analysis of 1950 census data by the Health Department of the city of Lubbock, File No. L-7-a.

³⁴ Miss Frances Wilson to W. G. Steglich, interview, August 19, 1960.

³⁵ The Rev. A. W. Wilson, pastor of the A.M.E. church, to W. G. Steglich, interview, October 13, 1960.

³⁶ The Rev. Bennie Zermeno, pastor of the Latin American Methodist Church of Lubbock, to W. G. Steglich, interview, October 14, 1960.

³⁷ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, August 9, 10, September 7, 1960.

³⁸ John Moffatt Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind*, (New York, 1924). This is a standard work on the Klan which also provides the reader with a "feel" for the climate of opinion of the 1920's.

³⁹ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, July 21, 1923. The writer is indebted to Professors L. L. Graves and Merton Dillon for providing him with access to their notes. Each of them made systematic canvasses of the *Avalanche* and *Journal* through the early decades of their existence. The writer has spent many hours "sampling" the *Morning Avalanche* of more recent years (early 1930's to the present), but he has not examined this source material with the same degree of care as Professors Graves and Dillon.

⁴⁰ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, October 28, 1909.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, November 4, 1909.

⁴² *Ibid.*, November 18, 1909.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, January 20, 1910.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, September 11, 1913.

⁴⁵ City Council Minutes, January 8, 1917.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1923.

⁴⁷ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, May 24, 1924.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, May 28, 1924.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, May 29, 1924.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1927.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, September 1, 1925.

⁵² *Ibid.*, November 6, 1925.

⁵³ U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Domestic Agricultural Migrants in the United States*, Public Health Service Publication No. 540 (revised 1960).

Religion in Lubbock

Merton L. Dillon

THE HISTORY of Lubbock's churches, like the history of the city itself, is a success story. From small and humble beginnings the churches have grown large and rich and powerful. Their prosperity, like Lubbock's, results from decades of continuous progress unmarred by significant reversals or extensive conflict. So fortunate an experience has left its mark on the city's religious life. Success at its best generates optimism, geniality, and tolerance. At its worst it leads to smugness and complacency. Life in Lubbock could not foster in church-going people an overpowering sense of sin and an awareness of human limitation; for such insights are likely to be produced only by experience of a different kind — by defeat and failure or by social and economic frustration. West Texas, in contrast, has provided freedom and opportunity and conspicuous prosperity, at least for the majority group. Any religion which attempts in such a setting to emphasize either the limitations of man and his dependence upon God, or the sinful quality of human society and the imminence of God's judgment upon it, presents a message which can have little relevance for most believers, because their experience appears to

confirm the opposite — that man is strong and competent, that society is beneficent, that it can solve its problems in a manner acceptable to itself and therefore acceptable to God. Since few in Lubbock have discovered any reason to doubt the virtue of their society and institutions, it is hardly surprising that their churches have developed no more than a lover's quarrel with the world.

All of which presents a paradox; for while Lubbock's churches from the earliest days endeavored to create a religious society, they always operated in fact within a society which was overwhelmingly secular, and today that secularism has triumphed. Thus in the largest sense the churches — despite their aura of success — have not been able to fulfill one of their primary missions. It remains easy, nonetheless, to convince oneself that the opposite is true; for the defeat has produced no scar, no sense of unresolvable conflict between the churches and the world. Indeed, so completely absent are the traumas of defeat that the churches' present condition is sometimes interpreted as victory. This happy outcome results from two circumstances. First, a conspicuous element in Lubbock has retained an unusually rigid, even puritanical morality, a remnant of the days when Lubbock was a small country town filled exclusively with country people. Such a narrow view of morals may easily be confounded with spirituality. Furthermore, Lubbock's churches operate in a rural community suddenly grown rich, and the churches have shared generously in that wealth. Prosperity may in some circles be equated with success. It is possible under such circumstances to suppose that it is the churches themselves which have triumphed; whereas in fact the victory belongs to the world. The victory promises soon to become total, because the growing wealth of the city together with its constant increments in population are in the process of creating a morally permissive, urban atmosphere which jeopardizes the influence

that the churches have hitherto been able to exert among a population largely rural in background.

Lubbock's early settlers brought religious ideas with them when they moved across the plains, much as they brought their horses and wagons and an inclination to vote Democratic on election day. Many of them came from those parts of Texas and the rest of the rural South where the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Disciples of Christ churches predominated among the common people. Those familiar denominations were therefore the ones they established in their new home.¹ But they did not accomplish that task without external aid and encouragement. Through many decades of experience with a westward-moving population, those same churches had long ago developed the technique suitable for ministering to the religious needs of small, scattered settlements remote from the nation's population centers. As their representatives in Texas watched settlement push into the western parts of the state, they directed missionary activity toward the South Plains in an effort to gather the frontiersmen into accustomed and well established religious folds.² Those two forces then — tradition and missionary activity — resulted in the early extension to Lubbock of four of the South's strongest Protestant denominations.

Religious activity began as soon as sizable numbers of settlers had arrived. Probably the first church meeting held within the present bounds of Lubbock was conducted in May 1890 at Singer's Store by a Church of Christ preacher. That event was of little immediate importance to the life of the town, however. It led to no institutional organization; neither did it establish the Church of Christ as the dominant faith in the settlement. Since most members of that congregation were farmers living outside of Lubbock, most of its services before 1900 were held in the Canyon Schoolhouse, some six miles east of the town, with occasional meetings in the Lubbock jail and the county courthouse. The establishment of a Church

of Christ within Lubbock itself followed the arrival in 1900 of Liff Sanders, the first preacher of any denomination to take up residence in the town. The limited size and resources of the church in that day of small things are suggested by the fact that the congregation at first paid Sanders so poorly that he was required to supplement his meager salary by clerking in Clark, Acuff, and Graves' store. A Church of Christ was officially organized in Lubbock in 1903 and its first building constructed in 1907.³ But by that time two other churches had been formed in the town and had been in operation for more than a decade.

The first congregations established in Lubbock were Baptist and Methodist. Tradition holds that several women instituted Baptist church services in 1891, using the jail as a meeting place. According to the available records, however, a Baptist Church was officially organized sometime in 1892, when the Reverend T. H. Stamps of Tulia, a Southern Baptist missionary, formed a church with six members.⁴ On March 3 of the same year (whether before or after the Baptist Church had been founded, we do not know), a circuit rider for the Methodist Church, South, organized the Methodist Church in Lubbock.⁵ Thus, by the end of 1892 two congregations had been established, a third occasionally held services in the town, and an active religious life already characterized the little settlement. Each of the churches remained a missionary station before 1900, however, and none as yet possessed the resources necessary to construct a building. The lack of church buildings proved to be no great handicap. The jail and the courthouse provided meeting places for Sunday Schools and Sunday morning church services on the occasions when missionary agencies saw fit to supply itinerant preachers. Sunday evening singing socials — sometimes better attended than morning services — met in private homes even when no preachers were available.⁶

An unusual religious element in Lubbock in the 1890's were

members of the Religious Society of Friends. Originally established at nearby Estacado, the Quaker settlement had broken up shortly after 1890, whereupon some of its members moved to Lubbock. There they continued to hold separate religious meetings as late as 1896. But the maintenance of identity so far from the centers of Friends' strength and in so alien an environment proved impossible. Those Friends who remained in Lubbock soon joined other churches, most commonly the Methodist, whose Arminian principles must have seemed more congenial to Quakers with theological scruples than the available alternatives.⁷

It is sometimes claimed that the presence of the Quakers during Lubbock's formative period accounts for the city's unusually elevated moral atmosphere. Without pausing to inquire the extent to which this assumption may beg the question, one need only observe that vast areas of Texas have been legally dry without the presence of Quakers, that Quakers have not nationally been conspicuous for their attempts to legislate on matters of personal conduct, and that other Protestant denominations have historically taken the leadership in advocating prohibition and rigid morality.

Slow, steady growth in population and prosperity characterized Lubbock's early years. The churches grew accordingly. As population increased, additional denominations were established in the town — in every instance with aid from outside Lubbock. The Texas Cumberland Presbyterian Missionary Association sent the Reverend A. W. Rogers from Vernon, Texas, to preach at Lubbock in 1899, although the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was not organized in the city until August 8, 1908.⁸ The pastor of the First Christian Church at Colorado City, Texas, organized a Christian Church in Lubbock in 1901.⁹ A Nazarene or Holiness group began holding services in Lubbock in 1904, and five years later Mrs. Mary Lee Cagle established the Church of the Nazarene.¹⁰ A preacher from Big Spring, Texas, an evangelist of the Dallas

Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., organized the Presbyterian Church on September 4, 1903. Membership languished at first, and the organization passed from a mission to a pastorate only in 1910.¹¹ Although the Primitive Baptists at Tahoka sent the Reverend R. P. Littlepage to preach in Lubbock in 1913, no permanent congregation of that faith was established in the city until many years later.¹² Episcopal ministers occasionally visited Lubbock to serve the few residents of that denomination. The St. Paul's-on-the-Plains Episcopal Mission was established in 1910, with the Reverend Edwin Weary of Amarillo, Texas, as missionary curate.¹³ The president of the Texico Seventh-Day Adventist Conference delivered lectures in Lubbock in 1919, and that church began holding regular meetings in the city in 1920. Mormons were holding services in the courthouse by 1928.¹⁴ Catholics were ministered to by priests who came occasionally from Amarillo. The growth of Lubbock's Spanish-speaking Catholic element led to the establishment of St. Joseph's Catholic Church in 1924.¹⁵ A Jewish congregation was organized in 1931.¹⁶ One of the last of the older churches to be established in Lubbock was the Lutheran, founded as a missionary station by the Missouri Synod in 1929.¹⁷

By the end of 1909 seven church buildings — Baptist, Methodist, Church of Christ, Christian, Presbyterian, Nazarene, and Cumberland Presbyterian — had been constructed in the city, most of them with financial aid from regional missionary organizations. Lubbock residents willingly contributed their money and time to the construction of church buildings, and they appear to have been eager to attend church services; yet even at that early day a visiting preacher observed that religion itself in its deeply felt spiritual aspect was of little interest to the prosperous, secularly oriented people of Lubbock.¹⁸ If he was correct, then it is not strange to find denominational strife lacking despite the rather large number of churches in the city, for when religion becomes chiefly a

matter of multiplying church buildings and of expanding membership rolls, and not a matter of inner conviction, there is, after all, little reason to become excited about it. The absence before 1900 of settled preachers, who might have emphasized denominational differences, also contributed to the religious harmony of those early days; but perhaps it is likewise true that doctrine was little understood or even heeded by most of the men and women who had been drawn to the South Plains frontier by secular considerations and among whom the life of the mind and the spirit could hardly be expected to flourish. Such religious controversy as did arise seems to have developed chiefly between members of the Church of Christ and the Methodists over such externals as the mode of baptism.¹⁹

Religious harmony manifested itself in an easy spirit of interdenominational cooperation. Except for the Church of Christ, whose beliefs did not ordinarily allow it to share in interchurch enterprises, the denominations in Lubbock worked together at many points. Before any church possessed a building, all out of necessity made agreements to share the facilities afforded by the courthouse. Thus in 1896 the Church of Christ, Friends, Baptists, and Methodists each held services there on successive Sundays.²⁰ Until each congregation had supplied itself with a building, services alternated in similar fashion as a matter of convenience; and many people attended services each week at the courthouse, regardless of the auspices under which they were held.²¹ The construction of church buildings, too, was a matter for cooperation. When the Baptists erected Lubbock's first church structure in 1901, they received contributions from members of other denominations who supported the enterprise not alone for religious reasons but also as a worthy civic project. In return, the Baptists generously shared their building with other congregations.²² As additional denominations prepared to construct their own buildings, they too received aid from outside their

own membership, apparently on the assumption that the more churches a community had, the better.²³

Evidences of the cooperative spirit in religion long persisted. Union revival meetings were frequently held in the summer, and churches cooperated in presenting union Thanksgiving services and Christmas programs. In 1905 the Baptists and Methodists were sharing a union choir, which alternated between the two churches.²⁴ A union Sunday School run by a standing committee selected from the Sunday School superintendents and pastors of each church in town (except the Church of Christ) enjoyed considerable success before the First World War.²⁵ In imitation of a program operating in Fort Worth, Lubbock pastors exchanged pulpits occasionally, and sometime before 1914 organized themselves into an informal pastor's association.²⁶

The lack of religious controversy and the apparent unconcern with religious thought do not mean that the church occupied a peripheral position in the community — quite the contrary. Churches formed the center of all public social life in those years when other means for sociability were rare. But more important, the church served from the beginning as a means of social control. As one of the few institutions which impinged upon a large portion of the community, it lent itself well to such use. Life in a new country has always given some men an opportunity to shed conventions and restrictions; as they step from the threshold of ordered society, they are tempted to leave its trammels behind. Such was the danger on the South Plains. If Lubbock never in its early history passed through the period of lawlessness that afflicted some western towns, the controls imposed by church members on the rest of the community must be granted much of the credit.

There is ample evidence to suggest that the leaders of Lubbock from the beginning looked upon churches not alone as a means for assisting souls otherwise lost to enter the kingdom of God or as a means for gathering together the saved rem-

nant of humanity, but also for the secular purpose of molding the social order. The churches were not to be set apart from the world; they were to be placed directly in the midst of it. Ranchers and a few merchants, most of whom were also church leaders, dominated the town.²⁷ They and the preachers joined in the enterprise of creating an orderly community safe for churches and secure for business enterprise.²⁸

The strict regulation of liquor consumption was an obvious aid to the promotion of social tranquility. The initiative to abolish the saloon in Lubbock apparently came from ranchers who sought to prevent ranch hands from imbibing too freely and thus becoming disorderly and incapacitated for work;²⁹ yet prohibition soon became associated with religious obligation. Preachers, ranchers, and businessmen presently found themselves allied in the enterprise of moral legislation. Contributions to strengthen the churches and to multiply church buildings were therefore motivated in some instances by other than strictly religious considerations.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was organized in Lubbock in September 1909, with the Mayor's wife, a birthright Quaker, as an officer.³⁰ The organization from the first served as an arm of the church. Women's church societies likewise sought prohibition, as the Baptist Ladies' Aid made clear in its play, "A Ruined Life," which it presented at the Band Hall in 1908.³¹ When the first vote was taken on the issue of prohibition in Lubbock in 1901, only four negative votes were cast. Although the population soon became diverse enough to provide prohibitionists with some opposition, the local option election of May 28, 1910, still carried comfortably.³² "The way of the boot-legger is hard in Lubbock," declared the local newspaper editor in 1911.³³ This situation resulted from the churches having allied themselves with secular interests to enact prohibition laws. Similar pressures brought the city council in 1909 to pass an ordinance forbidding the playing of "baseball or football, scrub, or any

practice game" on Sunday, or to present "any variety show, theater, concert, moving picture, or any other kind of shows" on Sunday.³⁴ Five years later druggists and confectioners agreed to close their shops on Sunday from 10:30 in the morning to 2:30 in the afternoon, and in the same year pool-rooms were prohibited by referendum.³⁵

Such legislation resulted from the farsighted plans of the town's leaders; it was not accidental. "The building of a town depends on the way it starts," said J. J. Dillard, the local editor, himself a pious layman; "Let's keep Lubbock clean of 'dives' and 'hell holes' and we will have an ideal town."³⁶ He counted on the churches to help achieve that secular goal. Unprepossessing as early Lubbock must have appeared, such town leaders as Dillard nonetheless thought of themselves from the beginning as having founded a city. Therefore they watched with anxiety to see that proper foundations were laid. "We ought to make the 'Hub of the Plains' a religious hub," said a spokesman for the Baptist Church, and he proceeded to explain why: "Religious foundations insure the peace, security and prosperity of any community."³⁷ Now peace, security, and prosperity are conditions which help to make life on this earth more tolerable. However desirable they may be, they are not, strictly speaking, religious goals. The preachers and church members who spoke in such terms revealed their intention to make of the church not solely a vital religious institution, but also a means for maintaining a particular moral code within the community, a code which would allow men to enjoy and use profitably the material advantages Lubbock appeared to offer.

The founders of Lubbock worked toward that end with special zeal, for they feared the time left to them for action was short. The railroad had entered the city in 1909. In its wake, predicted John C. Welch, pastor of the Christian Church, would come much unwelcome change. "A certain amount of immorality and lawlessness" must be expected as

the city grows, he warned. Churches fortunately could neutralize those imported influences. "There must be such a public sentiment created [as will] counteract the evils that are and will creep into our city," said the Reverend Mr. Welch. "May we all help to build Lubbock morally while she is young that when she is old she may not depart from it."³⁸ For that reason, if for no other, the founders of Lubbock believed, churches and church buildings should be encouraged.

In conformity with the prevalent view of the church as a secular institution, the early preachers did not hesitate to participate in politics and to attempt to influence church members in making political decisions. The pastor of the Baptist Church in 1911 announced that he would preach on prohibition and "the importance of putting good men into office." His sermons, he predicted, would make his congregation "think right, vote right and feel right in the days to come."³⁹ In the preceding summer the preachers of every church in town had publicly endorsed the candidacy of J. J. Dillard, a leading member of the Church of Christ and former editor of the Lubbock *Avalanche*, for the office of state representative, which position he handily won.⁴⁰

Other evidence appeared that the churches were responding to secular needs. At the height of the Progressive Era, while men in the East pondered the problems created by urbanization and industrialization, some of the infant churches in Lubbock on the southwestern frontier—hundreds of miles from cities and factories—worried about the same remote problems. In part this may be taken as evidence of the influence of the Social Gospel, but it also reflected local concern that the old rural domination of America was ending. If it disappeared, many churchmen asked, could Protestant moral influence continue? The program at the Junior Baptist Young People's Union in 1909 centered on the theme, "Salvation of the city: some reasons for doing mission work in our cities" (and this in a city where some of the churches were

themselves still receiving mission funds).⁴¹ At the same time, the Methodist Women's Home Mission Society discussed "Something we are doing to redeem the city," and little Bernice Wolforth addressed her Methodist Sunday School class on the evil effects of child labor in factories.⁴² Those hints that the currents of reform were drifting into Lubbock by way of the churches did not mean that they would be allowed to engulf the city. The new editor of the *Avalanche*, James Dow, whose views often mirrored those of the local Methodist Church, soon printed an editorial against certain reform proposals which, he said, would amalgamate the races, force all to "a leveling equality," and by introducing "atheistic socialism," destroy the home and the church.⁴³

In Lubbock, as in nearly every other city in the nation, the churches' commitment to the existing order allowed them to approve American military participation in the World War in 1917 and to see God's hand in the Allied victory. God controlled events so as to defeat the Germans, said the Reverend T. H. Pollard, pastor of the Presbyterian Church.⁴⁴ The Reverend J. B. Cole of the Baptist Church placed the war in a still wider context. As a result of the German defeat, he declared, "the world is more prepared for bringing in the Kingdom of God than ever before in human history. The day of autocracy in state and church has largely passed."⁴⁵

Despite such sanguine pronouncements, churchmen in Lubbock were soon given cause to doubt that the approach of God's Kingdom was imminent. Indeed, the churches' grip on society seemed to be loosening in the 1920's. Changes were occurring in Lubbock to give the religious minded great concern. Continuing population growth introduced new and disturbing elements to challenge religious domination. While the preponderance of newcomers were "good, honest, substantial, God-fearing, law-abiding citizens" (as Owen McWhorter observed), there had come also "those of the base and criminal classes, flung into the confines of our county from the flesh-

pots of many cities.”⁴⁶ Such people, ignorant of Lubbock’s rural, moral tradition and even contemptuous toward it, threatened to destroy the old consensus. Unaffiliated with the churches, they were thus out of touch with the chief institution producing conformity. Even many “good, honest” citizens were not church members. Others who had once belonged to churches failed to affiliate with a church in their new home.⁴⁷ According to an estimate made in 1927, 1600 Baptists in the city belonged to no local church.⁴⁸ If the church-going population should be overwhelmed by an influx of non-church settlers, what would happen to the moral character of the city?

Despite the preachers’ somewhat gloomy pronouncements, there is evidence to suggest that the churches were not withering away. On one Sunday in 1925, the local newspaper reported that every church and Sunday School in Lubbock was filled to capacity.⁴⁹ In 1924, 2100 children regularly attended Sunday School—there were only 2800 children enrolled in the public schools.⁵⁰ At the end of the decade Lubbock preachers generally agreed that church attendance in the city was better than in most other cities of their acquaintance. It was believed that out of a total population of about 22,000 some 5500 attended church “fairly regularly.”⁵¹

Nonetheless, it was commonly believed that religion was losing its influence even among church members. The pastor of the Christian Church commented that young people in particular felt that religion had become separated from the “concerns of real life.”⁵² Lubbock’s churches found themselves competing with new attractions. Those who in a simpler day had attended Sunday services in the absence of anything else to do now found appealing alternatives. Motion picture houses were far better attended than the churches, the local newspaper reported, and many men in Lubbock chose to play golf on Sunday morning rather than attend church services.⁵³ Even more serious than that, the moral code upheld

by the churches seemed to be breaking down. Salacious literature appeared on local newsstands; unchaperoned young men and women rode about together late at night in highpowered automobiles; by the end of the 1920's enough malt was being sold in Lubbock to supply each person in the city with four bottles of beer a week.⁵⁴ The Reverend Jack Lewis, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, probably expressed the opinion of many when he observed that sin "is becoming more apparent and more appealing every day."⁵⁵ The old rural unity and the earlier religious consensus had disappeared from most parts of the United States; if they retained a slender hold in Lubbock, they were endangered even there. The Reverend E. E. White of the Methodist Church saw ominous change and conflict all about him. "Pure Protestant stock and Anglo-Saxon blood" no longer dominated America, he commented; "special interests, over-sided views, sectional projects" contended on every hand.⁵⁶

Fully as disturbing as these outward manifestations of change was the more subtle alteration in ideas occurring during the 1920's. By casting doubts upon the literal truth of the biblical account of creation, science appeared to have undermined the very foundations of religion. Evolutionary theories took no account of the Fall or of Christ and the Atonement. What room, then, was left for morality? What sanction could morals have? When Mrs. J. W. Winn, wife of the pastor of the Baptist Church, announced in Lubbock in 1908 that the Bible was the sum of all knowledge, she stated a proposition few in the town would deny.⁵⁷ But by the late 1920's such a statement would have aroused dissent even in Lubbock. Among the deeply religious, knowledge that cherished ideas were under attack caused discomfort and an increasing awareness that traditional religion was in peril. Seen in that context, then, the members of the Baptist Men's Bible Study Class were entirely correct when they claimed in 1926 to discern "anti-Christian tendencies throughout modern thought."⁵⁸

These manifold problems could be attacked in various ways, and Lubbock's churches used most of the possible approaches. One obvious way to meet the challenge of an apparent decline in the church's influence on the young would be to restore its appeal to them by making its services more attractive. The editor of the *Avalanche* called upon the churches to create "some real social life in this city for the young people."⁵⁹ Perhaps the strongest clerical advocate of such a program was the Reverend W. A. Bowen of the First Baptist Church, whose admirers characterized him in the jargon of that day as "a live wire" who advocated "social services" for the church. He was one of the earliest promoters in Lubbock of the organization that was to become the Community Chest. In his own congregation he developed a concept of what was then called the "modern church," that is, the enlargement of church activities to include such events as social affairs and athletic contests.⁶⁰ While certainly not everyone in Lubbock approved that kind of program, the tendency in several of the city's churches in the 1920's was in that direction. Bowen advocated the broadened concept of the function of the church which most Lubbock congregations eventually adopted. Such a concept would lead eventually to the hiring of directors of youth activities, to the establishment of Bible Chairs, to a lengthy church calendar listing social activities for most days of the week, and to the construction by most churches of kitchens, dining halls, lounges, and, by some, even of basketball courts. Many churches began to sponsor Boy Scout troops in the 1920's and, in general, to multiply social activities for youth groups. Perhaps those enterprises succeeded in maintaining the loyalty of the young, for it was observed late in the decade that local boys who fell into trouble with the law sought aid from their pastors more frequently than from anyone else.⁶¹

Another approach to regain public attention was to attempt to be timely and to enliven church services by using con-

temporary applications. The danger implicit in this recourse was that it might serve only to cheapen religion. Thus, at the First Methodist Church, when the automobile was still a novelty, the pastor delivered a series of sermons using such titles as "avoiding engine troubles," "testing your lights," and "tire trouble."⁶² That the temptation to use such devices was not easily resisted is suggested by the sermon topic, "Putting Yourself in Orbit," delivered at one of Lubbock's largest churches late in 1959. Efforts to secure popular attention reached their most bizarre form when the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in 1929 officiated at a wedding in a trimotored Ford plane flying above Lubbock at an altitude of 1500 feet.⁶³

A more dynamic approach to the problem of declining church influence than that supplied by church dinners and showmanship was the reassertion of the Social Gospel, an attempt to reform those areas of contemporary life which appeared to conflict with the goals of the church. Probably the Social Gospel in its full form as developed earlier by such nationally influential preachers as Walter Rauschenbush and George Washington Gladden was rarely preached in Lubbock; yet certain of its unmistakable signs appeared in the city during the 1920's. From one point of view, such activity was only a continuation of the secular role assumed by the Lubbock churches in the pre-World War period; but its application in later decades became considerably broader as local churchmen attempted to revive their flagging influence. No doubt pastoral calls for church-led social reform were in some instances more in the nature of assertions of authority than carefully thought out programs. It is not likely, for example, that the members of the Baptist Goodfellows Bible Class had any clear program in mind when they declared "theocracy" to be "the ideal form of government for man,"⁶⁴ nor, perhaps, did Jack Lewis, pastor of the Presbyterian

Church, when he called upon his congregation to work to "restore the civic, moral, and religious walls of this city."⁶⁵

Yet, however inchoate the ideas behind them, such utterances suggested a broad view of the role of the church, and one from which an enlarged church program might come.

The clearest exposition of the Social Gospel in Lubbock was made by the Reverend E. E. White, pastor of the First Methodist Church, who in 1925 reminded his congregation that the church had "backed every reform movement launched within the past century. . . ."⁶⁶ Church members, he said, should "place re-emphasis upon the moral and social function of the church. Its business is to transform the life of the world, to change the world into the Kingdom of God. . . . When we relinquish our hold on the moral and social order, and step back and say, 'Hands off,' then we fail in the mission for which God sent His son to save the World."⁶⁷ The responsibility for making social change rested upon church members, he continued. Christian obligation required church members to "become a part of that group under the direction of Christ bent upon the transformation of the world order," for the function of the church is not alone to promote individual salvation; rather "the church must stand for a reconstructed order, a redeemed society, a transformed state." Mr. White was calling for much more than church support for prohibition laws. Whether he could carry his congregation with him and whether the community at large would welcome plans for a "reconstructed order" remained to be seen. But as though anticipating criticism, he affirmed his view that "the church does have a right, in fact it is [its] duty to speak upon questions which pertain to the common good of men."⁶⁸ Putting his principles into practical application, Mr. White used his sermons for the discussion of social and economic and political matters. In 1925 he delivered a Labor Day message exhorting his congregation on the needs of "the laboring man" and reminding them that Jesus himself had been a la-

borer.⁶⁹ Under his direction the auxiliary Methodist organizations, instead of studying only Bible lessons (the practice in most churches), discussed such topics as "Has prohibition legislation helped the prohibition problem" and "Inter-racial opportunities in Lubbock."⁷⁰ White himself actively participated in politics, and in 1928 led the local opposition to closed primaries.⁷¹

In spite of his enthusiasm, he inevitably encountered difficulties in translating his ideas into social action. These may be sufficiently illustrated by an incident in his own church. A Methodist study group which devoted a meeting to the subject of "Southern Negroes" completely ignored contemporary problems. The program's general lack of pertinence is suggested by the prayer offered on that occasion: "Gratitude for fidelity of slaves during [the] Civil War."⁷² If sometimes preachers in Lubbock were given a glimpse of a new world order reconstructed according to Christian principles, they could do little to realize their vision; for the church, in Lubbock as elsewhere, was of this world, its members thoroughly enmeshed in economic, social, and political institutions of great practical power.

Some denominations in Lubbock remained frankly uninfluenced by the Social Gospel. The pastor at the Church of the Nazarene continued to preach Wesleyan holiness doctrines, and for the most part confined his social criticism to presenting programs on the white slave traffic, a topic which was of recurring interest to that group during the 1920's.⁷³ The Church of Christ, too, with its emphasis on the New Testament Church, seldom ventured criticism of the social or economic order. The greatest obstacle to changing the emphasis of the church was not to be found in the religious community, however, but rather in secular interests which resented criticism. As Paul A. Carter has observed, fundamentalism, with its emphasis on religious individualism, was a more reliable support for free enterprise than was modern-

ism.⁷⁴ Laymen who saw their own interests jeopardized by church meddling in social and economic affairs might well decide that they preferred fundamentalism rather than the Social Gospel. Some prominent men in Lubbock had promoted the church, at least in part, for its value as a bulwark; they were not willing to see so important an institution transformed into a disruptive force.

The Reverend Mr. White was soon made aware of that reality. After he had preached for some months on the necessity for transforming the world order, the editor of the *Avalanche* published an editorial sharply critical of such ideas. What we need, wrote the editor, is a "religion that makes the minister of the Gospel realize that he has not been called by Heaven to preach on economic questions about which he knows very little, but to preach in all its fullness 'Christ and Him crucified,' or else the blood of the lost will be upon him."⁷⁵ In the wake of that theological pronouncement, sermon topics in Lubbock began to share less in the spirit of the Social Gospel. Secular groups would cooperate with the churches so long as the two upheld each other's interests, but when preachers embarked on enterprises that promised to disturb the social order, the churches might themselves be preached to. The First Baptist Church under a new pastor had already recanted the modernist tendencies it had earlier manifested. "Popular religion is outward in its effect," its publication said. "It is building houses and building institutions . . . YMCA's and YWCA's."⁷⁶ And while several denominations in Lubbock endorsed the ecumenical movement, which foresaw the eventual union of all churches—a favorite dream of the Social Gospel, the First Baptist Church specifically opposed such an idea.⁷⁷

It would be a mistake to suppose that any church in Lubbock in the 1920's went far toward disavowing the old religion of individual sin and individual salvation. The great union revival of 1927 supplied ample proof that such a brand of re-

ligion could be made a community enterprise even at that date. Although sponsored by the Ministerial Association, and thus a church project, the revival was also endorsed by Mayor Pink Parrish, the Board of City Development, and the city newspaper as a means of "boosting" Lubbock and of adding to the social tranquillity of the city. Those converted in the revival, said a local editorial writer, would pay their taxes on time, and merchants would find them improved credit risks; furthermore, he added, good attendance at the services would bring additional business to town.⁷⁸

The meetings, which lasted for four weeks, were backed by the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Nazarenes, and Cumberland Presbyterians. The Church of Christ, maintaining its usual exclusiveness, held its own "gospel meeting," led by an evangelist — "a militant exponent of the old time religion" — whose message contained no "modernist teachings, or infidelity."⁷⁹ An executive committee, headed by Dean J. M. Gordon of Texas Technological College, laid careful plans for the union meetings. The committee arranged to construct a special tabernacle 86' by 90' in dimensions, which would seat 5000 people. Special workers canvassed the city to enlist support for the project. All over town in preparation for the occasion religious services were held in which "women met for ardent prayer and whole-souled singing of gospel happiness for 30 minutes at a time."⁸⁰

But even after those careful preparations, the results of the revival disappointed its backers; for although dozens of souls were rescued during the services, the project did not get "hold of the businessmen of this city as it should in order to have its best effect on the business interests" — or so reported the Lubbock newspaper.⁸¹ It was already too late in Lubbock to expect a contrived revival to produce any genuine spiritual effect on the population, and those businessmen who supported the enterprise because they welcomed the beneficial effects the spread of religion might have on the city were too

concerned with rising real estate values and the profits to be made from a rapidly developing economy to give themselves single-mindedly to the promotion of old-time religion, or, indeed, to any other-worldly philosophy.

FUNDAMENTALISTS VERSUS MODERNISTS

The great religious issue in Lubbock in the 1920's was not the Social Gospel, however; rather it was the conflict between fundamentalists and modernists — between those who emphasized personal sin and responsibility and those who minimized them, between those who defended the literal truth of the Scriptures and those who doubted it. At issue was the outlook on modern thought — between those who were willing to accept twentieth-century science and philosophy and those (often from rural backgrounds) who refused to be reconciled to them. But the controversy in Lubbock, and among American Protestants at large, took the form of a dispute over the truth of the theory of evolution, and especially about the teaching of that theory in the public schools and colleges.⁸² When stated in that way, the controversy seems sterile and archaic. Actually, however, it was of great practical significance, for an acceptance of evolution involved much more than merely one's understanding of biology. As has so often happened during important controversies, a small part of the issue had come to stand for the whole. The writer in the *First Baptist Bulletin* was hardly mistaken in his understanding of the problem when he stated that the evolutionary theory had "permeated every phase of our thinking in America today. . . . In fact, the theory is more a way of thinking, a philosophy of life, than a mere belief. . . . [It] denies sin, scorns the need of a new birth, and says that Jesus was but a man."⁸³ At stake in the controversy, then, was religion itself, as most ordinary people had understood it. Few possessed faith great enough to believe in both evolution and the religious drama of the Fall, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and

the Judgment. Evolution and fundamentalist religion were, in fact, irreconcilable.

The evolution controversy had been latent in Lubbock before 1920, but by 1925, the year of the famous Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, at least two Lubbock churches — the Church of the Nazarene and the Seventh-Day Adventist — had explicitly denied evolution; the Cumberland Presbyterian and the South Side Baptist churches had served as forums for representatives of the Anti-Evolution League of America, and there is every reason to suppose that all other Protestant churches in town stood in practical harmony against the theory.⁸⁴

In 1925 the Texas Text Book Commission, under pressure from fundamentalist church groups, announced that textbooks adopted for use in public schools must be purged of evolutionary teachings.⁸⁵ In justification of this action, the local Baptists explained that the state government had been “obliged to act in order to protect the children in the schools from the insidious poison of a heartless and Godless materialism.”⁸⁶ The Northwest Texas Conference of the Methodist Church, of which the Lubbock Methodist Churches were members, passed a motion requiring all teachers in church-supported colleges to sign a statement affirming their belief in the fundamentals of the Bible.⁸⁷ The Goodfellows Bible Class of the First Baptist Church, in defiance of the Higher Criticism, devoted a lesson to the “verbal inspiration of the Scriptures,” and endorsed the proposition that “God gave the very words in which the scriptures were clothed in the original languages,” and the local Baptist publication printed an essay purporting to prove that a whale could have swallowed Jonah.⁸⁸

The most articulate and influential proponent of fundamentalism in Lubbock was a layman, Marcus Homer Duncan, superintendent of the city schools from 1925 to 1934. For nearly a decade Duncan, who had received a BA degree from Baylor and BA and MA degrees from Yale University, cru-

saded in church services, Sunday Schools, and schoolrooms for the old-time religion. That the community allowed so important a public official to engage for so many years in partisan religious activity suggests much about the religious ethos of Lubbock at that time.

Duncan was chiefly responsible for making fundamentalism a matter of local controversy. Perhaps the fact that he was a brother-in-law of the Reverend J. Frank Norris of Fort Worth, the most famous crusading fundamentalist in the United States, helped to encourage him in his views and activities. In any event, shortly after assuming his position as school superintendent, Duncan informed the congregation of the First Christian Church that the schools and colleges had fallen into a "dangerous state." They were, he charged, minimizing personal sin and teaching evolution. The next week at the First Baptist Church, the largest congregation in the city, he canvassed the entire conflict between the tenets of fundamentalist Christianity and evolution.⁸⁹

Duncan on various occasions addressed the teachers of Lubbock to inform them that the principles set forth in the Bible supplied the proper basis for an educational system. He admonished each teacher "to be the good shepherd who knows his sheep by name and leads them in the right path."⁹⁰ So far as science teachers were concerned, Duncan suggested that the right path clearly led away from evolution. To an assembly of high school seniors convened to hear advice on planning their college programs, Duncan revealed his distrust of recent trends in higher education. As college students, those boys and girls would be required to enroll in science courses, he admitted, but he hoped "that we never come to the point where some teacher who claims to be a scientist but who in reality knows almost nothing of science, can persuade us to believe in evolution. . . . This belief clashes with the teachings of the greatest book of all times. . . ." ⁹¹

Duncan found a powerful ally in the local newspaper. The

Avalanche warned its readers that "infidelity and disbelief" were rampant in the schools. "The colleges of the nation have always been infected with this danger," the editor said, "and none of them we dare say are free of it." The newspaper indicated its awareness of the danger facing children who went off to college after having been trained at home in Bible truths. "Its [the Bible's] teachings are practical," asserted the editor, "and some little insignificant professor who draws a salary of three thousand dollars a year or possibly less, will pump their minds full of science and interpret it as meaning there is no God . . . when he really knows nothing about the Bible and its teaching. . . . Christian people of this nation are going to have to take a definite stand some of these days and the sooner it comes the better."⁹² The editor soon decided the time for taking such a stand had come. In May 1928 he announced that the teaching of evolution should be banned from the public schools.⁹³

The principal source of the grave danger to orthodoxy in Lubbock appeared to be the newly established Texas Technological College. Its establishment had brought to the city a group of faculty of whom at least a part did not share in the local fundamentalist consensus. Local fundamentalists could and did dominate the public schools, but they could not so easily control a state college.

Under the influence of education in that stimulating atmosphere, a few college students began to criticise the sermons they heard in the local churches. The reaction at the First Baptist Church — to which Duncan belonged — was immediate, and a long-term controversy between that church and a group in the college soon began. W. R. White, the Baptist pastor (later president of Baylor University), took the student criticism seriously. Suspecting that "most" of the criticisms "advanced by students have been shrewdly superinduced," he looked for their source and soon found it. A group of subversives at the college, he declared, sought to undermine

the faith of the young.⁹⁴ To resist that evil influence, the Reverend Mr. White announced his intention "to raise the sword of the spirit against sin, worldliness, and heretical modernism."⁹⁵ Duncan, too, enlisted in the controversy by preparing under the sponsorship of the First Baptist Church's Bible Study Class a thirty-two page pamphlet, *Faith and Education*, which he believed would counteract the infidelity of the "modern classroom in high school and college." The church made copies of Duncan's work available to college students as they entered the building for Sunday morning services.⁹⁶

The First Baptist Church stood in the forefront of efforts to enforce intellectual conformity in the city. With about two thousand members, it was the largest church in Lubbock, but size alone did not account for its importance in the city's life. Church leaders had assumed for themselves responsibility to guide and to mould the society of Lubbock into predetermined forms. "Evidently God has a special mission for the First Baptist Church," its publication declared in 1929. "She stands in a strategic place in a strategic section in the nation. This section is being filled by emigration from the great Anglo-Saxon centers of the South. . . . We have a pure blooded, homogeneous population that can be directed into a remarkable social order."⁹⁷ Since Baptist church leaders considered themselves God's agents appointed to safeguard Lubbock from heresy and discordant elements, it was natural that they should oppose unorthodox ideas and unconfirming individuals.

The dangers for education implicit in such a religious environment were made still clearer during the late summer of 1929 when, in the midst of the fundamentalist controversy, the Ministerial Association sponsored a great interdenominational revival.⁹⁸ Between two thousand and twenty-five hundred people attended most of the services held daily from August 18 to September 16 in a tabernacle located at 13th and K streets. The revival, as usual, became a community enter-

prise. Full-page advertisements endorsing it appeared in the local newspaper sponsored by merchants and business firms, including three banks, Montgomery Ward and Company, and Piggly Wiggly grocery stores. One session featured an address by the president of Texas Technological College. At another meeting the entire high school faculty was induced to attend in a body and sit on the platform while Superintendent of Schools Duncan prayed and delivered the revival sermon. At other special services city officials were placed in a similar position; on one occasion 100 percent of the post office employees and letter carriers were in attendance. In order that the Negro population might enjoy the blessings of Christian revival, the chairman of the meeting set aside one service solely for them. Individual conversion, fundamentalist doctrine, and condemnations of dancing, cardplaying, gambling, drinking, bootlegging, "and all forms of immorality" provided the revival themes. At the same session in which the president of Texas Technological College spoke, an evangelist delivered his view of the wages of sin. Nothing could better illustrate the incongruities of the situation. "All our troubles," said the revivalist, "hard times on the farm, our present drouth, all— are caused by sin. Every drouth-stricken community in the United States experiences drouth because of the sin of that community."⁹⁹ A college operating in a city in which a powerful group accepted—or professed to accept—such an idea might well anticipate difficulties; for two views of life, two types of mind had met in Lubbock. Conflict could hardly be avoided.

The dispute was exacerbated at the end of February 1930, when the Reverend R. C. Campbell arrived from Belton, Texas, to become pastor of the First Baptist Church. W. A. Bowen, pastor from 1920 to 1928, had been reasonably moderate in doctrinal controversies; W. R. White, during his brief pastorate (June 1928 to December 1929), had been much more aggressive. But he was far outdistanced by Campbell,

who sought no compromise; who instead carried the fight to the enemy. Born in North Carolina and educated at Wake Forest and Carson-Newman colleges and the Baptist seminary at Forth Worth, Campbell would eventually become one of the most important clergymen in the Southern Baptist Convention. After leaving Lubbock in 1936, he took the post of executive secretary of the Baptist Convention of Texas and later held important pastorates at Charleston, South Carolina, and Little Rock, Arkansas. His principal contribution seems to have been to spread the tithing movement among Southern Baptists, a project he furthered by his book, *God's Financial Plan*.¹⁰⁰

As Campbell appraised the local situation, the chief enemy of pure religion in Lubbock was Texas Technological College. In the summer of 1931 he preached a series of sermons, ostensibly on the modern dance, but in fact condemning practically all forms of contemporary thought and action. Those sermons brought him into verbal conflict with Professor John C. Granbery, head of the college history department, and with Ed Young, student editor of the college newspaper, who had formerly been employed by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.¹⁰¹ After listening to some of Campbell's sermons, Young wrote an editorial in which he railed against "petty, narrow-minded and thoroughly unreasonable bigots, who would force us out of the church rather than admit their own folly."¹⁰² The college administration promptly issued a public disclaimer of Young's statement; but it was too late; the harm had been done. Campbell, personally insulted, became more than ever convinced that the college contained a group of religious radicals who sought to undermine traditional religion, defame clergymen, and subvert the moral code. He was certain that the subversive group was directed by a clique of the college faculty headed by John Granbery.¹⁰³

Early in January 1932 Campbell was elected president of the Lubbock Ministerial Association, an event which suggests

general clerical approval for his aggressive fundamentalist position and support for his controversy with the college. Thus strengthened, he announced that he intended to reveal facts to prove "that there are certain individuals in Lubbock, and a few connected with our college who are doing much to undermine the faith of our youth. . . . Propaganda, poisonous and destructive is being propagated in Lubbock."¹⁰⁴ A few days later he charged from his pulpit that several faculty members deliberately inculcated "atheism and infidelity" among their students. The local newspaper, still on the side of the religious conservatives, supported Campbell's charges by suggesting that atheists ought not to be allowed to teach at the college and by expressing its assurance that the college president would "take appropriate action" against them.¹⁰⁵ Campbell declared that "a department head and a group of professors associated with him" were spreading a "poison . . . more malignant than typhoid germs," and yet were allowed to retain their positions. Not only did they implant doubts among the students about the Virgin Birth of Christ, he continued, but they also sympathized with communism.¹⁰⁶ Campbell had thus established a link between subversive religious ideas and subversive politics. The charge deserves examination.

In the crisis produced by the depression of the 1930's, it was natural that some religious men, imbued with the principles of the Social Gospel, should place the blame for the economic catastrophe on institutions and agitate to change them. Such seem to have been the views of Professor Granbery, who besides holding a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago was himself an ordained Methodist clergyman and the son of a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.¹⁰⁷ They were also the views of Jack Boyd and the Reverend Bradner Moore, who were closely associated with Granbery and with the religious activities of college students in Lubbock. Boyd, a graduate of the University of Oklahoma and sometime student at Union Theological Seminary, was

secretary of the Texas Technological College YMCA; Moore, a native of Mississippi, was rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. All three had identified themselves with both liberal theological views and extreme political action to halt the ravages of economic decline. Granbery, for example, had endorsed the concept of the Social Gospel in the strongest possible terms, urging the church to abandon its role as a "conservative force or reactionary institution, blind to the social problems of our day" and become "a progressive and pioneering force."¹⁰⁸ In politics he advocated complete disarmament, removal of all tariff barriers, cancellation of all war debts, and an ambiguous "change in governmental policies."¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, all three men gave a sympathetic hearing to socialistic theories. Boyd and Moore brought Paul Porter, a YMCA official who was also a Socialist, to the college campus, where he spoke to several classes, including Granbery's.¹¹⁰ Moore, whose son was then attending the radical Commonwealth College in Arkansas, specifically endorsed the Socialist Party in 1932 in the interest, he said, of "social and economic justice for all regardless of race, color, or creed. . . ."¹¹¹

Probably none of these men was a communist, but that each of them in the national crisis of 1931 and 1932 entertained ideas which, had they been translated into action, would have involved disturbances to the status quo is undeniable. But Christianity itself, if put into practice, might, they believed, act as a solvent to revolutionize the existing order. Such knowledge caused them no distress, for they could find in their religious studies and reflections no reason to suppose that God had sent his Son into the world to support any particular political and economic system or that the church was bound to do so.

The religious and economic views of this trio and the students whom they influenced would have aroused opposition in any event, but opposition probably became more vocal early in 1932 because Texas Baptists were at that time inaugurating

a campaign to raise \$750,000 to support Mary Hardin-Baylor College at Belton, Texas.¹¹² For the Reverend Mr. Campbell (who had formerly preached in Belton) to associate the local state college with heretical, even subversive ideas might well lead businessmen and pious laymen to make increased financial contributions to an institution whose doctrinal soundness and support of conservative ideology could be guaranteed.

After Campbell had delivered his sensational charges against members of the college faculty, the Baptist Board of Deacons met to vote their "implicit confidence" in the pastor and to express their own conviction that a radical group at the college propagated "destructive and unpatriotic teachings."¹¹³ The college student council in special session the next day passed resolutions deploring "the making of doctrinal views a basis for a criticism of a state institution open to all denominations and creeds alike. . . ." ¹¹⁴ The *Toreador*, the student newspaper, published an editorial by Marshall Formby in similar vein,¹¹⁵ but apparently few in the city heeded the warning that Baptists might be interfering in a realm supposedly exempt from church interference. At about the same time, the college administration refused permission to the Baptist student organization to conduct a revival on the campus, an act which brought some objection from local churchmen, who may have seen in that event further proof of the progress of subversion and heresy on the college campus.¹¹⁶

While Campbell left to speak in El Paso in support of the campaign to raise funds for Baylor College, the crusade continued.¹¹⁷ T. Myron Webb delivered a fiery sermon against atheism at the First Fundamentalist Church; Duncan taught his Bible class a lesson on "So-called Christian Socialism or the relation of Christianity to Socialism"; and the pastor of the Church of the Nazarene announced that he had in his possession a textbook written by three Tech professors which he found destructive of Biblical truths.¹¹⁸ By that time, religion in Lubbock, and especially the heresies at the college, had be-

come matters for state-wide concern. Duncan's brother-in-law, J. Frank Norris of Fort Worth, attempted to circulate a questionnaire among the faculty to establish their religious and political orthodoxy, specifically their views on evolution and their attitude toward what he called "Sovietism."¹¹⁹ Shortly afterward, he delivered a sensational radio broadcast on the crisis in Lubbock. Two flags were challenging all civilization, he said, "first the red flag of Sovietism and second, the black flag of atheism"¹²⁰ Both, he suggested, waved brazenly in the ideological breezes generated on the Tech campus.

In the summer of 1932 the Board of Directors of the college failed to renew the contracts of Professor Granbery and of several other faculty members. It is now clear that the board acted because it believed Granbery had used his position as a faculty member to interest students in communist affiliated organizations. Granbery, on the other hand, charged that the board's action proceeded from "militant religious fanaticism,"¹²¹ and in view of the events preceding his dismissal, it appears unavoidable to conclude that the religious controversy had had much to do with making him a controversial figure and with focusing public attention upon his opinions and activities. Furthermore, powerful religious leaders in the city would support his dismissal for their own reasons, whatever motives may have governed the Board of Directors in its decision. However that may be, it is certain that with his removal conservative religion as well as conservative economics had won a signal victory in Lubbock.

The field was swept nearly clean. The Reverend Bradner Moore was removed from his rectorate on September 30, 1932, by Bishop E. Cecil Seaman. Moore later asserted that the Bishop's action had been prompted by a letter he had received from the chairman of the Tech board.¹²² The secretary of the YMCA, Jack E. Boyd, was also dismissed because of his radical ideas and activities—the college board, for example, in addition to investigating his alleged communism, probed

charges that he had distributed questionnaires to determine student opinion on race and that he advocated racial equality in the churches.¹²³ Boyd himself blamed his dismissal on charges "maliciously hurled . . . by the religious fundamentalists and other reactionary elements in Lubbock."¹²⁴ The YMCA continued to meet on the college campus, but it was henceforth to be a quite different kind of organization. Its purpose which, under Boyd's leadership, had been "to secure a conception of the church universal . . . and to study to understand the problems of our international, interracial, political, industrial and economic life,"¹²⁵ became after his departure the "promotion of fellowship on the campus."¹²⁶ For years afterward its program offered little ground for controversy. A session in 1937, for example, centered about a discussion of the topic, "How to get acquainted on the Tech campus," and included a review of the book *How to Win Friends and Influence People*.¹²⁷

The battle was over. And there could be no doubt where the victory lay. M. H. Duncan continued a lengthy campaign against evolution and modernism, but since the struggle could no longer easily be personalized, the issue subsided despite occasional efforts to revive it — as late as the spring of 1960 some Church of Christ ministers in Lubbock delivered sermons condemning the theory of evolution.¹²⁸ One of the incidental results of the long controversy had been to link religious orthodoxy with patriotism and to identify liberal religion with collectivism and subversion. Religious orthodoxy can be and often has been extremely critical of the existing social and economic order — as in the works of Reinhold Neibuhr — but it seldom proved so in Lubbock. Religion in Lubbock continued to be used for secular purposes. Thus in 1950 a local group opposed to a Federal Public Housing Project in the city ran a full-page newspaper advertisement equating "free enterprise" with Christianity;¹²⁹ and in 1952 when the head of the Americanism program at Texas Technological College advo-

cated the repeal of all social legislation, he termed his program "Christian Americanism."¹³⁰

If the fundamentalist controversy of 1932 had provided the Lubbock churches with their most impressive victory, they had achieved another of only slightly less magnitude four years earlier in the election of 1928. The contest enlisted the aid of laymen and clergymen alike, for Protestants in Lubbock generally agreed in that year that Alfred E. Smith, with his urban background, his Roman Catholicism, and his anti-prohibition sentiments, should not be elected president of the United States, even though he was the Democratic Party's candidate. John L. Ratliff, a "prominent Baptist layman," was chairman of the county Anti-Smith Democrats, and the Reverend E. E. White served on the executive committee.¹³¹ The group brought the fundamentalist J. Frank Norris to Lubbock, where several thousand heard him deliver a three-hour speech against Smith, in which he castigated him for his membership in Tammany, his opposition to prohibition, and his connection with the "political side of the Roman Catholic Church. . . ." Hoover, on the other hand, Norris characterized as a "great Christian gentleman."¹³² Mrs. J. B. Mobley, a prominent Baptist, predicted Smith's election and in a spirit of tolerance rare in the city in that year recounted the numerous contributions Catholics had made to American life.¹³³ Few agreed with her. The Reverend R. F. Dunn claimed that nearly all Protestants opposed Smith.¹³⁴ Shortly before the election, the Reverend J. W. Hunt, president of McMurry College, delivered a speech at Lubbock in which he denounced Smith in extraordinarily strong language. The Democratic candidate, he said, was "a dirty, drunken bum. . . ." Hoover, in contrast, was "a real American, a Christian gentleman, son of a village blacksmith, his mother a Quaker preacher. . . ." The Reverend Mr. Hunt also injected a racist note into the discussion. "Good church-going Negroes," he predicted, would vote for Hoover, while "the chicken-stealing, crap-

shooting, bootlegging Negro crowd will vote for Smith." Smith, continued Hunt, "wanted to let down immigration bars so the Southern European Catholics can swarm into the country."¹³⁵ At a final Hoover rally, a visiting Nazarene revivalist "attacked the Catholics bitterly." On the same occasion, the Reverend Mr. White charged that "Smith stands for that which keeps the slums and underworld going." Texas voted Republican in the election for the first time since Reconstruction days, and Lubbock Protestants were jubilant over their contribution to the election of "that great Christian gentleman," Herbert Hoover, for Lubbock voters cast 1525 votes for Hoover and 1079 for Smith.¹³⁶

PROBLEMS OF THE THIRTIES

A year after Hoover's election, the stock market crashed, inaugurating the long economic decline which destroyed much of the material prosperity against which preachers had so often fulminated. One of the immediate results so far as the churches were concerned was a decline in financial support, and this despite the fact that church services and Sunday Schools were better attended than before the depression: according to an estimate made in 1932, one-quarter of Lubbock's population attended church each Sunday, and the First Baptist Church reported at the start of the depression that its Sunday School was one of the four or five largest in the entire Southern Baptist Convention.¹³⁷

Some of Lubbock's preachers were inclined to blame the depression on sin and to seek the remedy in religious revival. The Baptist-sponsored Men's Downtown Bible Class declared that the Bible offered the only cure for economic troubles. The churches cooperated to run full-page newspaper advertisements quoting Roger Babson to the effect that the return of prosperity depended on religion.¹³⁸ For the moment, however, the churches found their responsibility not in promoting recovery through revival but in providing relief. The need

was great. With the spread of unemployment, extreme misery appeared in the city. Families were dispossessed from their homes, and some took up residence northeast of the railroad underpass in "shack town," which was described as "a jungle of miserable cardboard huts, itinerants' tents and nondescript junk. . . ." ¹³⁹ Three children starved to death in Lubbock in the fall of 1930. ¹⁴⁰ The next summer city officials converted the city hall square into a turnip patch to help supply food for the poor. ¹⁴¹ Amidst such distress, the churches exerted themselves to fulfill their obligation of charity. Families long unemployed called on their churches for help, and it was extended generously. Pastors requested more fortunate members to bring food and clothing to church services for distribution to the needy. The First Baptist Church established a "benevolence room" in the church for the receiving and dispensing of food and clothing, and many other churches did the same. After Red Cross funds had been exhausted, all Lubbock churches cooperated in a food shower to aid the poor. ¹⁴² The Ministerial Association, upon the suggestion of Professor John C. Granbery (before his dismissal from the college), sponsored a city-wide fast day, which yielded \$610 for poor relief. ¹⁴³ The Salvation Army, though inadequately supported during the early years of the depression, nonetheless distributed 3300 garments during 1932, supplied food to 339 families, served 2246 meals, and housed 1500 men. ¹⁴⁴ The Sanders Sunday School, established in northwest Lubbock as an un-denominational project, bought food in wholesale lots for distribution to its members only, thus helping the needy while at the same time encouraging its own growth. ¹⁴⁵ The main activity of the interdenominational Church Women's Federation came to be welfare work among the city's poor. ¹⁴⁶ Such welfare activity continued throughout the decade of the 1930's, with religious organizations seeking jobs for the unemployed, providing meals for stranded transients, giving food to the poor, and supplying yeast to pellagra victims. As late

as 1939 the Salvation Army served 50,000 meals to Lubbock school children.¹⁴⁷

These widespread charitable programs do not mean that the churches devoted all or even most of their resources to relief. In September 1937 the First Presbyterian Church reported that it had been able to reduce its indebtedness by \$4800 during the preceding six months; the Methodist Church was paying on three notes; and the First Baptist Church paid \$200 a week on debts it owed to banks and individuals.¹⁴⁸

Churches in the Negro section of Lubbock attempted to deal independently with the relief problems of their own people. The Mt. Gilead Baptist Church sponsored a free lunch counter in the church building, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church established a soup line at the parsonage.¹⁴⁹ Those two churches formed a Colored Relief Association with the Reverend S. H. Winston of the Mt. Gilead Baptist Church as chairman and the Reverend C. H. Hamilton of the African Methodist Church as secretary-treasurer.¹⁵⁰ But with smaller financial resources than the other churches in Lubbock, these projects necessarily were soon abandoned.

By early 1933 the national economy had perhaps reached its lowest point, and individual suffering was enormous. Yet to many churchmen in Lubbock, as elsewhere, the most serious national problem seemed to be the proposed repeal of prohibition. At about the time children were dying of starvation in Lubbock, a local pastor declared that the "burning issue" of the day was the liquor traffic.¹⁵¹ With the election of 1932 the churches became greatly agitated at the prospect of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Lubbock had been legally dry during practically all its history. Although there is no evidence to suggest that prohibitory laws had ever succeeded in preventing the transportation, sale, or consumption of alcohol within the city ("There never was a dry place in West Texas," declared one long-time Lubbock resident. "Bootleggers have been here since the beginning of time"),¹⁵²

the prohibition statute nonetheless assumed great importance to the Lubbock clergy. The law stood as an earnest of civic morality, and its perpetuation served to symbolize religious authority.

While probably every Protestant church in the city supported prohibition, the evidence strongly suggests that the leadership in the prohibition battle came from Baptists and Methodists. In January 1933 the Ministerial Association sponsored the first prohibition rally to be held in Lubbock in a dozen years. The arrangements committee, headed by the pastor of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, included the pastors of the First Methodist, Asbury Methodist, and Central Baptist churches. The pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church drafted the resolutions, and the president of Southern Methodist University, who was chairman of the United Forces of Prohibition in Texas, delivered the main address.¹⁵³

The prohibition campaign intensified during the summer. Great anti-liquor rallies were held periodically; church women were urged to attend all such meetings as a Christian duty; and prohibition workers delivered three-minute speeches before the Sunday School classes of most Lubbock churches during July and August.¹⁵⁴ Prohibition appeals bore all the urgency of war. Preachers urged church officials and laymen "who will fight in defense of their homes" to attend prohibition rallies.¹⁵⁵ "I say let us get in the trenches or on the mountains or hillsides . . . and fight and be a Stonewall Jackson to the core," one preacher proclaimed.¹⁵⁶ The Reverend R. C. Campbell, fresh from his victory over the religious liberals in Texas Technological College, analyzed the issues in the prohibition contest: "It is a fight for decency, high morals, pure womanhood," he said, "to protect our fair state from being encroached upon by this slimy, roaring, heart breaking, gnashing, blood curdling, moral corrupting demon of hell. . . ." ¹⁵⁷ The Church Women's Federation appointed a law enforcement committee to work for prohibition. Members of the

federation canvassed the city to enlist voters in the campaign and arranged to transport voters to the polls on election day.¹⁵⁸ The Reverend R. M. Hacker of the First Church of the Nazarene cited an array of scriptural passages in support of prohibition.¹⁵⁹ Although the Reverend Walter Jennings had averred that churches ought to "quit trying to legislate people into the kingdom of heaven,"¹⁶⁰ apparently the majority in Lubbock did not agree. In August 1933 Lubbock voters in their first local option election since 1912 voted for prohibition.¹⁶¹

But prohibition was soon in peril again. An election was scheduled for March 1934 to consider the legalization of 3.2 beer in Lubbock County. Again preachers explicitly associated prohibition with Christian obligation. "Vote for God and the right!" urged the Reverend C. J. McCarty of the Calvary Baptist Church. "Vote as though Jesus Christ himself stood by and watched you mark your ballot."¹⁶² The Reverend R. C. Campbell spoke in even more solemn words: "God's voice echoes down the corridors of time: 'Woe unto him that buildeth a town in blood and establisheth a city by iniquity. . . .'"¹⁶³ To be sure, this was an election to legalize the sale of beer only, but, warned a prominent Methodist preacher, "any use of beer encourages a habit that befools the mind, benumbs the finer sensibilities, and has nothing in common with rightly ordered moral living."¹⁶⁴ Heeding these numerous counsels, Lubbock voters rejected the sale of 3.2 beer.

In a statewide election in August 1935 voters were asked to give their opinion on the repeal of the state prohibition law. Again the local churches organized their forces to oppose the measure.¹⁶⁵ Although the law was repealed, Lubbock County voted 1944 to 1127 against repeal and retained prohibition by local option.¹⁶⁶ There would be no further effort to legalize the sale of alcoholic beverages in Lubbock until after the Second World War.

So far as religious opinion in Lubbock was concerned, the New Deal had got off to a bad start with the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Later events did not make church members more sympathetic. The announcement that a ball would be held in Lubbock on the President's birthday to help support the campaign against infantile paralysis produced condemnatory sermons in three of the most important churches in town. Good causes should not be served by evil means, asserted rigid moralists. In a joint statement the pastors of the First Methodist and First Baptist churches, still disgruntled by the ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment, warned that "America cannot drink her way to prosperity; neither can she dance her way to prosperity."¹⁶⁷ On that issue the preachers lost, and the affair was held as scheduled under the chairmanship of Charles A. Guy, himself a prominent Presbyterian layman.

Religious literalists, already doubtful about the morality of the New Deal, viewed its legislative acts skeptically. They entertained particularly strong reservations about the National Recovery Administration, not because of its economic and political implications, but because of its symbol, the famous Blue Eagle. Shortly after Congress passed the NRA, a rumor swept through the fundamentalist ranks in Lubbock that the Blue Eagle was the dreaded "Mark of the Beast" of Revelations 13: 11-17, with which the righteous must have no association. The pastor of the Central Baptist Church felt compelled to preach twice on the subject in the hope of disabusing his congregation of the idea. Other pastors also expressed doubt that the Scriptures had intended to proscribe the NRA, but so strong were the continuing prejudices that many preachers hesitated to commit themselves on so sensitive a subject. The Church Women's Federation, however, organized a campaign to popularize the Blue Eagle in the city and to secure pledges of adherence to the NRA program.¹⁶⁸

The general reform features of the New Deal era also met

resistance among some religious elements in Lubbock, but it was not always possible to tell whether the opposition stemmed from religious ideas themselves or from conservative economic principles. For example, proposals to adopt a constitutional amendment to prohibit child labor encountered positive opposition from the Reverend W. G. Loesel, pastor of the Redeemer Lutheran Church. The amendment was communistic in purpose, he declared. According to Loesel, the idea had originated at Hull House, "which is the hotbed of Communism and radicalism in America."¹⁶⁹ Revivalists in particular, when they alluded to politics at all, were likely to condemn Roosevelt's policies, sometimes by relating them to various apocalyptic passages in the Bible or, more often, by claiming simply that the entire program was immoral and unspiritual. "The cry is for revival," shouted one disenchanted evangelist, but "the New Deal left God out. Booze enthusiasts did not deliver prosperity."¹⁷⁰ Although most Lubbock preachers in the 1930's had little to say about national politics, much religious sentiment in the city continued to doubt the virtue of the New Deal, and at least one important preacher spoke against it. "We as a nation have forsaken God and left Him out of our thinking," wrote a local correspondent to the Lubbock newspaper. "Our true and tried constitution, founded on laws of righteousness and justice, has been relegated to the 'horse and buggy days' and become a mere scrap of paper."¹⁷¹ Much the most articulate and energetic anti-New Deal preacher in Lubbock was the Reverend George C. Brewer, minister of the Broadway Church of Christ from 1937 to 1944.¹⁷² Like most Church of Christ ministers, Brewer concentrated on New Testament teachings, but in addition to fostering biblical literalism, he also crusaded against what he considered to be communistic trends within the United States. He enjoyed remarkable success. His lecture on "Americanism and Christianity" — an anti-communistic speech — he delivered at such widely scattered points as Los Angeles, Atlanta, Nash-

ville, Detroit, and Lubbock.¹⁷³ Occasionally he explicitly associated the New Deal with communism. "Many of the policies and practices of the present administration are not only contrary to American ideals and principles," he told the Lubbock American Business Club, "but they are distinctly Communistic in type and tend towards abolition of individualism and the formation of a Communistic state. . . ." Among the "policies and practices" of the New Deal which he opposed was the Social Security Act of 1935. Not only did he find the Social Security program communistic, but he also believed it unscriptural. In accepted Church of Christ fashion, he cited numerous passages from both the Old and the New Testaments to justify his stand.¹⁷⁴

Communism aroused fear in Lubbock throughout the 1930's and provided revivalists with a sensational theme. If traditional appeals to revival had lost much of their effectiveness, they might yet be reinforced by personalizing the devil in the shape of communism. The Foursquare Gospel Church heard a missionary in 1935 deliver a sermon entitled "Communism or Red Rats,"¹⁷⁵ and an evangelist at the Tabernacle Baptist Church, speaking on the general theme "Belshazzar's Feast Is Now On," sought to disquiet his listeners with the question "Will you have your child baptized in the red flag communism [*sic*], or washed in the blood of Christ?"¹⁷⁶

Of course, most preachers were more restrained, even when they discussed communism. But the temptation remained in the 1930's, as it had in the 1920's, to adopt the sensational in sermon topics as a substitute for other appeals. There were some who saw something ludicrous in the antics of an evangelist-magician who appeared at the African Methodist Episcopal Church in March 1935. Yet the question might well be asked whether his performance was in any respect more sensational than that of the evangelist at the Broadway Church of Christ who a few weeks later delivered a sermon called "Lights and Shadows around the Electric Chair" in which

he described an electrocution he had witnessed and then warned the congregation "that sin and wrong-doing will not pay," or of the revivalist at the First Methodist Church who in the same month spoke on the biblical figure David, under the title, "The Man Who Stole Another Man's Wife."¹⁷⁷

Church attendance in general continued high during the 1930's, and after the first shock of the depression had passed, church-giving increased. This was particularly evident among Baptist churches and the Churches of Christ as the result of vigorous campaigns in those denominations to encourage tithing. Yet there was a common impression that church membership and church attendance had become to some extent merely matters of convention and social conformity and that genuine piety had declined. Wednesday night prayer meetings, which, according to one pastor, served as "the thermometers of the church," were no longer so well attended as in former years.¹⁷⁸ The pastor of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, however, resigned himself to a decrease in religious zeal. "Paul said there shall be perilous times in the last days," he recalled. "Individuals and small groups will continue their prayer services but the masses will drift further and further away. . . ." ¹⁷⁹ But preachers who did not belong to millennial faiths and thus could not enjoy the consolation of that philosophy worked zealously to increase attendance at prayer meetings and all other church functions. Although union revivals, which had once been a regular activity of Lubbock's churches, practically disappeared during the 1930's, most congregations at least once a year sponsored a revival of their own as a means of winning new converts and of restoring the sometimes failing religious fires among the present membership.

THE RISE OF SMALL SECTS

If a decline in religious spirit actually did occur within some of the well established congregations during the 1930's, the same could assuredly not be said about the many new,

small sects that appeared in Lubbock coincident with the depression. Remarkable energy and zeal characterized their activities, and attendants at their religious services frequently manifested enthusiasm of a sort seldom any longer encountered among the older denominations. For several decades the original denominational pattern in Lubbock had changed little. But in the late 1920's a bewildering variety of new sects began to appear in the city. One of the first of these was the Full Gospel Tabernacle, which was in operation by November 1927. Most, however, were established after 1930. Among the numerous sects in Lubbock, some of them surviving for only a brief period, have been the Oneness Pentecostal Church, the Apostolic Church of God, the Apostolic Christian Church, Glad Tidings Tabernacle, Pre-Millennial Fundamental Baptist Church, Foursquare Gospel Church, Congregational Methodist Church, Evangelistic Methodist Church, Christian and Missionary Alliance Church, Universal Brotherhood of Light, and the Assembly of God.

One of the most successful of these in terms of growth has been the Foursquare Gospel Church. Although evangelists of that faith worked in Lubbock during the summer of 1931,²⁸⁰ the establishment of the church dates from February of the next year when Mr. and Mrs. Frank D. Hutter, fresh from association with Aimee Semple McPherson's Angelus Temple in Los Angeles, arrived with an evangelistic team to conduct a six-week revival meeting. The Hutters soon became discouraged with the West Texas sandstorms and moved on, but the Reverend and Mrs. Floyd Dawson, members of the Hutters' party, remained to found the Foursquare Gospel Church. By 1960 five of its congregations operated in Lubbock, and the parent church had established eight other congregations in nearby towns. From its congregations in Lubbock, eighty members had become Foursquare Gospel preachers.²⁸¹

Some of the small sects have been disturbed by dissension too intense to be accommodated by their institutional struc-

ture. A quarrel in the Church of God in Christ, for example, led to a court ruling that the two disputing factions must use the church building on alternate weekdays and Sundays.¹⁸² In a pentecostal church operating at 410 Avenue D, dissidents attempted to burn down the church building;¹⁸³ and at the Grace Gospel Church, a dissatisfied group obtained a court injunction enjoining the pastor, the Reverend Grover Cleveland, from entering the church building. The aggrieved Cleveland then established a new organization, called variously The People's Chapel and The Good News Chapel, which claimed to be "A New Testament Church for the People and by the People without Dictatorial Elders."¹⁸⁴ The dissension he aroused appeared not to trouble Cleveland. "The preacher who always gets along with a religious crowd is a salary drawer, a chicken-eating, baby-kissing, women-petting compromiser," he philosophized.¹⁸⁵

Although most of the new sects encountered little hostility in Lubbock, the same cannot be said for Jehovah's Witnesses. It may seem contradictory that so religious a community as Lubbock appeared to be should have resented the efforts of a small sect to propagate its beliefs within the city; yet, activities of Jehovah's Witnesses aroused opposition within Lubbock much as they did in other parts of the nation. In 1941 Police Chief Don Reeder ordered two women to desist from spreading their literature in the city, and a year later police investigated complaints that members of the sect were playing phonograph records and distributing literature advertising their beliefs.¹⁸⁶ But police action did not halt the growth of Jehovah's Witnesses in Lubbock. By 1944 it was strong enough to bring suit in federal court against the Lubbock Independent School District for requiring school children to salute the flag. Although the suit was dismissed, the sect won a partial victory, for the school board decided that pupils could not be suspended from school for failure to render the

salute, even though they must remain at attention during the exercise.¹⁸⁷

The small sects in Lubbock differed widely from each other in doctrine and in outward forms of worship; yet they shared certain characteristics. They were likely to be pentecostal and fundamentalist; they were likely to accept modern miracles, especially faith healing; many of them emphasized biblical prophecy; and some of them denied that they were in fact denominational. However much the outward form of their worship might vary, they were alike in that their services were generally more emotional and their preachers more denunciatory than in most of the older, established churches. Indeed so extreme were the denunciations uttered by preachers of the sects—and also of some of the older churches—over local radio stations in the mid-1930's that the Ministerial Association adopted a code of ethics for radio broadcasts by which all members agreed not to impugn each other over the airwaves.¹⁸⁸

The question remains as to why so many sects appeared in Lubbock in the early 1930's. Perhaps the distress incident to the depression led some people to join those sects which offered a warm emotionalism and a simple immediacy not always supplied by the older churches whose religious services had become a spectacle one watched but did not participate in. Perhaps many of the poor no longer felt at home in larger, richer congregations; perhaps some resented the business ethic evident in many churches.¹⁸⁹ That the latter existed can hardly be doubted. What could a man of sincere piety have made of the argument used by the pastor of the First Christian Church in support of missionaries? Every missionary creates trade worth \$50,000 with the United States, he declared. Savages buy nothing, "but as soon as their hearts are renewed by the Gospel they feel that they must have books, and clocks, and sewing machines. . . ." ¹⁹⁰ Such an argument of calculation might appeal to businessmen, but hardly to the religious.

Or what of the answer given in the First Baptist Church to the question, does it pay to organize new Sunday School classes? The church newspaper reported that a structure for which the church had formerly received \$50 a month rent had been converted into a Sunday School building, where at a single Sunday service the students contributed \$168.32.¹⁹¹ Of course Sunday Schools paid! Others, too, may have resented the commonly held notion that church attendance in itself was in some vague, undefined way a civic duty good citizens owed to the community. Some may have rebelled against the religiously materialistic attitude of certain Lubbock employers who managed to surround religion with a paternalistic, dry-goods atmosphere. The Barrier Brothers Department Store, for example, in pale reflection of the spirit that had animated the Tappan brothers in New York City a century earlier, held religious meetings for its employees at which they heard church choirs sing and where they listened to simple religious talks.¹⁹² Perhaps businessman domination of the churches provoked resentment. A survey made in February 1930 revealed that most pastors of the established churches believed that professional and businessmen were the leaders in their congregations, with many of them serving as ushers, stewards, deacons, elders, and Sunday School teachers. Only the Church of Christ and the Asbury Methodist Church were not willing to state that middle class elements dominated them.¹⁹³ It is little wonder, then, that many men and women in Lubbock would find their needs not served by the existing churches. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all members of the small sects came from inconspicuous elements in Lubbock. Former Superintendent of Schools M. H. Duncan eventually formed his own independent church, which shared many of the characteristics of the other small sects. Pink Parrish, who had been mayor of the city from 1926 to 1928, was closely associated with the new Foursquare Gospel

Church, and his son studied at the Lighthouse of International Foursquare Evangelism, the church's seminary in California.¹⁹⁴

Another group of churches, set apart from the older denominations, appeared as Negroes moved to Lubbock. Since the white churches maintained rigid racial segregation, the Negro community necessarily formed its own churches. Small, exceedingly poor, and generally excluded from vital fellowship with white religious leaders, the colored community experienced great difficulties in establishing churches, but through their own efforts and with some financial aid and direction from white congregations, the Negroes developed well organized and effective churches, many of them housed in commodious buildings. Some congregations, however, as late as 1960 remained unable to support full-time pastors.¹⁹⁵

A measure of fellowship early developed between white and Negro members of the same denominations, as for example in 1931 when members of the First Baptist Church aided in a revival at Mt. Calvary Baptist Church; yet, a measure of segregation prevailed even here, so that the white people who attended the dinner closing the services were seated at "separate and special tables."¹⁹⁶ "Social equality and mingling does not help but hinder," asserted the newspaper published by the First Baptist Church.¹⁹⁷ Negro pastors were recognized as members of the religious community, however, and attended sessions of the Lubbock Ministerial Association and participated freely in its activities. Progress in other areas was made as well. At the Billy Graham revival in Lubbock in 1953, Negroes sat in a special section; at the Howard Butt revival in 1959, no such segregation was imposed.¹⁹⁸

Negro pastors, like their white counterparts, engaged in civic activities that were not, strictly speaking, religious. The Reverend T. A. Amos, pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, announced in 1944 the formation of the Carver Heights Voters League, an affiliate of the Texas Colored Voters Leagues, sponsored by the National Association for

the Advancement of Colored People. Its purpose was to organize Negro support for political candidates. The Reverend Mr. Amos urged Negroes to pay poll taxes so that they could vote for officials who might provide civic improvements for the Negro section of the city.¹⁹⁹ This could hardly be termed irresponsible agitation, for at that time Negro school children were still denied school bus transportation within the Lubbock Independent School district.²⁰⁰ Negro Baptists attempted an independent civic project. Because their members were excluded from local college facilities, they made plans to build a Negro junior college in Lubbock. The project collapsed, however, from lack of financial support.²⁰¹

THE WAR YEARS AND POSTWAR EXPANSION

When the Second World War began, the Lubbock Ministerial Association was once again in the process of attempting to strengthen church domination over local morals. It had secured the aid of high school officials in organizing a unit of the Allied Youth Movement for Temperance; its members had agreed to hold no funerals on Sunday; it had appointed a committee to investigate rumors that Sunday work was being carried on at business establishments "behind closed doors"; it had succeeded in persuading all milk plants in Lubbock to agree to halt house deliveries of milk on Sunday — only six or seven other cities in the nation were without Sunday milk deliveries.²⁰² A certain amount of urgency attended these projects for reasserting clerical influence, because the airbase near Lubbock was nearing completion. Some preachers feared that the introduction of large numbers of young, uniformed men from other parts of the country might disturb the local moral order; church leaders also believed that they had a responsibility to maintain what one of them termed a "clean" atmosphere in the city, so that those servicemen who were stationed in Lubbock might depart from the city even "cleaner" than when they had arrived.²⁰³

Strict observance of the Sabbath would help to create the pious environment in which a rigid code of conduct could be maintained.

But disturbing tendencies were noted in Lubbock in spite of the clergy's renewed vigilance. At a meeting in the spring of 1942, the Ministerial Association established a committee to investigate rumors that "vice, bootlegging, and gambling" flourished in the city.²⁰⁴ Lubbock had recently become notorious as a "bootleggers' paradise," the ministers noted. However exaggerated such a statement may have been, the fact remained that some very large loopholes did exist in the liquor laws. According to a newspaper report, 168,745 doctors' prescriptions for liquor had been issued in Lubbock during the period from December 1, 1939, to April 30, 1940.²⁰⁵ In June 1942 the clergy held a mass meeting at the First Baptist Church to discuss "law and order and morals . . . [and] to create . . . plans for keeping our community clean and morally straight." Charges of appalling corruption were presented—even committeemen thought them overdrawn. One member suggested that some of the investigators must have done "some window-peeping to bob up with their stories." The meeting concluded that even though vice was less prevalent in Lubbock than in many other cities, vigilance must nonetheless be maintained to prevent a general collapse of morals within the city.²⁰⁶

Partly in order to reinforce church influence and traditional moral values during that time of war-induced social change, the Ministerial Association began to study a plan to provide a teacher of the Bible for the Lubbock public schools. In 1943 the Reverend J. M. Lewis, president of the association, announced that the project had become the group's "No. 1 objective."²⁰⁷ The Bible teaching program, instituted in 1943, was patterned after an arrangement in the public schools of Chattanooga, Tennessee. The churches paid the teachers, who were considered to be regular faculty members, and the school

system provided classrooms, equipment, and school time.²⁰⁸ A certain amount of religious training had of course been supplied in the Lubbock schools since their establishment. In earlier times the opening exercises of the fall semester were usually held in one of the churches, with addresses being given by preachers rather than by school officials. Provision had also been made for student religious meetings during the school day. In 1931 the boys of Lubbock High School met in study hall one morning to discuss "Prayer." The meeting opened with Scripture reading, and "after discussing the given subject, members of the study hall sang patriotic songs and discussed the Westerner game with Abilene Saturday."²⁰⁹ Never prior to 1943, however, had the schools provided formal instruction in the Bible. Apparently no complaints were registered against the program. School officials reported that of the four hundred spring graduates of the high school in 1948 two-thirds had completed the course.²¹⁰ When a second city high school was opened, the Ministerial Association furnished a second Bible teacher. It did not, however, provide a Bible teacher for the Negro high school.²¹¹

The churches conducted special activities, too, for the students at Texas Technological College. Since its establishment the college had maintained close relations with organized religion in Lubbock. During the college's first years, the churches each fall semester conducted union services for students and faculty in a college building. All principal denominations established "Bible Chairs" to provide social life, moral guidance, and Bible courses for college students. During the school year 1929-1930, religious addresses for the students were delivered on the campus each month by members of the faculty.²¹² Each of the college's presidents has been an active member of a Lubbock church, some have been church officials, some have taught Sunday School classes. The college administration was long inclined to provide religious speakers for student assemblies. In 1934 all college classes were dis-

missed to enable students to hear the Reverend George W. Truett of Dallas, who had come to Lubbock to conduct a Baptist revival. In a spirit of impartiality, a special convocation was held the same year so the students might hear a visiting Methodist revivalist.²¹³ In view of such actions, one could hardly doubt the truth of President Bradford Knapp's statement that "the Administration and faculty of the college feel keenly their responsibility in directing the footsteps of students toward churches of Lubbock."²¹⁴ In 1939 rumors of Sunday football playing at the college spread through the city, creating consternation in some religious circles. President Clifford B. Jones issued a prompt denial: "Not so long as I have anything to say about it," he assured the disturbed townspeople, would such a thing be allowed. The president's remarks brought approving comment from the local newspaper, which commended the state institution for its religious character.²¹⁵ In harmony with the religious customs of the city, many college functions, even football games, were opened with prayer. "It seems to me that Tech is getting to be more like a church school campus than — a church school campus!" remarked a college girl in 1951.²¹⁶

The Second World War gave impetus to plans for church expansion beyond anything dreamed of in earlier years. The city had grown so rapidly that a structure considered adequate, even commodious, in 1930 seemed cramped by 1941. The prosperity of the war years made it possible to satisfy the need for larger church quarters. In June 1941 the First Christian Church announced plans to construct a new building. Within twenty-four hours one-half the cost of the project had been pledged.²¹⁷ In August 1941 groundbreaking ceremonies were held for a new St. Paul's-on-the-Plains church building.²¹⁸ In November of the same year La Primera Iglesia Bautista Mexicana dedicated its new building.²¹⁹ In January 1942 St. John's Methodist Church announced plans for an addition to its building,²²⁰ and the First Baptist Church began

to accumulate war bonds to be used eventually for a new church. By 1944 it owned bonds for this purpose worth \$100,496.50.²²¹ In 1944 both the Broadway Church of Christ and the First Methodist Church announced extensive building plans.²²² Although some of these projects could not be put into effect for several years, their presentation during the war suggests the optimism with which the churches viewed the future and their part in it.

The immediate post-war period was pre-eminently an era of church building. One of the war's effects had been to multiply the number of churches operating in Lubbock, for after gas rationing had been imposed and automobile travel made difficult, the Ministerial Association adopted a policy of favoring the establishment of chapels to serve outlying parts of the city.²²³ Many denominations thus founded such chapels, which in later years grew into independent self-supporting churches. With the return of peace, most of these congregations either built new structures or constructed extensive additions to their old ones. Furthermore, the rapid post-war growth of the city led to the founding of many new churches in outlying areas. In the single year 1949, twenty-six churches started or completed additions and thirty-eight others announced plans for construction in 1950.²²⁴ Practically every congregation after the war either moved to a new site, expanded its old buildings, or built new structures, some of them vast and magnificent indeed.

These large construction programs helped to make the churches an important factor in Lubbock's prosperity during the booming 1950's. All church building projects required the raising of large sums of money from the congregation by means of elaborate, carefully planned campaigns.²²⁵ The churches had become big business in Lubbock, with annual budgets that as early as 1948 aggregated one million dollars.²²⁶ That amount would soon double: by 1960 the budget of the First Methodist Church alone was \$365,000. Most congrega-

tions employed large, salaried staffs to handle their far-flung enterprises. In 1948 the First Christian Church, by no means the largest church in the city, employed a pastor, a minister to students and assistant in church administration, a director of Christian education, a financial secretary, a church secretary and educational assistant, a director of music, and a church organist.²²⁷ The offices of some churches, with their elaborate, *Fortune*-like decor, their business managers, their numerous secretaries and clerks, their banks of filing cabinets, and their electric typewriters and dictating machines might easily have been mistaken for the headquarters of a small corporation. Their receipts were of necessity large, for in addition to dedicating money to the usual activities of missionary and educational work, they spent enormous sums to pay their large professional staffs, to maintain their huge buildings, to pave and light their parking lots, to construct billboards, to publish newspaper advertisements, and to buy radio time. It was perhaps understandable, therefore, that ministers should sometimes refer to the structures over which they presided as "plants."²²⁸

The churches, long the principal force sustaining prohibition in Lubbock, were compelled at the end of the war to resist a new series of onslaughts against it. In 1946 a group calling itself the "Veterans Welfare Committee" made plans to call an election to legalize the sale of beer in the county. The Ministerial Association at once held a "very important" special meeting, after which it announced strategy for "an organized campaign" to resist the movement.²²⁹ The campaign succeeded. By a vote of 6979 to 4041 Lubbock voters rejected beer.²³⁰

In July 1948 the Ministerial Association, "sensing . . . a possible campaign for general lawlessness and renewed efforts for legalizing" liquor, named a committee to investigate the records of the liquor control committee. They had been spurred to action by a self-appointed citizens committee con-

sisting of Rex Webster, George P. Kuykendall, and J. A. Fortenberry, all prominent church members.²³¹ Such efforts apparently produced the desired effect, for the Reverend J. Ralph Grant, who was not given to making compromises on moral standards, observed in 1949 that "the moral atmosphere of Lubbock is the finest that I have ever seen, and the absence of night clubs and bars is the reason."²³² But there was no occasion to relax into complacency, for in 1950 another attempt was made to end prohibition in the city. This time, the ministers' special tactic was to organize youth groups in their churches as crusaders against the effort.²³³ The goal of the anti-liquor groups was an ambitious one, but one quite in harmony with the ambitions of local preachers forty years earlier: Lubbock, they declared, should be made a center of morality and religiosity in the midst of an otherwise sinful world; let it be made the "one city in a nation . . . that can truthfully claim the title 'spiritual stronghold,'" urged the Reverend H. I. Robinson, pastor of the First Methodist Church.²³⁴ Insofar as prohibition laws could help Lubbock occupy so exalted a position, the voters cooperated with the clergy by voting 9579 to 5480 against repeal.²³⁵

The problem of liquor consumption and other vices was not solved, however. In the summer of 1951, 125 ministers and laymen met at the First Methodist Church on a call issued by David Zacharias, president of the Ministerial Association, to form a citizens' crime commission to cope with bootlegging, gambling, dope peddling, and prostitution in the city. Paul Cates was elected temporary chairman (superseded eventually by Dr. F. B. Malone), Roy Bass, temporary secretary, and Wyatt Hester, temporary treasurer. "We believe that Lubbock should be known not only as the cleanest town physically, but as the cleanest town in Texas morally," a spokesman for the group announced.²³⁶ Unfortunately, Lubbock did not appear to meet that high moral standard. The Reverend J. Ralph Grant and others had visited "drive-ins and

[observed] tourist courts" and "could not keep from seeing many things" during their inspection tour. "I would not have believed these things existed in our lovely little city," exclaimed the Reverend Mr. Grant.²³⁷

No sooner had the citizens' crime commission been formed than another petition for the repeal of prohibition was presented. This time the anti-prohibitionists waged no campaign for repeal; nonetheless, the fight against liquor was as vigorous and well organized as though the prohibitionists had in fact faced an active foe. The wets were swamped 17,150 to 7750.²³⁸ No further attempts have since been made in Lubbock to repeal the prohibition statutes.

What the churches interpreted as immorality appeared to be moving into Lubbock from many sources and in many forms after the Second World War. The clergy worked against as many kinds of vice as they could recognize. They secured an injunction to prevent the Junior Chamber of Commerce from raising money by selling tickets on a raffle;²³⁹ when the Ministerial Association learned from a report presented by the Reverend J. Ralph Grant that football betting cards were circulating in Lubbock, they gave publicity to the "grave situation."²⁴⁰ When the Ingrid Bergman film, *Stromboli*, was released, the Reverend Mr. Grant presented a resolution to the Ministerial Association asking that the film be banned in Lubbock. If this was not done voluntarily, he said, an injunction would be sought against theater owners.²⁴¹ The association in 1951 requested filling stations and drug stores to close on Sunday.²⁴² They expressed concern about the persistent infidelity in the public schools, and in 1952 a trio of ministers requested the Lubbock school board to halt the playing of music in connection with physical education classes and to prohibit square dancing in such classes—a proposal which the Ministerial Association did not endorse, however.²⁴³ In 1958 the association became concerned that Brigitte Bardot in *And God Created Woman* displayed her God-given

attributes with too much abandon, and the clergy's agitation led to an inconclusive court trial of a theater owner who had showed the film in Lubbock.²⁴⁴ In the spring of 1960 some local preachers, alarmed at what they interpreted as religious infidelity and atheism at Texas Technological College as evidenced by editorials and letters appearing in the college newspaper, exerted themselves much as their predecessors had done in 1932 to attempt to enforce religious orthodoxy on the campus of the state school.²⁴⁵

Lubbock grew so rapidly during the 1950's that church growth could not keep pace with the increasing population. Strange as it may seem, not more than 60,000 people in Lubbock belonged to a church in 1957, thus placing the city 16 percent below the national average in church membership.²⁴⁶ Such statistics, of course, are misleading as a gauge of church strength and influence. Even though church growth did not keep up with the increased city population, church attendance in Lubbock was probably higher than in the average city. Some of the strongest and best-attended churches in the entire nation were in Lubbock. The First Methodist Church in 1960 was ranked among the ten largest in American Methodism, and the Broadway Church of Christ was the largest of that faith in the world,²⁴⁷ and there could be no doubt that with its extensive foreign and domestic missionary programs it was also one of the most active and influential.

A large part of the striking church growth in the city after 1950 should probably be credited to increasing international tensions. A Lubbock pastor in 1950 explained the remarkable churchgoing tendencies of Lubbock citizens as "due to fear and insecurity. . . . For the first time we do face organized Godlessness in the world."²⁴⁸ Church attendance, which had long seemed a civic duty in Lubbock, now became also a form of patriotism. Prominent Americans gave authority to such a view. Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, speaking at Dallas in 1946, called for "goodness and wisdom, and revival of 'old

time religion' to preserve civilization."²⁴⁹ Dwight D. Eisenhower, candidate for president, speaking in Lubbock in 1952 in the atmosphere of a religious service, declared that "our form of government . . . is based on a deeply-felt religious faith."²⁵⁰ If this were true, it followed that danger to our form of government should lead to an intensification of the outward forms of religious faith as earnestness of our national piety. Clergymen in the city stated that principle explicitly. A Methodist Bishop, addressing a crowd of 10,000 Methodists gathered in Jones Stadium in 1951, declared that "communism and Christianity are two opposite and contradictory terms."²⁵¹ The Reverend J. Ralph Grant said that since a global conflict had developed between what he termed "Godless Communism and Godly democracy" only the "moral regeneration" of the democratic world could repel communism.²⁵² The small sects in Lubbock displayed a similar point of view. In general, they continued to preach the old-time religion of a sort basic enough to satisfy even Sam Rayburn—the Tabernacle Baptist Church advertised during a revival session that it offered "cornbread, Hog jowl and Turnip Greens Sermons every day."²⁵³ But some small churches specifically expressed concern over the menace of the Soviet Union. At the Bible Auditorium, sermons on Bible prophecy sought to provide answers to such disturbing questions as "What is Russia's Secret Ambition? Who will be the coming world ruler? . . . What is on the other side of death? When will the Millennium begin? What is the mark of the beast?"²⁵⁴ Most churches in Lubbock, large and small, after 1950 would probably have agreed with the layman who said before the Lubbock Optimist Club that "We call on God for guidance because we believe He has a stake in this country as the last stronghold [of] the Christian faith."²⁵⁵ If that statement appeared somewhat lacking in Christian humility, it nonetheless went far toward explaining the increased attention Americans—in Lubbock and elsewhere—gave to religion during the cold war

period: God will save the United States because he must, they seemed to say, and Americans ought on that account to be good church members.

Christianity, it appeared, could serve as a balm for people who knew they lived in a world that might at any moment be blown up. Many in Lubbock thus turned to religion as a refuge. Christianity could create unity between management and labor, heal strife among minority groups, and resolve all conflicting interests, said the pastor of the First Methodist Church in 1946;²⁵⁶ it could solve such varied problems, according to the Reverend Travis White of the First Christian Church, as "frequency of divorce, excessive taxation . . . [and the] killing off of the best youth in multitudinous wars."²⁵⁷

"Do you want personal peace, security, success?" asked a revivalist at the Broadway Church of Christ; then "cast your vote for the word of God. Are you burdened with Life's Problems? Fears, Sorrows, Loneliness, Insecurity, Discouragement, Family problems."²⁵⁸ Religion in previous decades had offered salvation, but it was security above everything else that it seemed to offer in the anxiety-ridden 1950's. "In this troubled world with disaster and chaos, when from every side the call for attention comes, I find security and peace in what Jesus has done for me," said a member of Calvary Baptist Church in 1957.²⁵⁹

Religion in its various aspects absorbed much of the attention people in Lubbock devoted to entertainment and cultural pursuits. In addition to attending the many social events churches provided, they also attended the numerous spectacular moving pictures based on Old Testament stories, and they read books of popular religion. In 1950 twice as many religious books as novels were sold in Lubbock bookstores. Fulton Ousler's *The Greatest Story Ever Told* led the list; Norman Vincent Peale's *Guide to Confident Living*, a religious appeal to the insecure, outsold all other non-fiction books.²⁶⁰ The

function church members expected religion to serve is further indicated by a list of topics Methodists suggested their pastor use for his sermons: Social drinking; What will Christians substitute for war? How much of my time should my family have? Strength to keep the marriage vows; Break-up of the home; Juvenile delinquency; Minority problems; Faith that will enable us to face the problems of old age.²⁶¹

While American-Russian relations grew worse, some churches in Lubbock experienced a reawakening of the Social Gospel. The Reverend Travis White and his successor, the Reverend Dudley Strain, of the First Christian Church used every opportunity to speak on the ecumenical church and to give personal witness for the cause of Christian unity.²⁶² Methodist church groups, too, frequently studied this subject. The First Methodist Church's weekly publication printed information on peace movements (it opposed the hydrogen bomb and the draft of nineteen-year olds), on the ecumenical church, and on race relations. The WSCS of the Methodist Church heard talks on civil rights, poll tax laws, the social creed of the church, the American Negro, human rights, Jim Crow laws, and freedom of speech—all of which suggests renewed concern among Methodists for minority problems.²⁶³

Such problems remained difficult indeed for Lubbock churches. The Reverend Fred Montero, Baptist Missionary in Lubbock, worked to end discrimination against Latin Americans. "Jesus Christ came to teach us a new commandment," he wrote, "and if we are a Christian nation we must practice it and advocate 'that we love one another,' for 'all men are brothers. . . .'"²⁶⁴ After the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), the Reverend J. Chess Lovern, pastor of the First Methodist Church, proposed a plan of desegregation for the public schools with desegregation in the first grade as a minimum basis.²⁶⁵ But no religious group in the city took a more outspoken stand on this issue than the Westminster Fellow-

ship of the First Presbyterian Church, which, under the leadership of the Reverend David M. H. Richmond, pledged itself in relation to Texas Technological College to "work for a racially integrated university community which can better glorify the God of justice and mercy. . . ." ²⁶⁶

Such actions and such expressions should not be taken to mean that the general emphasis in the churches had changed. Involved as the churches were with the existing society, few religious leaders undertook seriously to challenge the beliefs and customs of the majority in their congregations. If the revived Social Gospel achieved occasional expression in Lubbock, sermons in many of the largest, most influential, and fastest growing churches in the city remained keyed to individual sin and individual salvation, with far more emphasis on salvation than on sin.

A visitor to Lubbock in 1960 who drives east down Broadway toward the business district can not avoid being impressed by the large church buildings along that avenue. The churches which line Broadway—First Christian, First Baptist, First Church of Christ, Scientist, Broadway Church of Christ, and First Methodist—rank among the most active, best supported of their denominations in the entire country. This becomes the more striking when it is recalled that they are only five of the scores of strong churches scattered throughout the city. Taken together, they stand as monuments to the devotion of Lubbock's citizens to organized religion.

But religion, as the citizens of Lubbock know, is more than buildings. Throughout the city's history, its churchgoing people have served as the moral agents of the community. Amidst the rapid changes time has worked on the South Plains, they have dedicated themselves to the perpetuation of a religiously based moral code. Even though that code may now have been compromised (as regular reading of the city newspaper suggests), its advocates have not altogether wasted their efforts. The churches are responsible for much of Lubbock's indi-

viduality as it begins the second half century of its development.

FOOTNOTES

¹ At the time Lubbock was founded, the Disciples of Christ was in the process of dividing into the Churches of Christ and the Christian Church. The Disciples, as such, never established a church in Lubbock.

² *Centennial History of Texas Baptists* (Dallas, 1936), 68-9.

³ Stephen D. Eckstein, Jr., *The History of Churches of Christ in Texas, 1824-1950* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas Technological College, 1959), 189-190; Liff Sanders, *An Early History of the Church of Christ in Lubbock* (Typescript, Broadway Church of Christ, Lubbock); Ida Collins to Jean Paul, interview, August 26, 1958; Liff Sanders to Jean Paul, interview, June 20, July 5, 1958. The Churches of Christ in the nineteenth century were, of course, elements within the Disciples of Christ.

⁴ Charles Gambrall Rankin, *Baptist Activities on the South Plains prior to 1900* (MA Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1935), 11, 82.

⁵ Henrietta Dalton, *The First Methodist Church of Lubbock* (Typescript, First Methodist Church, Lubbock), 5.

⁶ *Lubbock Press-Leader*, December 3, 1892.

⁷ Dalton, *First Methodist Church*, 6; Addie Leona Morrison, *History of Lubbock County, Texas* (MA Thesis, Colorado State College of Education, 1939), 120.

⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche*, May 29, 1919; Max Coleman, *The Alpha and Omega of Modern Manor Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Lubbock, 1958), 23.

⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, June 22, 1941.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Arthur H. Leidigh and Mary J. Leidigh, *The First Fifty Years; First Presbyterian Church, Lubbock, Texas, September 4, 1903-September 3, 1953* [Lubbock, 1953], 3, 5-8; *Lubbock Avalanche*, July 8, 1909, May 12, 1912.

¹² *Lubbock Avalanche*, October 16, 1913.

¹³ *Ibid.*, December 13, 1907, June 30, 1910; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, June 22, 1941.

¹⁴ *Lubbock Avalanche*, September 18, 1919, January 1, 1920, October 9, 1928.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1910; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, March 29, 1936.

¹⁶ *Lubbock Avalanche*, February 1, September 18, 1931.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, December 29, 1929, June 12, September 28, 1930; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, November 16, 1930.

¹⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche*, October 11, 1907. A list of church buildings in 1909 will be found *Ibid.*, special railroad edition, 1909.

¹⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche*, August 9, November 1, 1907.

²⁰ Dalton, *First Methodist Church*, 5-7; Mrs. Roscoe Bayless to Jean Paul, interview, June 10, 1958.

²¹ *Lubbock Avalanche*, December 2, 1904.

²² *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, June 22, 1941; Liff Sanders to Jean Paul, interview, June 20, July 5, 1958; Leidigh, *The First Fifty Years*, 5.

²³ As late as 1927, Lubbock's mayor made an appeal for public support

to help build the Church of the Nazarene (Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, December 25, 1927).

²⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, October 27, 1905.

²⁵ Dalton, First Methodist Church, 10, 20-21.

²⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 19, April 16, 1914.

²⁷ Mrs. J. W. Jackson to Jean Paul, interview, July 22, 1958.

²⁸ For an apparent example of this, see Mrs. M. L. Shepherd to Jean Paul, interview, July 23, 1958.

²⁹ W. C. Holden, *Rollie Burns or an Account of the Ranching Industry on the South Plains* (Dallas, 1932), 197-8.

³⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 16, 23, 1909.

³¹ *Ibid.*, January 3, 1908.

³² By a vote of 381 to 88 (*Ibid.*, June 2, 1910).

³³ *Ibid.*, November 23, 1911.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, May 27, 1909.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, June 11, 1914.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1907. An interesting parallel may be seen in Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "Patent-Office Models of the Good Society: Some Relationships between Social Reform and Westward Expansion," *American Historical Review*, LVIII (1952-1953), 514-520.

³⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 14, 1916.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1910.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, March 2, 1911.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1910.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, July 22, 1909.

⁴² *Ibid.*, June 17, July 22, August 12, 1909.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1910.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, November 14, 1918.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, June 24, 1926.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, October 12, 1924.

⁴⁸ *Spiritual Culture*, April, 1927.

⁴⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 1, 1925.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, October 4, 1924.

⁵¹ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, June 30, 1929.

⁵² Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 2, 1926.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, December 15, 1925, January 22, 1926.

⁵⁴ *First Baptist Bulletin*, January 30, 1927, March 15, 1929; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, June 30, 1929.

⁵⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 1, 1926.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1926.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1908.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, June 4, 1926.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, January 5, 1926.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, October 9, 1919, June 27, 1922.

⁶¹ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 31, 1927.

⁶² *Ibid.*, October 28, 1927.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, August 18, 1929; Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 20, 1929.

⁶⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 28, 1926.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, January 25, 1926.

- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, November 31, 1925.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1926.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1926.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, September 9, 1925.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1926.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, May 6, 1928.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, February 22, 1926.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1921; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, April 15, 1928.
- ⁷⁴ Paul A. Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in the American Protestant Church, 1920-1940* (Ithaca, 1956), 55.
- ⁷⁵ *Lubbock Avalanche*, December 24, 1927.
- ⁷⁶ *First Baptist Bulletin*, January 9, 1927.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1929; *Lubbock Avalanche*, March 8, 1926; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, August 4, 1929.
- ⁷⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche*, July 30, 1927.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, July 24, 31, 1927.
- ⁸⁰ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, August 21, 1927.
- ⁸¹ *Lubbock Avalanche*, August 29, 1927.
- ⁸² For a convenient account, see Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven, 1954).
- ⁸³ *First Baptist Bulletin*, October 17, 1926.
- ⁸⁴ *Kershner's Directory of Lubbock* (Lubbock, 1925), 16-17; *Lubbock Avalanche*, November 1, 1925.
- ⁸⁵ *Lubbock Avalanche*, December 16, 1925.
- ⁸⁶ *First Baptist Bulletin*, July 25, 1926.
- ⁸⁷ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, November 13, 1926.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, January 1, 1926; *First Baptist Bulletin*, August 1, 1926.
- ⁸⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche*, October 12, 16, 1925. Confirmation of Duncan's Yale degrees was reported to the writer by Marjory L. Jones, Director of Alumni Records at Yale University, October 28, 1960.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, March 7, 1926.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, March 18, 1926.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, February 14, 1928.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, May 19, 1928.
- ⁹⁴ *First Baptist Bulletin*, March 8, 1929.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, October 25, 1929.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, October 4, 1929.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, November 8, 1929.
- ⁹⁸ The course of the revival may be followed in *Lubbock Avalanche*, August 11-September 17, 1929.
- ⁹⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, August 25, 1929.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1936; *Lubbock Avalanche*, December 12, 1931; *Who's Who in America*, XXVI (1950-1951), 418; *First Baptist Bulletin*, March 15, July 26, September 6, 1935.
- ¹⁰¹ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, June 7, 1931.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, July 12, 1931.
- ¹⁰³ *Toreador*, April 1, 1931.
- ¹⁰⁴ *First Baptist Bulletin*, February 5, 1932.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Lubbock Avalanche*, February 10, 1932.

- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, February 9, 1932.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Who's Who in America*, XXVIII (1954-1955), 1035; *Who Was Who in America*, I (1897-1942), 476; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, XIII (New York, 1907), 144.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche*, June 22, 1929.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, August 23, 1931.
- ¹¹⁰ On Porter's activities in the Socialist Party, see Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons (eds.), *Socialism and American Life* (Princeton, 1952), I, 384, 392, 394; and Robert Moats Miller, *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939* (Chapel Hill, 1958), 90n.
- ¹¹¹ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, December 20, 1931; *Lubbock Avalanche*, October 13, 1932.
- ¹¹² *Lubbock Avalanche*, January 22, 1932.
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*, February 12, 1932.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1932.
- ¹¹⁵ *Toreador*, February 11, 1932.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1932; Texas Technological College, Board of Directors, Executive Committee, Second Meeting, June 3, 1932, Clifford B. Jones Papers, Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College, 55.
- ¹¹⁷ *Lubbock Avalanche*, February 14, 1932.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1932.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, February 14, 1932.
- ¹²⁰ *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, XIX (1933), 393.
- ¹²¹ *Lubbock Avalanche*, July 12, 1932; *Christian Century*, XII (July 27, 1932), 938.
- ¹²² Moore to "The Members of the Mission, and Other Interested Persons," Aug. 2, 1932, Clifford B. Jones Papers. The Granbery episode may now be more thoroughly studied, since the Jones papers have been deposited in the Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College.
- ¹²³ Texas Technological College, Board of Directors, Executive Committee, Second Meeting, June 3, 1932, Clifford B. Jones Papers, 41, 51.
- ¹²⁴ Boyd to Clifford B. Jones, October 31, 1932, Clifford B. Jones Papers.
- ¹²⁵ *Lubbock Avalanche*, October 29, 1931.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, November 23, 1932.
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, October 14, 1937.
- ¹²⁸ See *Lubbock Avalanche*, May 9, 1948. The 1960 anti-evolution sermons were broadcast over radio station KFYO in Lubbock.
- ¹²⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, April 2, 1950.
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, September 5, October 2, 1952.
- ¹³¹ *Lubbock Avalanche*, September 9, 1928.
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, September 25, 1928.
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*, September 21, 1928.
- ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1928.
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, November 1, 1928.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, November 6, 1928.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1932; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, May 22, September 25, 1932; *First Baptist Bulletin*, May 13, 1930.
- ¹³⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche*, July 16, 1932.
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, October 17, 1936.

- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, November 5, 7, 1936.
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1931.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, November 29, 1930; *First Baptist Bulletin*, August 8, 22, 1930, August 11, 1933, September 14, 1934.
- ¹⁴³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 27, 1931.
- ¹⁴⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, October 23, 1932.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, November 30, 1930, February 3, 1946; Lubbock *Avalanche*, February 11, 1930.
- ¹⁴⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, September 7, 1930; Martha Brunson, Church Women's Federation of Lubbock, 1923-1957, Its Part in the Development of Lubbock's Civic Consciousness (Typescript, Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College).
- ¹⁴⁷ *First Baptist Bulletin*, September 10, 1937, December 16, 1938; Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 1, 1937, September 25, 1940.
- ¹⁴⁸ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, September 26, 1937.
- ¹⁴⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 31, 1930, January 7, 1931.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, February 1, 1931.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, January 15, 1933.
- ¹⁵² Dr. William L. Baugh to Jean Paul, interview, June 9, 1958.
- ¹⁵³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 11, 12, 1933.
- ¹⁵⁴ Church Women's Federation Minutes, July 31, 1933, Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College.
- ¹⁵⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 18, 1933.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1933.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, August 6, 1933.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, August 25, 1933.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, August 26, 1933.
- ¹⁶⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, February 16, 1930.
- ¹⁶¹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, August 27, 1933.
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.*, March 2, 1934.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1934.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, February 27, 1934.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, July 5, 9, 1935; Church Women's Federation Minutes, July 29, 1935.
- ¹⁶⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, August 25, 1935.
- ¹⁶⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 30, 1934.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, August 17, September 5, 1933.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, May 22, 1934.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1935.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, April 19, 1938.
- ¹⁷² Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, February 6, 1944; *Broadway* [Church of Christ] *Bulletin*, June 17, 1956.
- ¹⁷³ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, April 9, 1939.
- ¹⁷⁴ Lubbock *Avalanche*, June 24, 1939.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1935.
- ¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, January 15, 1935.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, March 27, April 17, 1935; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, April 14, 1935.
- ¹⁷⁸ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, May 19, 1935.
- ¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1931.
- ¹⁵¹ The Rev. Floyd Dawson to M. L. Dillon, interview, February 8, 1960.
- ¹⁵² *Lubbock Avalanche*, September 13, 1946.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, April 11, 1930.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, November 28, 30, December 3, 7, 8, 15, 29, 1935.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, December 3, 1935.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, January 4, 1941, October 16, 1942.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, May 23, June 6, 1944.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1937. For a discussion of small sects, see Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (Nashville, 1937), 269-288.
- ¹⁵⁹ See Carter, *Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel*, 56, 67.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Lubbock Avalanche*, March 8, 1926.
- ¹⁶¹ *First Baptist Bulletin*, January 15, 1942.
- ¹⁶² *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, June 30, 1929.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, February 16, 1930.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, July 16, 1935.
- ¹⁶⁵ The Reverend A. L. Davis to M. L. Dillon, interview, January 27, 1959; The Reverend A. L. Dunn to M. L. Dillon, interview, January 27, 1959; *Greater St. Luke Baptist Church* (Lubbock, 1957), n.p.; *Greater Bethel A.M.E. Church* (Lubbock, 1954), n.p.; *Lubbock Avalanche*, May 15, 1919, July 20, 1952.
- ¹⁶⁶ *Lubbock Avalanche*, January 10, 1931.
- ¹⁶⁷ *First Baptist Bulletin*, July 12, 1929.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche*, June 29, 1953.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, January 18, April 15, 1944.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, January 18, 1944.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, December 20, 1939, January 5, 1940; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, January 14, 1940.
- ¹⁷² *Lubbock Avalanche*, December 2, 1941; *First Baptist Bulletin*, April 24, December 11, 1941.
- ¹⁷³ *First Baptist Bulletin*, June 4, 1942.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, July 5, 1940.
- ¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, June 11, 1942; *Lubbock Avalanche*, May 30, June 13, 14, 16, 1942.
- ¹⁷⁷ *First Baptist Bulletin*, September 3, 1942; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, January 10, 1943.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche*, March 23, 1943.
- ¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, September 11, 1919; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, December 13, 1931.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Lubbock Avalanche*, March 2, 1948.
- ¹⁸¹ *First Methodist News*, September 29, 1955.
- ¹⁸² *Lubbock Avalanche*, September 26, 1929.
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, January 12, April 3, 1934.
- ¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, September 13, 1935.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, January 29, 1939.
- ¹⁸⁶ *First Methodist News*, November 22, 1951.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Lubbock Avalanche*, June 1, 1941.
- ¹⁸⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, August 24, 1941.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, November 16, 1941.

- ²²⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 16, 1942.
- ²²¹ *First Baptist Bulletin*, May 17, 1940; Lubbock *Avalanche*, March 20, 1943, March 16, 1944.
- ²²² Lubbock *Avalanche*, April 26, November 10, 1944; *First Methodist News*, April 26, 1942.
- ²²³ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, January 10, 1943.
- ²²⁴ *Ibid.*, January 8, 1950.
- ²²⁵ See [First Methodist Church], *Through This Door . . . Our Strength for Tomorrow!* [Lubbock, 1952]; *The First Baptist Church, Lubbock, Texas, Its Cornerstone and You*, [Lubbock, 1949].
- ²²⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 27, 1948.
- ²²⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, October 10, 1948.
- ²²⁸ *First Baptist Bulletin*, September 29, 1939; *First Methodist News*, January 31, 1957.
- ²²⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 17, 18, 23, 24, 30, February 8, 1946; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, January 27, 1946.
- ²³⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, October 6, 1946.
- ²³¹ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1948.
- ²³² *Ibid.*, July 17, 1949.
- ²³³ Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 19, 1950.
- ²³⁴ *First Methodist News*, August 17, 1950.
- ²³⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, August 6, 1950.
- ²³⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche*, July 23, 1952.
- ²³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²³⁸ *Ibid.*, August 12, November 5, 1952; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, October 19, 1952.
- ²³⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 6, 1946; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, October 8, 1946. The movement against the J.C.C.'s was led by the Reverend C. J. McCarty of Calvary Baptist Church, who declared "If Jesus Christ lived in His own body in Lubbock, I believe that He would condemn both the illegality of the methods used and the gambling spirit that is fostered, by such a campaign. Inasmuch as Jesus Christ is not here in His own body I have offered Him my body to use as He sees fit. . . . Those who criticise my stand must answer to Him." Lubbock *Avalanche*, December 5, 1946.
- ²⁴⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche*, October 23, 1948.
- ²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, February 9, 1950.
- ²⁴² *Ibid.*, April 3, 1951.
- ²⁴³ *Ibid.*, April 11, 1952.
- ²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, July-August, 1958.
- ²⁴⁵ See especially *Toreador*, March 1, 1960.
- ²⁴⁶ *First Methodist News*, February 28, 1957.
- ²⁴⁷ Information supplied by officials of First Methodist Church and Broadway Church of Christ.
- ²⁴⁸ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, January 22, 1950.
- ²⁴⁹ Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 5, 1946.
- ²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, October 15, 1952.
- ²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, November 4, 1951.
- ²⁵² *Ibid.*, August 3, 1950.
- ²⁵³ *Ibid.*, November 25, 1950.

- ²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1946.
²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, January 3, 1951.
²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, November 27, 1946.
²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, August 7, 1948.
²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1952; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, October 19, 1952.
²⁶⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche*, January 5, 1957.
²⁷⁰ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, January 7, 1951.
²⁷¹ *Lubbock Avalanche*, January 27, 1946.
²⁷² Church Women's Federation Minutes, July 31, 1950, October 29, 1956.
²⁷³ *First Methodist News*, 1950-1960, passim.
²⁷⁴ *Lubbock Avalanche*, August 11, 1943.
²⁷⁵ *First Methodist News*, October 10, 1957.
²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, May 16, 1957; "Westminster Fellowship Statement on Racial Integration at Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas, May, 1957" (mimeographed).

Education, Welfare, and Recreation*

Lawrence L. Graves

THE PRECEDING essays have traced various aspects of Lubbock's development into the major center of the South Plains. Along with this growth went the emergence of new patterns of social and cultural activities which supplemented the more material features of the city's growth. As was true with other elements of her growth, the cultural evolution of the city followed trends which were occurring in many other cities of the nation — towards more complex organization, enlargement of public facilities, and an increased tempo. Key factors in the cultural development of Lubbock have been Texas Technological College and the public schools.

The movement to establish a state supported college in West Texas arose almost before the first settlers in the area

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had sunk their roots into the soil. Settlement of the area had hardly begun in the 1890's when State Senator R. D. Gage of Pecos and State Representative A. J. Baker of San Angelo raised the question of a state college for West Texas.¹ In 1910 John J. Dillard of Lubbock made the issue part of his successful campaign for the legislature, but again the idea was premature.² Establishment of the West Texas Normal School at Canyon in 1909 only served to stimulate interest in an Agricultural and Mechanical College, since the normal school merely trained teachers and not ranchers or farmers.

By 1915 West Texas was turning rapidly from ranching to farming, population was growing steadily, and chambers of commerce had sprung up in many different places as booster organizations. Local pride, as well as the inconvenience of sending students several hundred miles to the university or to Texas A & M, dictated a growing campaign for a state college in West Texas. An editorial in the Fort Worth *Record* in the fall of 1915 appears to have furnished the necessary catalyst. In March 1916 Porter A. Whaley, secretary of the Amarillo Board of City Development, wrote a series of letters to chambers of commerce suggesting a conference to discuss the advisability of a West Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. The secretary of the Sweetwater Chamber of Commerce, Thomas F. Hodge, replied that his organization had been thinking along similar lines, and suggested the conference be held in Sweetwater.³ The meeting was held on April 7, 1916, in a Sweetwater theater, when the West Texas A. & M. Campaign Association was formed. Dr. P. C. Coleman of Colorado City was elected chairman, Whaley became general vice president, and Hodge was made secretary-treasurer.⁴

Hodge immediately launched a statewide campaign by letter to gain support for the idea of an A & M college west of the ninety-eighth meridian. He also attended many meetings in West Texas, securing endorsements from chambers of commerce, the Texas State Federation of Women's Clubs, the

Texas State Teachers' Association, the Texas State Medical Association, and other groups.⁵ After a vigorous struggle at its Houston convention in September 1916, the Democratic Party climaxed the drive for the college by including a demand for it in its platform. Commented Judge Crane: "Probably there has never been in West Texas another campaign so thoroughly and intensively organized and carried on as that headed by Hodge for the establishment of this school."⁶

Early in 1917 the legislature passed a bill creating the West Texas A & M College as a branch of Texas A & M, and the governor signed it. On June 29 a locating committee of five state officials headed by Governor Ferguson met in the governor's office to decide upon a site for the college. The governor collected the ballots in a borrowed hat, and on the second one announced that Abilene had won. Although the committee had pledged itself to secrecy, it became known that three members had not voted for Abilene. At its first session after Governor Ferguson had been impeached and removed from office, the legislature repealed the act creating the college.⁷

West Texas was thoroughly aroused and continued the fight. The need was clearly apparent for some organized group to publicize the region and its demands. In 1918 plans were begun for a West Texas Chamber of Commerce, and the next year its organization was completed. Until Texas Technological College was finally achieved in 1923, this body led the fight for it. In 1921 the legislature was induced to pass another bill creating a West Texas A & M College. This time the governor, Pat Neff, vetoed it because it had not been a part of the Democratic Party Platform, and because of the strained finances of the state.⁸ West Texans were furious. Meetings of protest erupted and there was talk of secession from the state.⁹ In all probability this vehement objection to the denial of the college led the rest of the state to realize the growing strength of West Texas and to see the justice of her requests for a college.

The denouement of the struggle came in 1923. The Democratic Party Platform of 1922 carried a plank urging a West Texas A & M College. When the legislature again convened in 1923, several bills calling for the creation of the college were introduced. Representative R. A. Baldwin of Slaton sponsored one, as did Representative R. M. Chitwood of Nolan County, and Senator W. H. Bledsoe of Lubbock introduced still another one in the upper house. In addition, Representative Lewis A. Carpenter of Dallas had proposed the founding of a Texas Technological College somewhere in the state. To create still more confusion, there was the question of the size of the appropriation to be requested, and whether the proposed school should be merely a branch of Texas A & M.¹⁰

A desperation meeting of the several authors of the conflicting bills was held on January 25, 1923. It was threshed out that the college should be state-wide in its scope, should have its own board of directors independent of Texas A & M, and that an appropriation of a million dollars should be requested. Representative Carpenter insisted that his proposed name, Texas Technological College, be adopted, and this also was accepted.¹¹ A new bill was written by Senator Bledsoe and Representative Carpenter. It was this bill, Senate Bill No. 103, which finally passed. In the Senate R. A. Stuart, senator from Tarrant County, joined Bledsoe as co-author, and in the House Chitwood, Baldwin, and Mathes joined Carpenter as co-authors.¹² This time Governor Neff signed the bill, on February 10, 1923, and West Texas had at long last achieved its college.

The bill creating the college stressed its utilitarian nature:

Said college being designated to elevate the ideals, enrich the lives and increase the capacity of the people for democratic self-government and particularly to give instruction in technological, manufacturing, and agricultural pursuits and domestic husbandry and home economics, so that the boys and girls of this State may attain their highest usefulness and greatest happiness and in so doing

may prepare themselves for producing from the State its greatest possible wealth.¹³

The bill also provided that the institution should be located north of the 29th parallel and west of the 98th meridian, should be co-educational, and should be governed by a Board of Directors of nine members. The \$1,000,000 appropriation was to be divided into several parts. \$150,000 was to be earmarked for the purchase of 2000 acres of land, \$500,000 for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1924 (to go for providing for physical plant), and the remaining \$350,000 was to be allocated for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1925.

Senate Bill 103 also called for a five-man locating board to pick a site for Texas Technological College.¹⁴ Thirty-seven cities submitted briefs supporting their requests for the location of the college, and during the latter part of July and the first week of August 1923, the locating board visited each of these cities in turn to inspect the proposed sites. Returning to Fort Worth, the board on August 8, 1923, selected Lubbock as the site which would enable the college to render the greatest service to its section of the state.¹⁵

From the very first the people of Lubbock understood the benefit the location of the college would bring to the city. The Chamber of Commerce joined with other West Texas chambers to agitate for the establishment of a West Texas A & M College. The Lubbock organization raised campaign funds for securing the college, put as much pressure as it could on the legislature, and supported the efforts of a club called the "A & M College for West Texas Club." When the college was finally authorized, the chamber put together an attractive and thoroughly documented fifty-four page brief extolling the merits of Lubbock as a site for Texas Tech, and delivered it to the College Locating Committee.¹⁶

When word reached Lubbock on the afternoon of August 8, 1923, that the city had been chosen as the site for the college, the townspeople staged a wild impromptu celebration.

The city fire whistle was blown, fire trucks thundered up and down the streets, automobiles honked, screeched, and scooted around with tin cans and scrap iron dragging, stores closed upon the proclamation of a man not even a member of the city commission, a dozen bonfires were started, a candidate for freshman class president appeared and started electioneering, a Texas Tech Glee Club was organized to sing lustily and inharmoniously, and bands came to play from several surrounding towns.¹⁷ The official victory celebration was staged three weeks later on August 28. Delegations of thousands came in from all over West Texas for a full day of festivities. Governor Neff and Lieutenant Governor Davidson headed a corps of speakers that included the several members of the legislature who had written and sponsored bills to create the college. The events of the day were capped by a giant barbecue, at which it was said that 35,000 pounds of beef, 1950 gallons of coffee, and 10,000 roasting ears were served to over 30,000 participants.¹⁸ Lubbock had fittingly observed the event which perhaps more than any other was to affect the future of the city and lead her to increase and prosper.

Since the history of Texas Technological College has been related in Mrs. Andrews' book, *The First Thirty Years*,¹⁹ no purpose would be served in following the same path. But it would be useful to note the relationship between the development of the city and the college, since both have experienced many of the same problems of growth and change and illustrate a number of the most interesting aspects of society during the last third of a century.

The college suffered growing pains and struggled to point a path toward the future, much as did the city. The first problem to arise was that of providing leadership for the new institution. Soon after signing the bill creating the college, Governor Pat Neff appointed a nine-member Board of Directors for it. The first board meeting was held in Sweetwater March 2, 1923, in conjunction with a giant celebration to

honor the founding of the college. The board chose as its first president Amon G. Carter, Fort Worth oilman and publisher of the Fort Worth *Star Telegram*.²⁰

The knottiest problem to face the board at its outset was the selection of a president for the college. There were numerous applicants for the position, each one supported by voluminous documents and letters to the board. The directors soon became deadlocked over two candidates, Colonel E. A. Ousley of Fort Worth, and B. B. Cobb, superintendent of schools at Waco. After months of delay, the factions on the board compromised and at a meeting in Houston on November 22, 1923, chose Dr. Paul W. Horn, then president of Southwestern University at Georgetown, Texas.²¹

Dr. Horn began to place the stamp of his ideas on the new college soon after reaching Lubbock in December 1923. Section one of Senate Bill No. 103 provided for

Thorough instruction in technology and textile engineering . . . along the lines of manufacturing cotton, wool, leather and other raw materials produced in Texas, including all branches of textile engineering, the chemistry of materials, the technique of weaving, dyeing, tanning, and the doing of any and all other things necessary for the manufacturing of raw materials into finished products; and said college shall also have complete courses in the arts and sciences, physical, social, political, pure and applied, such as are taught in colleges of the first class; said college being designed to elevate the ideals, enrich the lives and increase the capacity of the people for democratic self-government and particularly to give instruction in technological, manufacturing, and agricultural pursuits and domestic husbandry and home economics so that the boys and girls of this state may attain their highest usefulness and greatest happiness and in so doing, may prepare themselves for producing from the state its greatest possible wealth.²²

Thus the primary goal of the college was to be vocational training, with the arts and sciences being given a secondary role. Early in 1924 Dr. Horn, accompanied by several members of the Board of Directors, visited a number of technological schools, including Alabama Polytechnic Institute,

Georgia Tech, and Iowa State College, with the view of gaining ideas for their own school.²²

After his visits were completed, Dr. Horn began to urge that Tech stress technical training and follow the lead of the community in which it was located by developing informality and democratic ideas. In several speeches he suggested that a slogan for the college might be "Texas brains applied to Texas industries for the development of both."²⁴ He also pointed out that although cotton textile mills were springing up in such places as Post, McKinney, New Braunfels, Dallas, and Fort Worth, it was still necessary to go to New England or the Southeast to find technicians to man them. Courses in textile engineering at Tech would be stressed and so designed as to correct this.²⁵ The new president suggested other policies which were to be followed for many years. He urged that Greek letter fraternities be banned as undemocratic, and that a place be made for every student who applied. "No one is to be summarily dismissed because of poor scholarship, but the school is going to attempt to adjust itself to the needs of the student and find a place for him. The present system of dismissing about one-third of the freshman class and sending them home hopeless failures is indefensible and well-nigh criminal," he asserted.²⁶ Students were to be given an acre of irrigated land, which they would be allowed to cultivate and the proceeds of which would pay their way if they could not afford to go to college. Boys would also be allowed to bring as many as three cows to school, house them in the college dairy barn, and use the money they earned to help defray expenses.²⁷ With regard to college development, Dr. Horn declared they were planning for the next twenty-five or fifty years. With two thousand acres available, space on the campus would never be a problem. Buildings would be built as funds permitted, so that eventually each would be built around the four sides of a square, thus enclosing an open patio in the Spanish style. In the center of the campus he envisioned a

large auditorium built in the architectural style of the Alamo in order to make the campus reminiscent of Texas history and to teach citizenship and patriotism.²⁸

In his hundreds of speeches made to groups all over the state, Dr. Horn gave valuable publicity both to the college and to Lubbock itself. Most Americans knew very little about West Texas, and many Texans were themselves largely ignorant of the region. Nothing could have been better calculated to dispel these mists than the establishment of a new college and the publicity given it by a vigorous and voluble spokesman.

But, as is so often the case, the college progressed in a fashion different than had originally been intended. Whatever its name, it was in truth a university and not a college. The Board of Directors decreed that its parts should be known as the College of Liberal Arts, the College of Household Economics, the College of Agriculture, and the College of Engineering together with its important subdivision of the Department of Textile Engineering.²⁹ And contrary to the original intent the College of Liberal Arts from the first had the largest enrollment. With the addition of a Graduate School and a School of Business Administration the college achieved all of the attributes of a university, except for law and medical schools. These changes, together with the rapid growth in size of Texas Tech, parallel the vast changes and swift emergence of West Texas as one of the richest areas of the state and of Lubbock as one of the largest cities.

President Horn's ideas about banning fraternities were adhered to until 1952 when the ban against them was rescinded.³⁰ The concept of a college that would appeal to all students was followed even longer and has not yet been entirely abandoned. In its earlier years when it needed to justify its existence, the college was no doubt justified in setting its standards in such a way as to find a place for all types of applicants and all ranges of abilities. Given the scarcity of educational oppor-

tunities and the long distances to the university or to A & M, any education that could be provided was an advance over previous conditions. But today the problem has shifted to that of making certain that from the increasing number of candidates those with the highest abilities and greatest desire for education be admitted.

Another of President Horn's hopes was that college affairs might be kept out of politics. Unfortunately, this has not been done. In making his appointments to the first Board of Directors, Governor Neff relied heavily on the recommendations of Silliman Evans, a representative of the politically powerful Fort Worth *Star Telegram*. In the governor's race of 1924 appeals were made to West Texans to vote against Mrs. Ferguson, because if she were to become governor Texas Tech would never be allowed to open. In 1933 the contract of John R. Granbery, head of the History Department, was not renewed following attacks by certain Lubbock clergymen against him on the grounds that he was too liberal (see the chapter on religion). This led a speaker before the annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors to remark: "Conditions are such in Texas that no professor in the state could be obtained to make an investigation for the association when several professors at the Texas Technological College were dropped."⁸¹ In 1957 when three instructors were summarily dismissed, it was thought by some that in at least one case the action was politically inspired. In the depression years of the 1930's the college was in danger of being reduced in size and scope so that it would be merely a teachers' college. Although politics will probably not be removed entirely from the college's affairs in the foreseeable future, the growing political strength of West Texas should be able to protect it from any drastic intervention.

Texas Tech's athletic program illustrates the attempt of Lubbock and the college to gain status. Founded as it was during the period of emphasis on athletics of all types, it

would have been too much to expect that the college would diverge from the prevailing climate of opinion that it was part of its function to provide athletic spectacles for the public. Intercollegiate competition began in the fall of 1925 when the football team was organized under coach E. Y. "Big 'Un" Freeland. The teams underwent the usual tribulations of new competitors—playing on poor fields, lack of experience, a small reservoir of students from which to draw—until the 1930's when they brought national recognition to the college in a number of different ways.

From 1930 through 1940 Pete Cawthon was head football coach at Tech. A stocky, mercurial individual, he inspired either intense loyalty or deep hostility in those with whom he came in contact. But he did have a flair for publicity which quickly put Lubbock and the Texas Tech Matadors on the athletic map. In 1931 Tech played its first night football game. In that same year Cawthon began a coaching school that was to last five years and bring the college vast publicity. The school grew out of the West Texas Coaches Association, formed in September 1930 when Cawthon returned from a state coaches' conference in Houston and called some 125 West Texas coaches together in Lubbock. In March 1931 Cawthon announced there would be a coaches' school at Tech during the summer. He invited Wallace Wade of Duke University and Jimmie Phelan of Washington University to head the faculty, the Chamber of Commerce sent out literature to prospective students, and the school was duly held during the first two weeks in August. It was an unqualified success, with over three hundred coaches from all over the Southwest pouring into the city to attend. The coaching school was repeated each year until 1936, when the Olympics gave a plausible excuse for its abandonment. By 1935 there were fourteen nationally known coaches on the instructional staff, with 324 students enrolled. During these years such famous coaches as "Pop" Warner, Bernie Bierman, Andy Kerr, Fritz Crisler,

and the Southwest Conference coaches gave instruction at one time or another.³² In 1937 another publicity dividend accrued when the Tech football team became the first in the nation to fly to a game, going to Detroit on October 8 for a game the next day with the University of Detroit.³³ Cawthon was also responsible for a change in name of Tech teams. In 1925 someone had facetiously suggested calling Tech's representatives the "Dogies," and they had actually been called that by one or two newspapers. But Mrs. Freeland, wife of the first football coach, suggested calling them the "Matadors," and the name was accepted by her husband. In 1934 Cawthon dressed his football team in blazing red uniforms. Collier Parris, sports editor of the Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, was soon using the term "Red Raiders" interchangeably with "Matadors" in his accounts of the team. The new name quickly caught on and soon replaced the older one.³⁴ Publicity was also gained from the series of special trains sent from Lubbock to various football games, each train carrying several hundred supporters shouting praise of Texas Tech and Lubbock.

The college began its efforts to pry open the closely guarded portals of the Southwest Conference almost as soon as its doors opened. The denials began in 1926 and continued until May 12, 1956, when Texas Tech officially became a member. At first the ban on membership was logical, since Tech was far away from the member schools of the conference, enrollment at the college was too small to support strong teams, and attendance at games in Lubbock would hardly pay expenses of teams making the trip. But as Lubbock and the college grew in size, as West Texas also grew and prospered, and as the political strength of the region increased, the reasons for keeping the conference gates shut against Tech seemed to have less and less validity until they were finally lowered.

Relations between Texas Technological College and the city of Lubbock have been close and important to both.

Through the years the presence of the college has meant much to the cultural growth of the city, and the college in turn has benefited from the wholesome environment of the city. The college made itself felt almost at once when the Students' Artists Course began to bring distinguished musicians and lecturers to the campus beginning with the academic year 1926-27. Until its abandonment in 1956 this annual series brought to the city such famous performers as Risé Stevens, Helen Traubel, Richard Crooks, Artur Rubinstein, Jascha Heifitz, and the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. Performances were given in the Tech gymnasium and after its completion, in Tom S. Lubbock High School Auditorium. Tickets were sold to students and faculty members and to townspeople, with the latter being important in helping to make the series a financial success.³⁵

The focal point of influence on cultural affairs of Lubbock has been the museum located on the college campus. The present West Texas Museum Association was founded in 1929 as the Plains Museum Society, changing to its present name in 1946. The association had no building of its own until 1935, when an appropriation of \$25,000 from the state enabled it to construct the basement of the present building on the Tech campus. In 1948, \$186,000 of college funds were added to \$50,000 raised by the West Texas Museum Association for the completion of the building, which was opened in 1950.³⁶ Despite its lack of facilities the Museum Association as early as 1932 began to sponsor art exhibits which continued through the bleak years of the depression. Since 1948 the Museum, under the direction of Dr. and Mrs. William Curry Holden, has presented a wide-ranging series of cultural programs for the people of the area. Included have been dozens of art exhibits in an almost unbroken series, astronomy classes, children's art classes, twilight music hour programs, and planetarium demonstrations.³⁷

F. A. Kleinschmidt gave much impetus to the development

of art on the South Plains. When he joined the Tech faculty in 1928 as head of the Department of Architectural Engineering, he formed art appreciation classes and gave art lectures open to the public. In March 1932 he was instrumental in forming the Lubbock Art Association, which had Mrs. Roscoe Wilson as its first president. At its monthly meetings the association heard art lectures by its art director, Mr. Kleinschmidt, as well as by visiting artists, and from time to time held art exhibits. In 1935 the need for a more broadly based group than the Lubbock Art Association led to the formation of the Texas Technological College Art Museum, which brought in prominent figures to lecture on art and also devoted itself to building a permanent art collection for the college. To avoid confusion its name was changed to the Texas Tech College Art Institute. Today its collection of prints, drawings, and paintings is valued at between \$30,000 and \$40,000. As early as 1937 the institute had a membership of over 300, indicating its wide appeal.³⁸

There are, of course, many other ways of documenting this close relationship between college and city. College personnel have been active in civic clubs, and several have served as officers in them. Churches have been actively supported by the college and its people, as have various charitable activities, as well as cultural projects such as the Lubbock Symphony Orchestra and the Lubbock Little Theatre. Lubbock schools have drawn many of their staff members from the college, and have benefited from the college's Department of Education. A constant series of short courses, lectures, and conferences on the campus each year attest to the role played by the college in community affairs. Until it was cut off in 1957, the Adult Education Department did much to take cultural activities out into the surrounding area by means of discussions and seminars held in various localities. The opportunity offered by television and radio to bring educational programs to the South Plains has been as yet little utilized by the college,

although these media may be employed in the future. An agency of much significance has been the speech clinic established by the college. Begun in 1932 by Miss Ruth Pirtle, head of the Speech Department, the clinic has helped hundreds of children overcome or lessen their speech defects.

Thus, as in the case of the city in which it is located, Texas Technological College has grown and matured greatly during the last third of a century. In the beginning, as was only natural, it drew its faculty and student body almost entirely from Texas. Instructors were often former high school teachers without higher degrees, while at the same time students were often ill prepared for college life. Today, while a majority of students still come from a two-hundred mile radius around Lubbock, many are attracted from other states and foreign countries. The staff is drawn widely from institutions all over the country, and students go out equipped to deepen the cultural life of the area. The college supports a wide program of instruction and original research and is well known throughout the country.

With regard to the future, it might be hoped that the college will continue to increase its efforts to develop into the community of scholars a college or university ideally is, to continue to increase its demands on both faculty and students for better scholarship, to endeavor to produce graduates broadly educated instead of narrowly vocationalized, and to achieve President Horn's dream of its removal from politics. If that "fearless sifting and winnowing without which the truth cannot be known," as the regents of another university once phrased it, can be encouraged and fostered, then the college should continue to progress and develop with the city of which it is a part.

EVOLUTION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

Vast changes have taken place in Lubbock's schools since the 1890's when there was one school with a single teacher

and a handful of students. Today the Lubbock school system has progressed to 1143 teachers and administrators ministering to over 25,000 students during the 1960-61 school year.³⁹ Since the first \$25,000 bond issue of 1909 the Lubbock Independent School District has raised \$24,136,000 through bond sales and has spent about \$21,561,000 on construction and equipment of its schools. Approximately \$5,248,000 is being raised each year through local taxes.⁴⁰ By 1960 the district was operating two senior high schools (Tom S. Lubbock and Monterey), one junior-senior high school (Dunbar), six junior high schools, 29 elementary schools (plus an elementary school in Thompson Junior High School), and one special school with its parts scattered through the system.

Perhaps even more striking changes have taken place in the curricula of the schools. These changes mirror the rise in the number of students, as well as the growth of the entire community. Enrollment stood at 1228 in 1920. By 1925 it had jumped to 4364, probably as a result of the post World War I boom period. For the next ten years the rise was less spectacular; indeed, during the depression years there was actually a decline of some 515 in enrollment. But from 5324 in 1935, the number of students rose to 6923 in 1940, and to 8600 in 1945, reflecting the improved economic conditions and the influx that came with the establishment of Reese Air Force Base during the war years. By 1945 there were 12,347 students, 15,540 in 1950, and by October 1960 there were 26,402 — with no end in sight to the increase.⁴¹

In 1920 the curriculum in Lubbock schools resembled that in most schools across the nation. In the elementary schools the emphasis was on the traditional reading, writing, and arithmetic. Even in high school the students had virtually no choice of subjects, being required to take English, mathematics, history, science, Spanish or Latin, and manual training or domestic science. But almost at once there came a liberalization of choice in recognition of the fact that many students

would never go on to college and needed a different emphasis in their course work. In 1921 vocational agriculture was added to the curriculum, vocational home economics and orchestra came in 1923, and by the 1950's the student had a choice of over seventy different subjects, to say nothing of seventeen extra-curricular activities from which to select.⁴² Whatever the merits of the debate over progressive education, these changes indicate that the school system was sensitive to changes taking place in society. Today, in addition to the standard academic subjects, students may elect courses as widely divergent as public speaking, homemaking, cosmetology, pottery, painting, automotive mechanics, and journalism, to mention only a few. Especially typical is the inclusion of driver education, with classroom work scheduled during a course in social studies, and with excused time for behind-the-wheel training—all in recognition of the importance of the subject and the fact that if safe driving is not to be taught by parents, the responsibility falls upon the schools.⁴³ Another interesting and typical innovation came in 1941 with the appointment of Miss Grace Padley as the first guidance director. Since that time the counseling service has expanded until today there are eighteen on the guidance staff, with eleven of these certified as counsellors, all assisting students to choose careers based upon their aptitudes and the opportunities available in various professions. In 1950 the schools instituted a program of special education for children who were blind, deaf, orthopedics, mentally retarded, or with speech handicaps. From its beginning in 1950 with one teacher, this special education program has grown into a well developed system with forty-two teachers, including six speech therapists who move from school to school. In 1959, 285 children were served by the program. A school for trainable children, those with IQ's of under 50, enters its second year in 1960. Many families are moving to Lubbock to take advantage of

these programs, some coming from as far as New Mexico and Oklahoma.⁴⁴

If the curriculum has changed greatly since the 1920's, so also has student life. Once, children carried their lunches to school and ate them wherever they could find a place, since no lunchroom was provided. Today, each permanent school has its cafeteria where about two-thirds of the faculty and students choose hot lunches from healthful and well prepared foods. An effort is made to provide a wholesome atmosphere and to aid students in learning good table manners. Also a sign of the changing times is the way students reach school. Once they either walked or drove buggies or used saddle horses. Today, most parents drive their children to school in the family car; on rainy days the traffic jam around some schools resembles that at a major sporting event. Elementary and junior high students often ride bicycles to school, parking them in vast inanimate herds on the school yards. But no high school student of today who wishes to be considered up to date would think of riding a bicycle to school. Instead, he must have his own automobile, leaving only a minority to walk. It is interesting to note that in the newer sections of the city there are few sidewalks running north and south, as if an attempt were being made to discourage walking. For those living two miles or more from school the city maintains a fleet of six school busses, a decline from ten busses in 1958, indicating an expansion of schools into new areas.⁴⁵

Another interesting comparison with earlier days lies in the steadily increasing instruction in the use of leisure time. Not only are sports and games made available, but emphasis is placed also on the appreciation of music, painting, sculpture, dramatics, and literature. Students are encouraged to belong to groups and clubs engaged in extra-curricular activities encompassing a wide range of interests, so that each one may develop a hobby which can be pursued into later life. The time when schools closed when instruction ended for the day

has vanished; instead, a variety of club meetings and other extra-curricular activities is carried on late into the evening and throughout most of the year.

High school athletics have always been popular in Lubbock, as in most other cities of the state. Since the twenties the city's schools have been affiliated with the Interscholastic League and have competed in football, basketball, baseball, golf, tennis, and track. Boys begin competition in grade school, with football being the most popular sport. The Tom S. Lubbock "Westerners" won their first district and bi-district titles in football in 1931, defeating Amarillo 7-0 for the district title, and Quanah 26-0 for the bi-district championship after having played four games in ten days. In 1938 the "Westerners" reached the state finals, and a year later won Lubbock's first state championship. Two other state titles have been won in football, in 1950 and 1951. The only state championship in basketball also came in 1951.⁴⁶ Since 1955 the available athletic talent has been split between the "Westerners" and the Monterey "Plainsmen," making it unlikely that the days of greatness can be recaptured before the population rises substantially — when there will probably be another high school to share the talent.

The emphasis in the Lubbock schools of today lies in developing the basic skills of each student in such traditional subjects as English, mathematics, and science, but perhaps even more so in aiding students to live and work cooperatively in an increasingly complex society. The burden thrust upon the schools has increased tremendously under the impact of wars and increased technology; the schools show this through their own increase in complexity and integration of effort. Reflecting the fact that attending school is becoming more deeply ingrained into the way of life of the community (as well as indicating the high birth rate) is the fact that while the population of Lubbock rose 78½ percent between 1950 and 1960, the enrollment, as shown by the average daily attendance, rose

133.6 percent during the same period.⁴⁷ How well the schools are succeeding in their task of aiding the community to adapt itself to the rising tempo of change is not yet decided. Perhaps the verdict will be returned after several more generations.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Any modern city is dependent upon a large number of voluntary organizations to meet many of its civic, charitable, and cultural needs. Over a century and a quarter ago the famous French visitor to the United States, Alexis de Tocqueville, observed how readily Americans combined to achieve an almost endless variety of objectives.⁴⁸ In its brief history Lubbock has developed its full share of groups to supplement the activities of such official bodies as city government and the schools.

Service clubs are a typically twentieth-century urban development in which Lubbock has shared since the 1920's. Such groups seem to arise from the need of business and professional men for communication and fellowship with each other. Usually they meet for lunch once a week in a hotel ballroom or a meeting room in a restaurant. After the meal, during which there is often much horseplay and bantering, a program is presented, usually centered around a speaker on some current topic. An attempt is made at adjournment in time for members to be back at their offices early in the afternoon. At intervals some clubs hold more elaborate dinners or dances at which wives and guests are entertained. Almost all service clubs carry on projects of one sort or another looking toward the betterment of the community.

Lubbock's first service club was Rotary, founded in 1921 and followed a year later by Kiwanis (see pp. 213-14). Rotarians quickly became interested in several civic projects, including active support of the campaign to secure Texas Tech for the city and the creation of a student loan fund for

students at the college. In 1924 Rotary took an active part in reviving the Boy Scout movement in Lubbock.⁴⁹ In the thirties the club established a milk fund for needy school children and was active in work with crippled children. These projects were continued during the war years of the forties, although of course bond drives and Red Cross work dominated. After the war Rotary initiated the movement for the establishment of the cerebral palsy center for spastic children, while its youth committee worked with the underprivileged boys of the community. In 1949 the club raised \$20,000 towards the erection of a cerebral palsy center for spastic children.⁵⁰ Since then a series of other projects has been sustained.

The Kiwanis Club also aided actively in securing Texas Tech, and in addition has been interested in the development of Buffalo Lakes as a recreation center and in the improvement of transportation facilities in Lubbock. Kiwanians have been especially active in youth work. In 1923 they helped revive the Girl Scout movement in the city, and a year later joined with members of Rotary in raising a thousand dollars with which to secure a full time Boy Scout executive for the South Plains region.⁵¹ In 1932 the Kiwanians began sponsoring a summer program of athletics for Lubbock boys. Each year, usually about the middle of June, a meeting of all interested boys would be called at Texas Tech and a summer program of sports would be organized. Texas Tech coaches and athletes supervised the boys in football, baseball, basketball, volleyball, track events, and other games. At first the program was for underprivileged boys, but within a year or two all boys from six to fourteen were welcomed. The group was soon dubbed the "Knothole gang." At the end of the summer each member was given a ticket to Tech sports events, which entitled him to free admission to all home games and to sit in a specially reserved section of the stadium at football games. The "Knothole gang" served as one of the forerunners of the Lubbock Boys Club, which the Kiwanians joined other serv-

ice clubs in helping organize. Kiwanis also founded the Circle K Club at Texas Tech as a service club for college students, and has recently organized a similar group at Lubbock Christian College.⁵²

Lubbock's third service club was the National Exchange Club, which was launched at a luncheon meeting on May 13, 1926, with twenty-three charter members. Tom Garrard, an attorney, was elected president, and weekly meetings were planned. Objectives of the club were the betterment of business conditions and the good of the community. The club motto was announced as "Unity for service,"⁵³ and a program of civic projects was undertaken.

The Lubbock Lions Club was founded on August 5, 1929, with fifty-six charter members.⁵⁴ There are several activities suggested for member clubs by the parent Lions International, but the one most stressed by the local chapter has been sight conservation and aid to the visually handicapped. To date the Lubbock Lions Club has purchased several thousand pairs of eyeglasses for needy children and a few adults, averaging at present about one hundred pairs a year. Soon after its formation the club became interested in improvement of city parks, and the northern part of City Park No. 1 in Yellow House Canyon was designated Lions Club Park. By the spring of 1930 the club had planted some three hundred Chinese elms in the park, and continued its interest in it until it became a part of Mackenzie State Park in the mid-thirties. In the early thirties the Lions joined with the Lubbock Garden Club, Kiwanis, and several other groups in planting thousands of trees on highways leading into the city. Among other things, Lubbock Lions have also given support to the Salvation Army, and boy and girl scouts, as well as the crippled children's home at Kerrville, Texas, beginning in 1950. During the thirties underprivileged children were treated to a Christmas theater party, with attendance sometimes reaching as high as fifteen hundred children. In 1959 the Lions began giving active sup-

port to the Camp Fire Girls. The Lions have used several methods to raise money, including a popular minstrel show begun during the thirties and continued until 1954. Since 1953 an annual pancake supper has been held which has grown so popular that it is now held in Lubbock Coliseum late in the winter.⁵⁵

The next service club to be formed was the American Business Club, chartered March 22, 1930. The club soon took its place alongside the other luncheon clubs in sponsoring worthwhile projects such as urging the city commission to complete the municipal airport which had already been started. Its main interest, however, centered on work with boys. In 1943 the club assumed direction of the Lubbock Boys' Club and pushed to completion the construction of its clubhouse on Avenue K. Since 1943 the ABC has staged an annual rodeo which has netted thousands of dollars for boys' club work.⁵⁶

During the great depression of the 1930's no new service clubs were chartered in Lubbock, while those already active found it difficult to maintain themselves in the face of adversity. But on December 17, 1938, the forty-six members of the Lubbock Optimist Club received their charter. The creed of the Optimists might be cited as fairly representative of those of other service clubs: "To internationally develop optimism as a philosophy of life; to promote an active interest in good government and civic affairs; to inspire respect for law, to promote patriotism and work for international accord and friendship among all people, and to aid and encourage the development of youth throughout the world."⁵⁷ In keeping with the club's slogan, "Friend of the Boy," the Lubbock Optimists began sponsoring "pot luck" suppers for Boy Scouts and their parents, with nearly nine hundred present at each. During World War Two the club joined other service clubs in putting on bond drives and assisting patriotic organizations such as the USO, while continuing its work with the Boy Scouts. Since the war the Optimists have continued their work

with youth, especially the underprivileged children of the city, and have been active in promoting the increasingly important activities of the Lubbock Boys' Club.⁵⁸

Two smaller and newer, although none the less energetic, service clubs are Civitan and Sertoma. The Lubbock Civitan Club was chartered March 16, 1952. It has been active in sponsoring Little League baseball and in Boy Scout work. Civitans were instrumental in having the Father O'Brien athletic field constructed, and have conducted a successful clothing drive for the Lubbock Clothing Center.⁵⁹ Sertoma is the most recently formed service club, having received its charter in 1953. While the club supports such activities as the annual Community Chest drive and crippled children's activities, its main emphasis lies in keeping its members well informed on current national and world problems. The Lubbock Sertoma Club has been much interested in the recent campaign called "Operation Alert," which originated in 1959 in Lubbock and is designed to inform the public concerning the dangers of world communism. The club regularly invites foreign students to its meetings, having one student as its guest for a month, at the end of which time the student talks to the members about his native country.⁶⁰ During the last decade some thirteen new service clubs have been chartered in Lubbock, including branches of older ones already in existence. This would seem to indicate not only the continued growth of the city, but also the continuance of problems arising from economic stresses and strains within the body of citizens. Without such organizations as those discussed above, city government would be required to shoulder many more burdens than it now has. Despite the fact that they are sometimes chided for the frivolity at their meetings, service clubs can point with some pride to the seriousness of their purpose and to the record of their efforts to make Lubbock a better city and ease the troubles of the unfortunate.

WOMEN'S CLUBS

By the 1920's women as well as men were becoming interested in club work. This was no doubt a reflection of the fact that Lubbock women no longer were required to work in the home as hard as they once had and thus had more leisure time. Some women devoted themselves to parties and social affairs of various sorts, but many others supplemented these activities with membership in one of the rapidly expanding list of women's study clubs being organized in the city. The counterpart of men's service clubs, the study clubs gave women an opportunity to participate in leisurely and friendly discussions at luncheons and teas, and to express their concern with community problems and world affairs instead of consuming their time in fruitless diversions. Memberships of these clubs were made up predominantly of the wives of business and professional men; that is, of women who could afford the financial burdens involved, and who had sufficient leisure time. Although most clubs had some younger married women in their ranks, women's clubs tended to be supported mainly by matrons whose children were either grown or in school.

In 1920 there was only one women's club in the city, the Twentieth Century Club. By 1925 there were nine, in addition to the parent-teacher associations.⁶¹ The work of these clubs illustrates the orientation of women's clubs through the years. The clubs had helped sell Chautauqua tickets, worked in Red Cross drives, given prizes for good work in school, and had become interested in community problems in many ways. The Twentieth Century Club in 1925 was responsible for the establishment of kindergartens in Lubbock schools, while the Junior Twentieth Century Club was in that same year devoting its energies to organizing several troops of Camp Fire Girls. The Civic League was mainly interested in such matters as city clean-up drives, beautifying the courthouse lawn, and the planting of flowers and trees. The Delphian Club reported in 1925 that it had supported a child in deso-

lated Armenia for a year, while the Athenaeum Club was providing a scholarship at Texas Tech that year. The Business and Professional Women's Club had been founded in 1921. Although devoting itself to bettering the working conditions of women, it had nevertheless sponsored the high school orchestra, bought music, and helped secure instruments. The Lubbock Music Club had brought noted performers to the city. The Sorosis Club had just been organized in the summer of 1925, as had the Child Study Club. The latter was planning to secure a playground and buy equipment for it. The Sorosis Club had as its objective "The development of the American home."⁶² In addition, the parent-teacher associations have played a vital role over the years in stimulating interest in the schools, educating the public to their needs, and acting in liaison between parents and school personnel.

By 1926 the number of women's clubs in Lubbock had grown so that a coordinating agency was needed to supplement the work of the County Federation of Women's Clubs which was also designed to fill the needs of rural women. The City Federation of Women's Clubs was founded in April 1926 to unify the work of women in improving the moral, intellectual, and civic climate of the city.⁶³ With about ten member clubs when it was formed, the federation had grown to twenty-one member organizations by 1945. It engaged in such activities as contributing financially to cancer control work, contributed to the Texas Federation of Music Clubs for music and equipment for hospitals, supplied equipment for the Lubbock Negro nursery, and had shoes repaired for the Milam orphanage.⁶⁴

Out of the CFWC grew the Lubbock Women's Club. For many years Lubbock clubwomen met wherever they could find a welcome — in members' homes, church basements, and when they could afford it, hotel ballrooms. As early as 1926, when the City Federation of Women's Clubs was formed, the *Morning Avalanche* pointed out that the building of a wom-

an's club house was "one of the most important problems confronting the women of Lubbock."⁶⁵ Finally, in 1945 the member clubs of the City Federation of Women's Clubs proposed three projects: A Women's Club, a movement for a public library, and a Better Citizenship Conference. In 1945 the movement for a public library began in earnest, and the CFWC joined the P.T.A., the Business and Professional Women's Club, and the American Association of University Women in founding a Better Citizenship Conference. In May 1945 the Lubbock Women's Club was formed and elected its first officers. Mrs. A. W. Young, president of the City Federation, became the first president of the Lubbock Women's Club. From twenty-one member organizations at its founding, the women's club has grown to thirty-three member clubs in 1960. The need for a meeting place for women's organizations was filled when the present clubhouse at 2020 Broadway was purchased in September 1949. The club is designed to provide facilities for women's clubs engaged in literary, educational and charitable activities in the city.⁶⁶ Although the clubhouse has been enlarged and expanded, its dining, party, and meeting facilities are usually heavily engaged.

The most vital force in welfare and cultural activities of the city during the past quarter of a century has been the Junior Welfare League of Lubbock. Since its founding in 1935 the purpose of the league has been to "foster interest among its members in the social, economic, educational, cultural, and civic conditions of their community, and to make efficient their volunteer service."⁶⁷ The league selects its members carefully from women under forty years of age who have the time, desire, and talent to devote to community service. Unlike some leagues, that in Lubbock shuns merely social affairs and insists that its members devote a considerable portion of their time to volunteer work on league projects.

The Junior Welfare League was organized September 8, 1935. A group of sixteen girls, most of them college students,

wished to donate to charity the proceeds from their participation in a style show. Under the guidance of Mrs. Howard Gholson the girls formed a Junior Welfare League to provide food and clothing for migrant workers' families in the city. To provide for carrying on the work while they were away at school, the girls voted several young matrons into the club.⁶⁸

The Junior League resolved to concentrate its energies on local child welfare work, and in the fall of 1935 began to send clothing and linens to Mrs. W. T. Milam's orphanage and children's home.⁶⁹ Although the league soon began to expand its activities, it continued its support of the Milam home. By 1937 the league had established an office to coordinate the work of welfare agencies in the city. To prevent duplication of effort, files were kept of families receiving welfare assistance. From 1938 through 1941 the league cooperated with the National Youth Administration in providing a home at 1509 7th Street where underprivileged girls could receive a home and training in home economics.⁷⁰

The first major project of the Junior League was the Well Baby and Feeding Clinic, which opened on September 15, 1939. Its purpose was to provide free medical examination and preventive medical care to underprivileged pre-school age children. A registered nurse was hired to direct the clinic, and by 1950 eight doctors were on the staff. In 1950, 1552 babies attended the clinics, 765 were seen by doctors, 5475 home visits were made by the nurse, and over 1000 hours of volunteer work were contributed by league members.⁷¹ In 1952 the clinic was accepted as a member agency of the Community Chest, and the Junior League gave up active control of it, although continuing to provide volunteer workers.

From 1947-1949 as a result of the large influx of married students to Texas Tech, the Junior League in cooperation with several other agencies operated the Lakeview Nursery School for children of working wives of veterans attending the college. Another project of the league has been the opera-

tion of a Central Volunteer Service Bureau for the recruitment of volunteer workers for all organizations in the city, as well as the stimulation of citizen participation in civic and welfare activities. Although the bureau has had some difficulty, in 1959 it placed 879 volunteers in temporary positions, and 263 in regular jobs.⁷² During World War II the league participated vigorously in many different types of war work, and since the war has aided in city park projects, community center work, and a number of other forms of welfare work.

Beginning in 1950 the Junior Welfare League broadened its work to include introducing Art Lectures and exhibits co-sponsored with the West Texas Museum. The creative arts program, conducted since 1957 in cooperation with the West Texas Museum, introduces children in the elementary grades to art appreciation and the use of various media in the arts, through classes held at the museum. In 1959 a children's theater workshop was begun in cooperation with the Lubbock Little Theatre. It is designed to lead children to develop appreciation of the theater and teach them basic stage arts. In 1952 the league began to assist the Lubbock Little Theatre and the Lubbock Symphony Orchestra with volunteer work in their productions. The league also has begun a program of providing reproductions of famous paintings for use in the schools, and provides guides for Lubbock Public School tours of the West Texas Museum.⁷³

Exactly what evaluation to assign to the Junior League is difficult to ascertain. Certainly the varied projects described above have been of vast benefit to the city by giving assistance to people in need. But probably even more significant since its national affiliation in 1954 is the league's concentration on its major purpose of stimulating young women to an awareness of the wide variety of personal needs and problems existing in the city, problems which can be met only through service provided by volunteers, and then finding and training candidates for efficient work in the many civic and welfare organi-

zations so badly in need of them. And who can estimate the amount of pressure the members of the Junior League have brought upon families and husbands in leading them to contribute time, money, and effort to community service?

THE EVOLUTION OF WELFARE AGENCIES IN LUBBOCK

Lubbock, as any other city, has an increasing number of its people who are unable to cope with the problems of modern urban life. Whether through misfortune, lack of ability, or willful dereliction, these people often need help. Until he has surveyed the wide range of organizations—from the Well Baby Clinic to rest homes and other facilities for the aged—which exist in Lubbock to provide welfare services, one has little conception of just how many forms social need may assume. The Community Chest and Council of Lubbock lists seventy-six different agencies which provide social services of one type or another to people in the city.⁷⁴ It would not be possible in a work of this scope to consider each of these organizations separately, but some notice should be taken of the over-all development of welfare agencies in the city since the 1920's.

Forty years ago the Red Cross and the Salvation Army were entirely adequate to cope with the needs of a small country town. But Lubbock has grown so rapidly since that time that new problems have risen, and so quickly that not only has their magnitude not been realized, but the existence of the problems themselves has merely been suspected until very recently. As was pointed out in a recent survey of the welfare agencies of Lubbock, "At this stage of Lubbock's development it is not surprising that there are obvious gaps in the network of community agencies and services. Residents in a city of 105,000 persons need some formal agencies for services that were not required by the 32,000 persons who lived in Lubbock in 1940—or even by the 72,000 residents of four years ago."⁷⁵ It might also be noted that the need for welfare

services rises more rapidly than the population. A city of 100,000, say, needs three or four times as large a welfare program as a city half that size.

The first formally organized welfare agency in Lubbock was the local chapter of the American Red Cross, established during World War I (see p. 213). For over a decade the Red Cross sustained a program of individual welfare service, such as visiting sick persons, finding jobs for those in need, and furnishing rent, food, and clothes. But in October 1930 it was forced to limit its charitable activities to a disaster or emergency affecting five or more families. Until 1958 the Red Cross carried on classes in first aid, water safety, nursing, and mother and baby care.⁷⁶ Since then the Red Cross has concentrated its services on servicemen, veterans, and their dependents, assisting servicemen in gaining leaves, and veterans in obtaining welfare services and benefits to which they are entitled. Over the years support for the Red Cross has declined appreciably in Lubbock, except during World War II when its fund drives received generous response.

In 1958 the Board of Directors of the Lubbock chapter of the American Red Cross attempted to join the Community Chest. The effort failed, since the chest would have controlled the allocation of funds to the Red Cross together with its budget, which the national headquarters of the Red Cross refused to allow. The Board of Directors resigned, and until 1960 the Red Cross in Lubbock was represented only by a Director of Home Service and by a Field Director who divided his time between Reese Air Force Base and the Veterans Administration in Lubbock. There was no fund drive in 1959, and the disaster relief plan for the city was not implemented and the city was left without a plan for use in case of an emergency such as a tornado. On September 27, 1960, a reorganization meeting of the Red Cross was held and a new Board of Directors was named. Succeeding meetings of the board were held, a budget for the next year of \$24,000 to

be supplied by the national chapter was drawn up, and a tentative plan was worked out whereby Red Cross would become a member of the Community Chest within a year, with the chest budgeting those funds to be used in Lubbock.⁷⁷

The Salvation Army has been more fortunate. Founded in February 1922, it offered food and shelter to homeless men, together with a spiritual program for their rejuvenation. As the cotton culture in the area developed, the Salvation Army broadened its services to include transients and their families attempting to establish a local residence. During the depression the Salvation Army aided thousands of destitute applicants; in 1937 it was able to open a new building at 1112 17th Street where it could better serve those asking for food and lodging. In April 1960 an \$85,000 addition to the building was completed. Both projects were paid for from the proceeds of a popular subscription drive.⁷⁸ In addition to its normal activities during World War II, the Lubbock corps of the Salvation Army joined other organizations in war work, and was one of those banding together to form the United Service Organization (USO). From 1951 through 1954 the scope of the Salvation Army's activities in Lubbock was vastly broadened when all public welfare work in the city was put in its care. Between two and four thousand dollars per month were turned over to the corps for its work with the indigent legal residents of Lubbock.⁷⁹

On August 22, 1955, a unique venture was begun with the opening of the Community Clothing Center. Instead of leaving various charitable organizations to compete with each other in supplying clothing to the needy, as is done in many other cities, garments received by such groups as parent-teacher associations, churches, schools, and other agencies are turned in at the clothing center for issue. A central location at the Salvation Army building is assured, records are kept, and duplication of issuance is avoided. Volunteer workers under Salvation Army direction man the clothing center. The

center is open during the school year, and in 1959 some 100,445 garments and 4669 pairs of shoes were given out.⁸⁰

The Salvation Army extends assistance to transient individuals and families on an emergency basis and extends aid to legal residents of the county who do not qualify for aid at any other agency. In recent years its family service bureau has been expanded and now gives marital counseling, aids unmarried parents, extends old age planning, provides Christmas gifts and summer camp holidays, and renders other services. In 1959, \$58,460.35 was expended, 3913 lodgings were provided at the army's Red Shield Lodge on 28th Street, 3681 Christmas and Thanksgiving dinners were provided, and 620 homes were visited.⁸¹

An interesting example of a local charitable movement founded on the model of a national organization is the Goodfellows. This is a group of anonymous workers who contribute their time to the preparation of bags of toys, candy and nuts for needy children up through fourteen years of age. In December of some (but not all) years a drive for funds is made under the direction of the chief Goodfellow, whose name is kept secret until after the drive is over. The necessities for the bags are bought at cost from local merchants, assembled at a central downtown point, and then distributed early on Christmas morning by a corps of volunteers who pick up the bags and take them to the addresses furnished. Each suggested recipient is checked as to need, but this is the only test applied. The Goodfellows idea originated in Detroit about 1913 and spread to other cities. It was brought to Lubbock by Charles A. Guy in December 1934 after a visit to Tulsa where he had seen it in operation. The initial drive was held in December 1935 under the direction of Chief Goodfellow Spencer A. Wells and with a goal of \$840. This was oversubscribed and some 2100 packages were distributed. Since then the goal has risen steadily, until in 1960 it was \$7000, which was oversubscribed by some \$897.47. Many peo-

ple contribute money, while virtually all organizations in the city – civic luncheon clubs, labor and fraternal organizations, school classes, church groups, social clubs of all descriptions, businessmen, employed groups, newsboys, and many others have aided the Goodfellows in this community-wide endeavor.⁸²

One of the most unselfish and heart-warming undertakings in Lubbock was the establishment of the Milam Children's Home. Mrs. W. T. Milam and her husband moved to Lubbock in 1925. In April 1926 a widow in her neighborhood died, leaving nine small children. Mrs. Milam took them into her home on 19th Street, and shortly afterward took in a widow with four small children. Within two months, Mrs. Milam and the widow, Mrs. Lucy Crawford, had seventeen children under their care. The next year Mrs. Milam rented a house on Avenue K to shelter some of her children. In 1927 she bought a boxcar in Slaton and moved it to Lubbock to give additional dormitory space. In 1936 Lynn West donated a thirteen-acre tract at 38th Street and Avenue H, and upon it a new brick building was erected to serve as the home of Mrs. Milam and to house the twenty-seven children being cared for. Any child, especially one who was physically handicapped, was welcome at the home, although most came from indigent families, broken homes, or unmarried mothers from Lubbock. Until his death in 1940, Mr. Milam often returned from his trips as a traveling salesman bringing more children with him. During World War II, many mothers left children at the Milam orphanage and never returned for them. The Milam Children's Home had a turnover of slightly more than one hundred children a year, with about forty in residence at any one time. At one point Mrs. Milam was caring for 125 children, including those at the home and those being cared for temporarily in Lubbock homes. Mrs. Milam cooperated with the State Welfare Agency in placing children for adoption.⁸³

Mrs. Milam was unable to bear the full financial burden of her children's home, and so in a real sense it became a community project. In 1934 a Board of Directors was set up to aid her in setting adoption policies, admittance policies, and in operating the home. The children attended Lubbock schools and churches, and joined local youth organizations. Local businessmen either gave food and supplies without charge or at cost; barbers gave free haircuts; children were given trips to summer camps in New Mexico; fraternities and sororities from Texas Tech provided entertainment; the buildings were maintained by local volunteers who painted and repaired them without charge; and shoes and clothing were donated by Lubbock citizens. Through the years practically every civic club and many women's clubs aided the Milam Home.⁸⁴ When she announced her retirement at the end of 1956, Mrs. Milam was honored by the whole community for her selfless devotion to the approximately 3300 children she had cared for during the previous thirty years. In March 1957 her children's home became the Buckner-Milam Home for Girls, supported by the Buckner Baptist Benevolences. Its policies have changed slightly, so that today only girls between the ages of eleven and fifteen are accepted, usually those who are in danger of becoming delinquent because of broken homes or lack of parental supervision.⁸⁵

The Children's Home of Lubbock, established in 1954, is another important agency for the care of children. Supported by the Churches of Christ, it accepts children as young as one year old who by court action have been declared dependent or neglected. On its two-hundred-acre site on the Idalou highway the home has five cottages, a youth center, farm buildings, a hospital, and a home for Superintendent John B. White. The children attend Lubbock schools and do work on the farm, housework, and gardening. Eventually twenty cottages able to house three hundred children are planned.⁸⁶

Another community project is the Boys' Clubs of Lubbock,

Inc. The genesis of the clubs came out of the "knot hole gang" organized in the early thirties. Late in 1937 the Kiwanis and Lions Clubs organized a boys' club which met in the basement of the Ellwood Building on Avenue K until it was rented to a business firm. In 1940 five organizations contributed to a fund for a boys' club building on Avenue K and the city agreed to pay the salary of a juvenile counselor, Emmett Galloway. In 1943 the American Business Club assumed sponsorship of the project and a year later the building was completed and more land was purchased around it. In 1946 additional donations made possible the building of a swimming pool at the club.⁸⁷ Besides the ABC branch at 2323 Avenue K, an Optimist branch was opened in a temporary building at 3302 Colgate Street in July 1953, and the South Plains Lions branch was opened at 1801 East 24th Street in January 1954.⁸⁸ The three boys' clubs furnish programs designed to keep boys occupied the year around. Available are a library, game room, workshop, an indoor swimming pool at the original club, and baseball diamonds. Some indication of the importance of these clubs may be gained from the fact that the Community Chest budget for 1961 allotted them more than any other agency, \$58,822.12 (out of a total budget of \$376,872.45), which supported the activities of over 3000 boys. In addition to support from the Community Chest, the Boys Clubs have been benefited by a variety of projects carried on by the civic clubs of the city, and since 1943 the American Business Club has sponsored an annual rodeo which has raised many thousands of dollars.⁸⁹

That the welfare of the city is closely linked with the status of its youth is attested by the fact that in 1959 almost one-half the budget of the Community Chest was allotted to youth organizations. One of the most important groups is the Boy Scouts. Although scouting had begun as early as World War I (see p. 314), the first Boy Scout troop to be affiliated with the Boy Scouts of America was troop No. 1, the nucleus

of which was formed in August 1922, and whose charter was granted in February 1923. O. F. Sensabaugh, cashier for the Railway Express Company, was, as far as can be determined, Lubbock's first scoutmaster, and by 1924 F. H. Sawyer was also a scoutmaster. In June 1924 Sawyer took forty boys on a week's camping trip to Silver Falls near Crosbyton. By 1927 Lubbock had three scout troops, and nine by 1932. In January 1925 the South Plains Council of the Boy Scouts of America was chartered to coordinate the activities of the troops in the area. Under the sponsorship of organizations such as the First Methodist Church, the number of Boy Scout troops continued to grow steadily. Cub scouting was introduced in 1934 with a pack sponsored by the Lubbock Lions club. By 1959 there were 3675 boys in 109 units enrolled in the three phases of scouting activities.⁹⁰ In 1926 through the efforts of K. N. Clapp, L. S. Harkey, H. B. Palmer, the first commissioner of the South Plains Council, and Marshall Mason of Post, land for a Boy Scout camp was secured from the Double U Ranch of the Post Estate. In 1941 land for a second camp was secured near Silverton, and recently a third camp has been established near Tres Ritos, New Mexico. For some thirty years K. N. Clapp was closely connected with scouting in Lubbock. In 1926 he organized a troop in Lubbock which toured the area demonstrating scouting. He was active in securing camps for the scouts, and from 1932 until 1954 served as commissioner of the South Plains Council. Also prominent in scouting work for many years was Dr. Frank B. Malone, a Lubbock physician who served as president of the South Plains Council continuously from 1934 through 1954.⁹¹

The Girl Scout troops established in Lubbock in the early twenties seem to have died out, and not until 1933 were they re-established. In that year Mrs. C. C. Crenshaw took the lead in organizing a Girl Scout troop, with Alma Girand as its leader. Two other troops and a Brownie troop were soon in existence. In 1941 the city furnished a lot on Avenue P, on

which two box cars were remodelled into a Girl Scout Little House which in 1948 was enlarged from funds raised by the scouts and by a drive sponsored by the Kiwanis Club.⁹² The Girl Scouts also have their camps, one in Mackenzie State Park, Camp Las Leonitas opened at Buffalo Springs in 1948, and Camp Rio Blanco near Crosbyton. In 1959 there were 2232 girls enrolled in the Girl Scouts.⁹³

The Camp Fire Girls were reorganized in Lubbock in 1949 under the leadership of Mrs. E. N. (Florence) Jones after the earlier groups had died out during the depression. By 1959 there were some 1350 girls taking part in the various activities of the Camp Fire Girls.⁹⁴ Like the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls stress character building as well as citizenship training, and in this way all three organizations are contributing to the advancement of the city.

Youth organizations were but one facet of the much larger problem of providing for the general welfare of the city. In earlier years church groups, private charity organizations, and relatives, supplemented by grants from the city commission for food, rent, or hospitalization, had sufficed to care for those in need of help. But by the late twenties some citizens were becoming aware that the growing number of indigents in the city needed aid beyond that provided in these ways. As early as 1919 the Lubbock *Avalanche* was urging the formation of a charity society in the city and suggested the formation of a committee composed of ministers from each church in the city, a member of each lodge, and the president of the Chamber of Commerce. Thus began an increasingly powerful movement leading to the highly coordinated welfare program of today.⁹⁵

As late as 1927 welfare activities in the city seemed to be adequately provided for. In that year George E. Benson, roll call director of the American Red Cross, declared, "The local Red Cross chapter serves Lubbock as the one big central relief organization, caring for the many phases of charity and

relief work usually handled by many organizations.”⁹⁶ Yet within a few months greater coordination and effort were needed. On August 14, 1929, a committee was appointed by the Chamber of Commerce to study the question of social services. After a few weeks of intensive study the committee recommended to the Board of Directors of the chamber that a Community Chest be established, thus culminating several years’ discussion of such an agency. Five organizations, the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, YMCA, and the Salvation Army agreed to join the chest drive, and a professional fund raising organization, the American City Bureau, was called in to direct the effort. Some 225 workers raised nearly the entire goal of \$30,000 during the latter part of November and early December 1929, and the campaign was considered a success.⁹⁷

However, there was some dissatisfaction with this first Community Chest, because of a lack of understanding of its purposes, because a professional fund raising organization had been used, because of unpaid pledges, and since some agencies objected to the close control of their budgets exercised by the chest. In the summer of 1930 the Red Cross gave up its charitable activities and restricted itself to relief work during fires, floods, tornadoes, or other disasters.⁹⁸ As a consequence, the Lubbock Ministerial Alliance took the lead in organizing the United Charities. This was done on September 23, 1930, at a meeting of church leaders and representatives of civic and charitable organizations held in the Chamber of Commerce offices. The United Charities was to be affiliated with the Community Chest, with the function of handling the charity work of churches, civic groups, and other organizations. It was to have a board of directors composed of representatives from each church, plus five members at large. United Charities was to operate under a constitution and by-laws drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose, and its plans included a trained social worker to handle cases

referred to it, an employment bureau, charity wards in local hospitals, and other charity work. By November 1930 United Charities was organized and functioning, with a budget of \$10,000, largest of any of the agencies affiliated with the Community Chest.⁹⁹

This first attempt at unified welfare work through a Community Chest was destined to be short lived. Although the depression was felt less than in many other areas of the country, the goal of \$25,750 was not reached, even though the campaign dragged on through December and into January 1931. Once the drive was ended, pledges were difficult to collect.¹⁰⁰ By the end of 1931 the Community Chest had been abandoned.

Coincident with the onset of the great depression, a movement began for increased participation of the city in welfare work, although this was probably as much a natural result of the growth of the city as an effect of the depression. Prior to this the city had confined itself to paying hospital bills for indigents when the sanitariums of the city presented them, and to paying emergency food and rent bills of needy families. In December 1930 the city commission appropriated \$750 for use by the United Charities in payment of hospital bills. But on June 12, 1930, a four-man committee appeared before the city commission to ask that a special fund be set aside for charity cases. The mayor appointed Commissioner John E. Roach and City Manager Bryan Miller to work with this citizens' group.¹⁰¹

This action was the forerunner of the formation of a City-County Welfare Association at a joint meeting of the Lubbock City Commission and the Lubbock County Commissioners Court on August 31, 1931. The United Welfare Association of Lubbock and Lubbock County, Texas, as it was known officially, was designed to consolidate the welfare activities of both the city and county into one agency which would be supported by tax money and controlled by

the city commission and the county court. The association was to be headed by a fifteen-man board of directors appointed by the city commission and the county commissioners, with the mayor and the county judge on the board. The general secretary, who was to be appointed by the mayor and the county judge, was to have a salary of \$175 a month and was to investigate needy cases and otherwise manage the affairs of the association. Funds were to be appropriated by the city commission and the county commissioners court as the need arose.¹⁰²

Miss Evelyn Richter was appointed general secretary and on October 1, 1931, the City-County Welfare Association began its operations. The city commissioners at intervals of two or three months authorized payments to the welfare association of \$500 or \$750 for its work, gradually increasing the amounts to \$1000 and finally to \$2000. By 1938 the City-County Welfare Association had expended a total of \$95,419.79.¹⁰³ Miss Richter soon resigned as general secretary and was replaced by Joe W. Wilson, who served until 1949 when he was succeeded by Ben Mansker. The city and county negotiated a contract with the West Texas Hospital and the Lubbock Sanitarium providing a rate of \$3 a day for each charity patient to be paid for by the welfare association. Wilson and Dr. J. W. Rollo, city health officer, investigated each case, and only on certification of Dr. Rollo could a patient be admitted at the expense of the city and county. Although there was some difficulty from time to time over rates to be charged, the arrangement lasted for many years, with the county paying two-thirds of such hospital expenses, and the city one-third.¹⁰⁴

The City-County Welfare Association seems to have filled the need fairly well until World War II. By the postwar period, however, an era of rapid change in the conduct of the city's welfare services was inaugurated. In 1942 the city and county jointly hired John Wilson to be boys' counselor

for the entire county. In 1947 a committee from the City-County Welfare Association asked the city and county each to contribute \$1000 a year to the State Department of Child Welfare in order to secure a full-time child welfare worker. Nothing further was done until after the county relinquished control of the City-County Welfare Association to the city in January 1949 (although the county continued to contribute half the required funds for the operation of the association). Then, in February 1949 Mayor W. H. Rodgers appointed a seven-member advisory board for the Lubbock County Child Welfare Unit, and by June the unit was in operation. The state, through its Department of Public Welfare, pays the salaries of staff members of the unit, while the city and county provide funds for the support of children in need of care or protection. The unit functions as a child adoption agency under the direction of the state district court, places children in foster homes (mainly the Buckner-Milam Home for Girls), and helps handicapped children.¹⁰⁵

The City-County Welfare Association continued to function until 1951. In April of that year the direction of welfare activities for the city was transferred to the Salvation Army. The city appropriated money for the use of the Salvation Army on a trial basis beginning on April 26, 1951. The system was made permanent and continued until 1954 when the City-County Welfare Department was established.¹⁰⁶

Lubbock illustrates the cultural lag so often to be observed between changes in social organization and the development of new facilities and services to meet needs brought by change. By 1950 Lubbock had in a generation grown from a town of a few thousand to a city of 75,000. In the process an increasing number of people had reached a point where they could no longer provide for all of their needs from their own resources. Yet the city's welfare agencies had sprung up haphazardly and without plan, leaving much undone.

By the 1950's several organizations and groups were pro-

posing the establishment of new agencies to handle the increasing expenditure of public funds for welfare purposes. In June 1953 a committee visited Mayor Murrell Tripp and drew his attention to the gaps and deficiencies in the welfare system as it operated in Lubbock. The Mayor promptly appointed a citizens' committee to study the city's social and welfare problems in order to make recommendations to the city commission as well as to private citizens and organizations. This committee, headed by Dr. A. G. Barsh, was quickly expanded to thirty-five members representing both the city and county. It found that the people of Lubbock were spending over a million dollars a year on many different types of social and welfare work, and recommended that a comprehensive survey of such activities be made in order that planning might be accomplished logically and justly. Mr. T. Lester Swander was appointed survey director, and in 1954 he and his staff made their report to the Citizens Survey Committee.¹⁰⁷

Swander and his staff were critical of the way in which Lubbock was discharging its responsibilities in the field of social and welfare services. However, they noted that the inadequacies in the system came about mainly because in a small town neighbors, friends, and relatives perform many services for those in need, whereas Lubbock had grown so swiftly to be a major city that this system had broken down and the city had not yet stepped into the breach. That their analysis was accurate is shown by the fact that all four of the major recommendations made in the Swander report were adopted within a few years. These recommendations were: 1. Establishment of a City-County Public Welfare Board, with responsibility for administration of public assistance for persons in economic need; 2. Establishment of a Community Planning Council; 3. Establishment of a family counseling agency; 4. Establishment of a City-County department of medical services.¹⁰⁸

The Lubbock City-County Welfare Unit was established

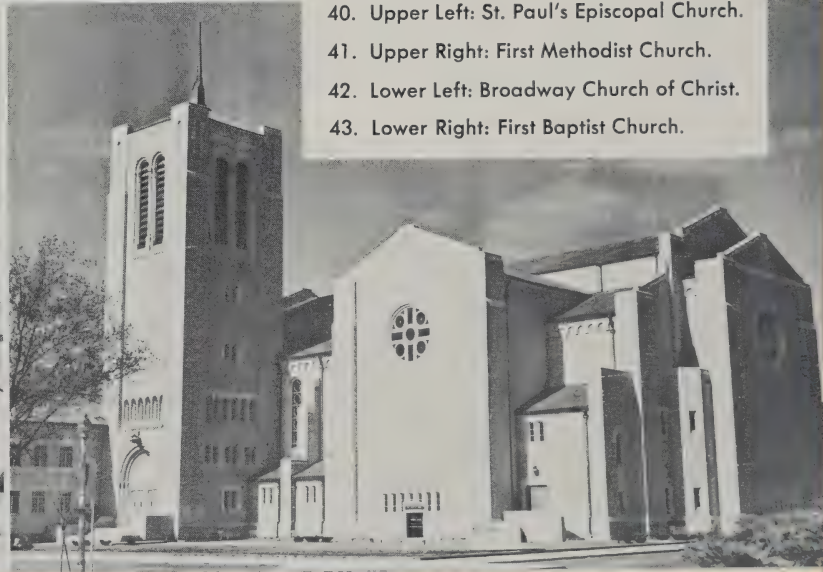
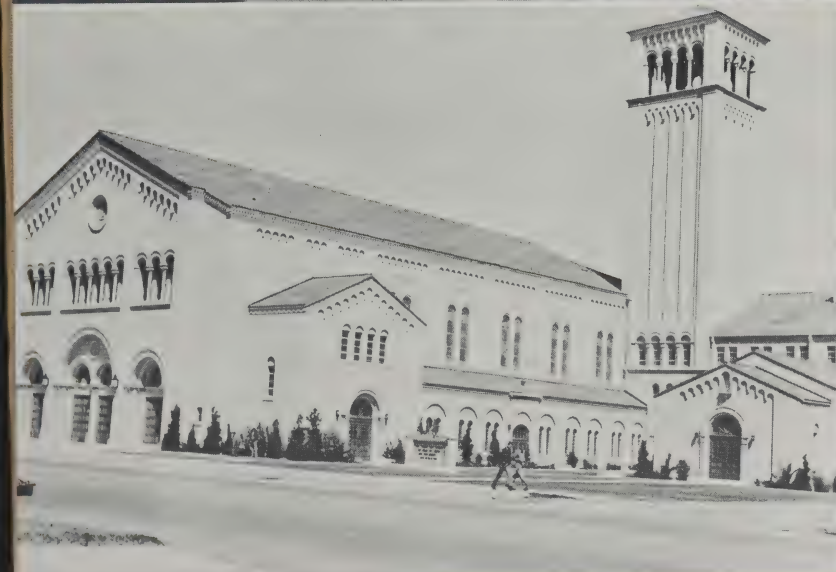
on July 1, 1954, with a staff consisting of a director, a case worker, and a secretary. It is governed by a nine-member City-County Welfare Board, four of whose members are appointed by the county court and the other five by the city. By 1960 the unit's budget had risen to \$125,000, of which 65 percent was appropriated by the county and the rest by the city. Its staff now includes a director, assistant director, three caseworkers, and three office workers.¹⁰⁹ The unit is designed to provide general assistance to legal residents of the county to include counselling, food, rent, utilities, clothing, medical care, and funerals.¹¹⁰ Fearing inundation by migrant workers and indigents from surrounding counties, the welfare board has adopted the definition of a resident as used for voting purposes, that is, one who has lived in the state for one year and in the county for six months. Those who cannot meet this test are referred to Community Chest agencies. Unfortunately, chest agencies are not equipped to handle welfare cases, which results in much hardship.

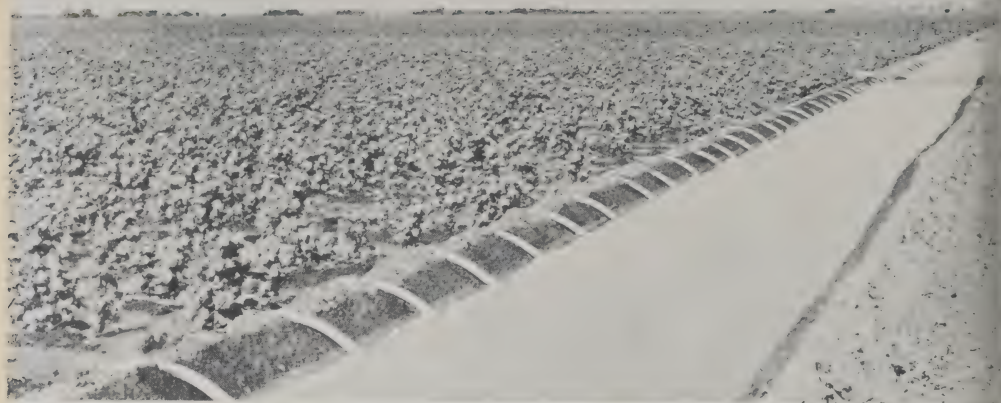
The recommendation for a community planning council was also carried out with the establishment in 1954 of the Community Planning Council. In 1957 this was merged with the Community Chest, which then took the name of the Community Chest and Council.¹¹¹ The Community Planning Council, designed to effect coordination between the chest and city and county agencies for the provision of needed services, began work at once to implement recommendations contained in the Swander report. As a result, medical services were made available to indigents. Funds were provided to the Lubbock Child Welfare Unit for the care of indigent children of the county. The Pupil-Personnel Department of the Lubbock Public Schools was established in 1955 for contact with pupils having problems. Also in 1955 the Family Service Association was set up as an agency of the Community Chest to handle social and emotional troubles leading to family discord and breakdown and juvenile delinquency. The YWCA



Four Lubbock Churches

- 40. Upper Left: St. Paul's Episcopal Church.
- 41. Upper Right: First Methodist Church.
- 42. Lower Left: Broadway Church of Christ.
- 43. Lower Right: First Baptist Church.





Cotton, Lubbock County's Most Important Cash Crop

44. Irrigating the Young Plants.

45. Stripping the Mature Plants with a Mechanical Stripper.

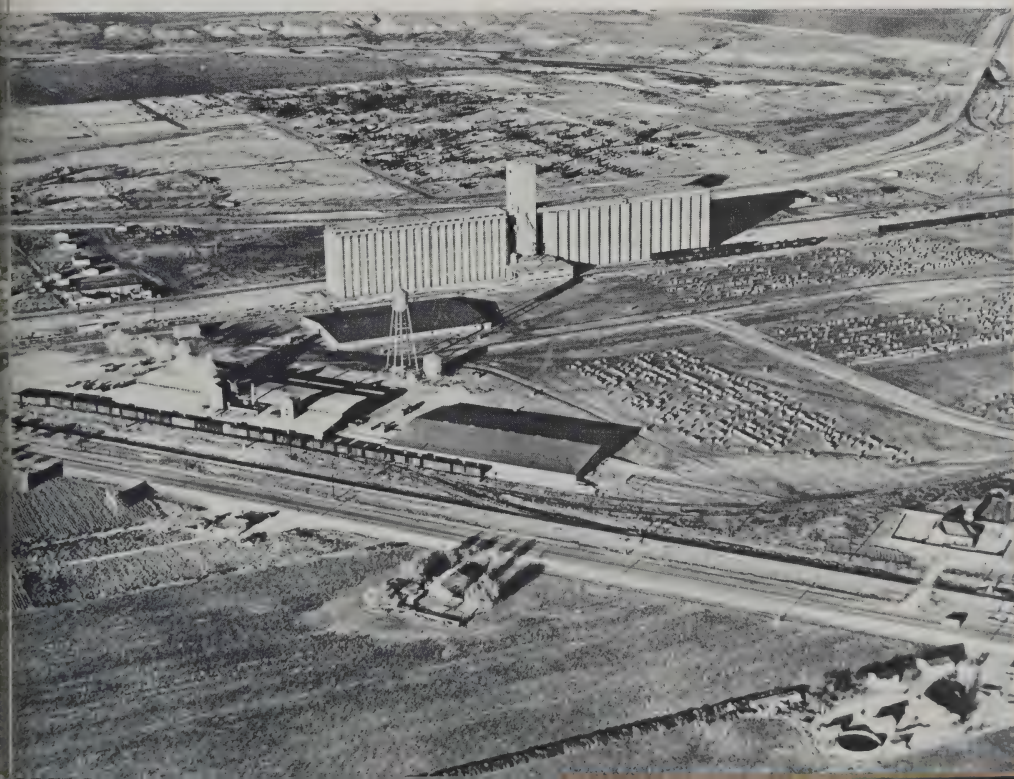
46. Outdoor Storage of Bales Ready for Shipment.



Grain Sorghum, Another Important Asset.

47. Machine Harvesting.

48. Producer's Grain Corp. Elevators in Southeast Lubbock.





49. Lubbock Symphony Orchestra, 1960.

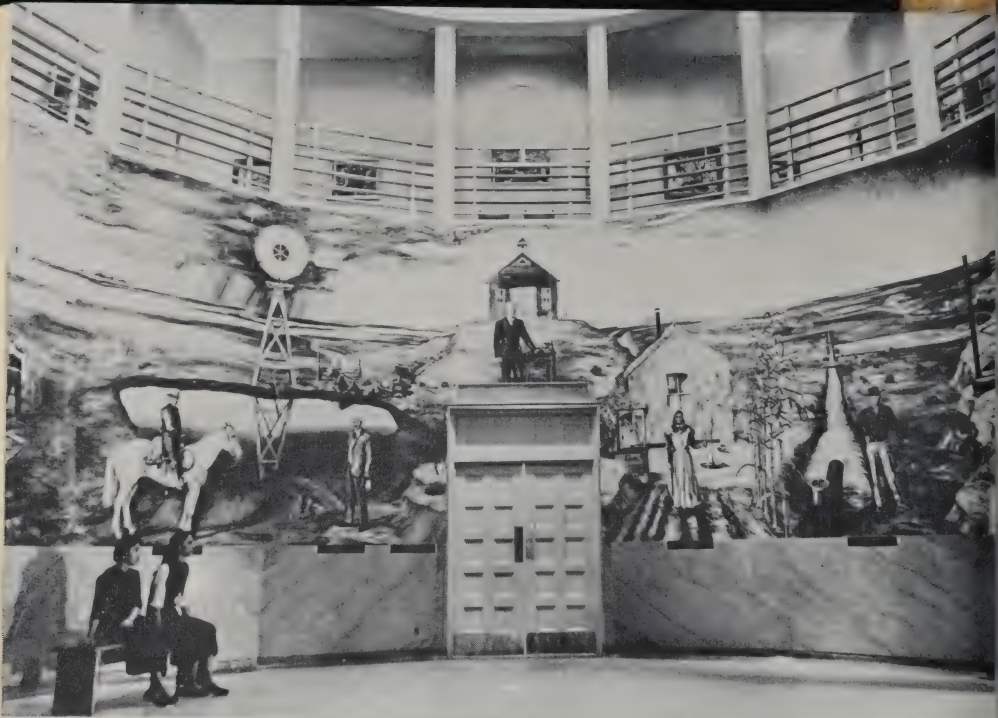
50. Methodist Memorial Hospital Before Construction of the 100-Bed Addition over the Foyer in the Foreground.





51-52. Above: Two Modern Lubbock Office Buildings.

53. Caprock and Monterey Shopping Centers, Opened on 50th Street in 1959.



54. The Peter Hurd Murals in the Rotunda of the West Texas Museum.

Two Lubbock Tourist Attractions.

55. Residents of Prairie Dog Town Sunning Themselves.





56. Aerial View of the Texas Technological College Campus, 1959.



57. Aerial View of Downtown Lubbock Looking Southeast Toward Yellowhouse Canyon

was organized in 1955 as a chest agency in order to afford women and girls a better opportunity for recreation. In accord with the Swander report the Community Planning Agency also urged increased recreational facilities for the city. As a result a million-dollar bond issue was voted in 1956 to increase park and recreational facilities; the budget of the City Park and Recreation Department was also increased to maintain the new facilities.¹¹² Planning for the future is now continuous, and while the constantly increasing welfare needs of the city are not being met perfectly, much progress is certainly to be noted.

One problem with which the Community Planning Council was still grappling in 1960 was that of migrant labor. In 1959 a council committee on migrant labor reported there were two types of migrant labor coming into the county, Braceros and domestic migrants. Braceros were provided for under treaties between Mexico and the United States. The committee estimated the influx of domestic migrants would reach a peak of seven thousand in November 1959. Besides emergency hospitalization, surplus commodities, and funeral expenses, the only aid given these men and their families by the city and county was the right to occupy for a maximum of five days the twenty-seven rooms provided for them in an old sheet-iron building serving as the Migrant Center at 1st Street and Avenue H. Most of these families could not qualify for welfare assistance because they had not been in the county for the six months required under the policies of the City-County Welfare Unit. The committee thought that as long as it was economically worthwhile for these people to come into the county, some provision should be made for their health, welfare, and recreational needs. It recommended the provision of public rest room facilities, teen-age recreation facilities, provision of out-patient care at the City-County Health Unit, and the formulation of standards of housing for these migrant families. It also pointed out the traffic hazards created by mi-

grant workers traveling in crowded trucks and cars, the problem of child labor and resulting truancy and the rise in juvenile delinquency and adult crime brought by migrants.¹¹³ The eventual solution will probably come with the mechanization of cotton picking and the disappearance of migrants.

Besides the tax money being used annually in welfare work, thousands of dollars were contributed each year by the people of Lubbock to various private, charitable, and welfare organizations. There was no coordination of effort, duplication of fund raising drives was a constant irritation, and money was sometimes given on the basis of publicity and emotion rather than the need of an organization.

In the period of readjustment after World War II, a two-week series of forty town meetings was held in June 1946 to aid the Chamber of Commerce in planning for the future. Out of these came the recommendation, among others, that Lubbock establish a Community Chest. The idea received almost unanimous support from civic and women's clubs, and by September the groundwork had been laid. J. D. Hassell was selected to head this first postwar chest drive, and the American City Bureau was once more called in to manage it. Only six organizations, the Milam Children's Home, Salvation Army, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Boys Clubs, and the Junior Optimist Club, participated, while several national organizations refused to join. The comparatively moderate goal of \$92,173.37 was fallen short of by \$1533.¹¹⁴

Annual fund raising campaigns have been conducted by the Community Chest since 1946, with steadily increasing budgets each year. Not until 1951 was the full amount of money sought actually contributed. Since that time only in 1955 and 1956 has the chest fallen short of its goal. In its early years each participating agency submitted a budget to the chest, with the combination of all these making up the total amount sought in the annual fund drive. In recent years line-by-line budgeting has been used, and the Board of Directors of the

Community Chest attempts to assess the request of each participating agency in the light of how much money can be raised and the relationship of each agency to the over-all welfare situation in the city. By 1960 there were twenty-three participating agencies with a combined budget of \$376,872.45 for the calendar year 1961, of which \$381,650, or 101.27 percent was raised. For 1959-60 the budget was \$357,246.13, of which 103.68 percent, or \$370,398.50 was raised.¹¹⁵ In recent years there has been increasing speculation over the possibility of expanding the Community Chest into a United Fund, with one annual drive for all purposes. This is resisted by agencies outside the chest, who fear their share of the combined drive would be less than they now obtain independently.

That Lubbock needs continued emphasis on the Community Chest was pointed up in the section in the Swander report of 1954 dealing with welfare activities. The investigators concluded that while the city had made substantial progress with its chest drives, it was falling short of what was being accomplished in other cities. Of 178 other community chests surveyed, the per capita gifts were \$3.29, and for chests in the Southwest the per capita donations were \$2.56. In Lubbock they were only \$1.72. As a result, the survey found some services in Lubbock were not being provided as they were in other cities.¹¹⁶ Despite this, however, the most significant point seems to be the fact that Lubbock has realized its needs and has moved swiftly during recent years to fill them. By 1960 the Community Chest was realizing a per capita income of \$3.04, partly resulting from a more accurate population count.

MEDICAL SERVICES

Medical service is closely allied to social and welfare work, and Lubbock has long been recognized as the medical center of the South Plains. Since 1900 competent physicians have been attracted to the city in ever increasing numbers. In 1925 there were eighteen doctors in the city. By 1950 there were

seventy-one M.D.'s and thirteen osteopaths. In 1960 there were approximately 150 M.D.'s and D.O.'s practicing in the city.¹¹⁷ In terms of population this means that the ratio of doctors has remained at about one for every one thousand population, which is considered satisfactory. Several reasons are probably to be assigned for this situation. The presence of Texas Technological College no doubt attracted many doctors. The increasing development of a rich agricultural region made the city attractive, and the rapid growth of population was in itself a sure indication of professional opportunity.

An unusual feature of Lubbock's growth has been the fact that no publicly supported hospital has existed in the city. All of the nine hospitals have been financed by physicians. The Lubbock Sanitarium, which opened in 1918 at Broadway and Avenue L, was for many years owned by doctors J. T. Hutchinson, J. T. Krueger, and M. C. Overton. In 1928 the sanitarium was enlarged to a capacity of one hundred beds. Another forty beds were added in 1942 and it was renamed the Lubbock General Hospital. In 1945 its name was changed to the Lubbock Memorial Hospital. In 1953 Dr. Krueger and his associates built a new hospital on 19th Street and a year later donated the hospital, in addition to \$100,000, to the Methodist church. Since that time it has been known as the Methodist Hospital and operated on a non-profit basis. In 1960 it was enlarged through the addition of another one-hundred-bed unit to give it a capacity of 335 beds.¹¹⁸

Until 1937 the West Texas Hospital was the only other hospital in the city. In that year Doctors Olan Key, S. C. Arnett, Jr., and Frank B. Malone built the Plains Hospital and Clinic. In 1939 its control passed to the Sisters of St. Joseph of Orange, California, when its name was changed to St. Mary of the Plains. It is operated as a non-profit organization.¹¹⁹

No other hospitals were opened until after World War II. Since all of the hospitals were closed, so that no outside phy-

sicians could practice in them unless invited, the location of new doctors in the city was controlled closely, since practice was difficult without access to hospital facilities. The need for added hospital beds, combined with the need of doctors for hospitals in which to practice, led to the construction of several new hospitals after the war. In 1945 Dr. J. A. Chatman built the Chatman Hospital in East Lubbock for service to Negro patients. In 1948 the Porter Clinic on 19th Street was converted into the Porter Clinic Hospital with the addition of hospital facilities. In 1950 Dr. Otis Taylor built the Taylor Hospital on College Avenue near Texas Tech, and in that year Dr. A. L. Daniel built the Goodnight Hospital on 34th Street. The last hospital to be erected was the Lubbock Osteopathic Hospital, a non-profit organization which was completed in May 1958 on College Avenue and gave local osteopaths a hospital in which to practice.¹²⁰

Until the end of World War II most cities and towns within a 150 mile radius of Lubbock could not afford their own hospitals. Thus their physicians sent many of their hospital cases to Lubbock. Hospital administrators in Lubbock recently estimated that a third of their patients came from outside the city.¹²¹ In earlier years the proportion of outside patients may have reached as high as 50 percent. This has meant that the hospital facilities of Lubbock are usually filled to their capacity of 604 beds.¹²² As the population continues to rise, additional hospital facilities will be needed, raising the question of a publicly financed city-county hospital.

In the Swander report it was emphasized that although medical facilities were adequate, tax expenditures for providing medical and hospital care to indigents were inadequate. The consultants recommended that both medical care and hospitalization facilities be provided for the needy.¹²³ As a result, the City-County Welfare Department was established in July 1954 and assumed the responsibility of providing medicine, nursing home and nursing care, hospitalization, transpor-

tation to and from state hospitals, and appliances for the needy. Hospitalization posed a major problem, since the only available facilities were in private hospitals. The difficulty was partly alleviated with the opening in 1958 of a new City-County Out-Patient Clinic on Avenue Q in the north part of the city. Here those certified as indigent by the City-County Welfare Department may receive medical treatment free of charge.¹²⁴ That the problem of medical care for the needy was not fully met, however, was revealed in the report made in 1959 by Dr. Mustard of the Health Survey Committee for Lubbock. It was found that at Methodist Hospital in 1958 there were 226 residents of either the city or county of Lubbock who could not pay the fees but who could not qualify for help from the City-County Welfare Department. The committee declared: "A strong conviction of the Health Survey Committee is that the city and county of Lubbock should assume full responsibility for the hospitalization and medical care of indigent and medically indigent citizens. Information compiled in this study indicates that the city and county are not now assuming the responsibility for this basic service which is essential to any good community."¹²⁵ Obstetrical care for the indigent is another service not available in Lubbock. And it has been found that the City-County Out-Patient Clinic is closed except in the mornings and is so situated that it is difficult of access for those in need and often without transportation. The committee recommended that each of these problems be met, and suggested that as the city continues to grow a city-county hospital might be a necessity, or that the out-patient clinic be transferred to Methodist Hospital.¹²⁶ Either would enhance the possibility of the establishment of a medical school in the city.

Although one might stress the shortcomings of city life in Lubbock, it is perhaps more significant that awareness of problems to be met has shown a steady growth. Especially after the end of World War II was this true. In the postwar

period the city experimented with the administration of its welfare program through a private agency. Then, in 1954, came the appointment of a committee which conducted an extensive survey of the city's need for organized social services. Almost immediately there resulted the organization of the City-County Welfare Unit, as well as other steps. A few years later an intensive study of health requirements ended in the establishment of a City-County Out-Patient Clinic. Certainly no human society ever reaches perfection, and especially is this true of as complex an undertaking as a large modern city such as Lubbock. But at least it may be said that the problems are realized and progress is being made toward their solution.

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF RECREATION

Provision of recreational and leisure time facilities to fit a wide range of interests is another problem and responsibility in modern cities. Lubbock seems to have fulfilled her requirements in this field reasonably well.

By the 1920's the pattern of recreation in Lubbock was changing as the older individual and small group activities were being encroached upon by group-sponsored and commercial entertainment. One of the most interesting developments of the twenties was the rapid rise of clubs whose main purpose was the entertainment of their members. The several study clubs, previously discussed, may have had serious topics as their main fare, but they also had programs which were entertaining. In one week in 1932, Professor W. C. Holden spoke to the Twentieth Century Club on "Archaeology of the Southwest," Professor A. B. Cunningham reviewed *Westward Passage* for the Junior Twentieth Century Club, and Mrs. J. C. Reynolds and Mrs. T. C. Root spoke on "Modern Art" and "Period Furniture," respectively.¹²⁷

During the twenties a whole new group of social clubs sprang into existence. During the late twenties and early

thirties needle clubs were especially popular, and the local newspaper regularly carried notices of meetings of such groups as "The Lucky 13 Needle Club," "The Loyal Sisters Needle Club" and the "Happy Hour Needle Club," to mention only a few.¹²⁸ Bridge Clubs continued their popularity, and there was even a men's bridge club called the "Stag Bridge Club."¹²⁹ Dominoes continued to maintain their earlier appeal as a game and "42 Clubs" flourished. Groups of a more specialized nature also existed. The United Daughters of the Confederacy organized a chapter in 1927. Named for confederate veteran S. W. Wilkinson, it for many years held social meetings at which relatives of former confederate soldiers were honored, and decorated graves of confederate veterans on Confederate Memorial Day.¹³⁰ In 1926 Mrs. Gus L. Ford, wife of a Texas Tech history professor, organized the Nancy Anderson chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the society has continued to flourish since that time.¹³¹ By 1926, as previously noted, there were enough clubs in the city for the formation of the City Federation of Women's Clubs. The federation was formed on March 31, 1926, at a meeting called by the Delphian Club in the Baptist Church. Designed to coordinate the activities of the various women's groups, the city federation was a member of the county and state federations of women's clubs and participated regularly in their conventions and other activities.¹³²

Lubbock has always enjoyed a reputation for being rather strait-laced, morally speaking. Yet her taboos have never been extended to include dancing. Perhaps this was because dancing was such an important diversion in the lives of early residents that any attempts at limiting it would have met with little enthusiasm or tolerance. At any rate, one is struck by the continual stream of dancing parties reported in the local newspapers. Square dancing at first monopolized the field, but by the twenties "round," or ballroom dancing was gaining in favor. It seemed as though the slightest excuse was

enough to hold a dance — an engagement or wedding, a birthday, a club's final meeting of the season, or no special reason at all. Lubbock Country Club's ballroom was a favorite site for dances, as was that of the Lubbock Hotel. What seems to have been Lubbock's first public dance hall, the Up-Town Dance Palace, opened on Saturday, September 29, 1928. It was owned by the Tucker and Arnot construction company of Amarillo, which was said to have four other such establishments in the Southwest. Admission was twenty-five cents, with a fee of ten cents for each dance. The dance hall was located at the corner of Texas Avenue and 8th Street. The Up-Town Dance Palace was also available for private parties and meetings of various sorts. It stayed in business as a dance hall until the summer of 1933 before it succumbed and was converted into a sports arena.¹³³

One of the most interesting social developments in Lubbock has been the rise of dancing clubs. One of the first such organizations was called the "Gully Jumpers," organized in the early twenties. The club's early meetings were held at the George Boles ranch southeast of the city (a possible explanation for its name), in the homes of other members, and then in the Hilton Hotel ballroom when the membership became too large for private homes. Square dances were at first most popular, with waltzes and two-steps gradually gaining favor. Children were sometimes taken along and thus gained an early initiation into the thrills and excitement of such gatherings. In the early thirties the "Gully Jumpers" split into two new clubs, the "Trailers" and the "Westerners." Another early dance club,¹³⁴ referred to by the newspaper as simply "the Dancing Club," was active at least as early as 1928, and possibly before that. The Assembly Club was organized in 1930 with forty-five couples; by 1941 it had sixty-five member couples who held regular monthly dances from September through May. Since then many other such groups have been started. Usually limited to twenty or thirty couples, each club

has its officers and rules, its regular meetings, often monthly, and its host couples for each meeting. Their purpose is simply an evening of dancing with congenial people at regular intervals. Their meetings are held in various places, such as country clubs, hotels, or the party houses maintained by the city, especially that at Mackenzie Park. The demands made upon the latter for choice dates are so great that members of dance clubs line up a day or two before the reservations for the ensuing year are accepted, with members taking turns maintaining their place in line. The exact number of dance clubs is not accurately known, but may be possibly as high as seventy. Included in this figure would be some twenty clubs for ballroom dancing, another twenty children's or teen-ager's clubs, and the twenty or thirty very vigorous square dance clubs sponsored by the Park and Recreation Department. Other cities may boast of such groups, but certainly not of any with more enthusiasm than those in Lubbock.¹³⁵ Night clubs serving legal liquor can exist in communities allowing them, and in such places there is less need for dance clubs.

Music has always occupied an important place in the lives of South Plains residents. Many people play instruments themselves and are consistent supporters of good music. In 1923 two organizations, the Lubbock Music Club and the Lubbock Music Teachers' Association were formed, looking to the fostering and enjoyment of music. On November 2, 1923, delegates from some twenty-two South Plains counties formed the Lubbock Music Teachers' Association to improve the teaching of music on the South Plains, which would increase the enjoyment of music. For many years the association has held contests and festivals at various sites in the region, with many students from Lubbock competing in the various musical contests. The Lubbock Music Club, also founded in the fall of 1923, established a policy of presenting a series of music programs each year, bringing singers and musicians to the city and sponsoring musical programs presented by local

groups.¹³⁶ When Texas Technological College opened its doors it aided the development of music on the South Plains, not only through bringing distinguished musical performers to the city, but also by training music teachers who in turn went out into the schools of the area and taught others. The college also supplemented the choral activities of Lubbock churches. In 1934 Professor Julian Blitz joined the college faculty as head of the Music Department. The next year at Easter he presented "The Seven Last Words of Christ," with a chorus of four-hundred voices, and continued the custom for the next dozen years.¹³⁷ Since 1950 the college has had a choir, organized by Dr. Gene Hemmle, which has gained national recognition. From its earliest days Texas Tech had its own band, directed first by Harry LeMaire, who wrote the school song "The Matador Song," and from 1934 through 1958 by Professor D. O. Wiley. The Texas Tech Orchestra was formed in 1954.¹³⁸

The public schools have for many years fostered an interest in music by giving instruction and by supporting bands, orchestras, and glee clubs. In addition, the city has had several other organizations fostering an interest in music. Besides the Lubbock Music Club there has been the Allegro Music Club, founded in 1940, and the Music Appreciation Club, which was organized in 1949. The culmination of the development of this interest in music was the founding of the Lubbock Symphony Orchestra. In the fall of 1928 James W. Crowley announced the formation of a Lubbock Symphony Orchestra.¹³⁹ Although he was the founder and director of the Lubbock High School Band, which he had built into an organization with over a hundred members, his attempt at a symphony orchestra was premature and the venture failed.

By 1946, however, there was much more public support for such an undertaking. In June of that year the City Recreation Department announced a meeting for June 10 in the USO building for the purpose of organizing a Lubbock Little Sym-

phony. If sufficient interest were shown, the Recreation Department would contribute \$100 to buy music for the orchestra. Interest was shown. Twenty-six musicians answered conductor Bill Harrod's first call, and Miss Leona Gelin agreed to act as business manager. By early July the orchestra was conducting rehearsals and there was hope a permanent organization could be formed. The first concert was scheduled for October 22, 1946, in the Lubbock High School Auditorium, with the Lubbock Music Club and the Allegro Music Club acting as sponsors and ticket sellers. The first concert was an even greater success than had been hoped for. Some 1500 people turned out to hear conductor Harrod lead his orchestra of 48 members in such numbers as Grieg's Concerto in A Minor and the last movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. One in C Major. Mrs. Lloyd Croslin was pianist, and guest artist was New York opera tenor William Hess, who had once been stationed at Lubbock Army Air Base. After this first concert the success of the orchestra was assured and it continued to give several concerts each year. In December 1946 the word "little" was dropped and its title became the Lubbock Symphony Orchestra, with a permanent board of directors headed by Warren P. Clement, Texas Tech registrar. By 1958 when it moved to the newly completed Lubbock Auditorium, its popularity was such that it comfortably filled the auditorium for its performances.¹⁴⁰ Through the years many people of the city have contributed financially to the orchestra and have supported it in other ways. As the orchestra continues to grow in stature it seems assured of a secure niche in the cultural life of the city.

Besides the cultural activities centering in the West Texas Museum Association and the now defunct Texas Technological College Art Institute, another group, the South Plains Art Guild, has promoted artistic endeavors in the area since its founding in 1951. It has sponsored art festivals, studio tours, an art fiesta held in connection with Lubbock Shoppers' Mall

in 1958, annual summer painting workshops since 1953, and other similar activities, and in 1959 published a book, "Art on the Texas Plains." In 1952 the guild assumed the directorship of the art department of the annual Panhandle-South Plains Fair. Since the opening of the Municipal Garden and Art Center at K. N. Clapp Park in 1960, the guild has been responsible for its art activities and is developing a community art program.¹⁴¹

An important addition to Lubbock's cultural activities has been provided by the Lubbock Little Theatre. The first Little Theatre was organized on September 2, 1925, when some fifty-five interested persons came together in the offices of the Chamber of Commerce to lay the foundations for such a group. Mrs. James H. Goodman, Mrs. William D. Green, and Miss Mayme Alexander were responsible for the movement.¹⁴² For several years the Little Theatre gave a series of plays each season in Lubbock High School Auditorium, and in the winter of 1927 was even able to sponsor a Junior Little Theatre, which put on several plays in the high school auditorium with children as the actors.¹⁴³ The Lubbock Little Theatre lasted at least until 1929, but interest in it gradually declined until it finally disappeared. World War II provided an extension of the hiatus originated in the depression years, and it was not until the summer of 1948 that another Lubbock Little Theatre was organized. Again it was three women, Mrs. Charles L. Cobb, Mrs. Loyette Lindsey Wickes, and Mrs. C. C. Caldwell, who set a theatre project in motion. With the backing of the Lubbock Optimist Club, the Lubbock Little Theatre proved a success. In November 1953 the Little Theatre opened its own three-hundred-seat playhouse at 27th Street and Avenue P on a plot of ground leased from the city. Beginning in the summer of 1950 and continuing for five years, the Little Theatre also presented a summer series of melodramas in the city parks. In 1951 the City Park and Recreation Department helped build a show wagon with re-

movable sides which would allow the summer plays to be presented in various parts of the city.¹⁴⁴

Symbolizing the emergence of Lubbock as the cultural center of the South Plains was the erection of the Lubbock Auditorium-Coliseum on the northern edge of the Texas Tech campus. Many individuals and organizations had over the years urged the construction of a central meeting place where a varied program of cultural activities might be carried on. In 1945 the Lubbock Kiwanis Club initiated a project for such a building, other groups joined in support of it, and on December 11, 1945, the people of the city approved a \$1,750,000 bond issue for the building of an Auditorium and Coliseum with the possibility of a public library as an integral part of it.¹⁴⁵ Various factors prevented the carrying out of the project. Difficulty was encountered in agreeing on a site, and when one was selected just where the new building housing the Avalanche Publishing Company is located in downtown Lubbock, the value of the land rose so high as to make it out of the question. The Korean war then intervened to shut off the supply of materials. In 1953 Mayor Murrell Tripp revived the project, gave it priority, and appointed a fifteen-man planning commission to work on it. The commission considered the Fair Park as a possible site, as well as a site out near 4th Street, and property owned by the city. The commission finally decided upon a site at the intersection of College Avenue and 4th Street just east of Jones stadium on the Tech campus, and approached college authorities with the proposition that the college provide the site on which the city would then build the auditorium and coliseum. Mayor Tripp discussed the idea with Dr. D. M. Wiggins, president of Texas Tech, and later with his successor, Dr. E. N. Jones. College authorities offered a site just west of the stadium and State Representative Waggoner Carr helped persuade the legislature to approve the deeding of the necessary seven acres to the city, which left the amount of the original bond issue for

actual construction work. Both parties benefited. The college acquired the use of a large auditorium for assemblies and other programs and a coliseum for sports events and commencement exercises. The city received a central site with parking space and access to the highway network.¹⁴⁶

The city operates the City of Lubbock Auditorium and Coliseum (its official title) through an Auditorium-Coliseum Operational Board. Since the board cannot make guarantees to any groups, a non-profit organization known as Civic Lubbock, Incorporated, has been formed. Its members are identical with those on the operational board and it makes bookings and gives guarantees for appearances in the Auditorium-Coliseum. Profits are used to pay off bonds issued for the erection of the buildings.¹⁴⁷ Since its opening on March 30-31, 1956, for three performances of the Broadway play "Teahouse of the August Moon," the Auditorium-Coliseum has been host to a continuing succession of dramatic presentations, musical programs, comedians, speakers, and athletic events representing almost any type of entertainment appealing to the tastes of this southwestern city. The auditorium is a complete 3023 seat theater. The coliseum is without pillars and is built in the form of an ellipse. Its seating capacity is 7509, with space on its floor for 3000 extra chairs. The combined structure cost \$2,206,806.02 when it was opened.¹⁴⁸

In reviewing the history of Lubbock, one is struck by the degree to which the city government has contributed to the life of the city. Many organizations have been provided with land for their activities, either by gift or long-term lease. The Lubbock Little Theatre, the YWCA, Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, Manhattan Heights Negro housing project, and others have benefited in this way. In addition the Parks and Recreation departments have engaged in many projects and activities benefiting many citizens.

The Manhattan Heights project is an illustrative example. By the early 1950's the need for adequate Negro housing was

becoming apparent. Many Negro families were able to afford better housing than the congested region of east Lubbock could provide. If such families attempted to move into white neighborhoods conflict would result. On the other hand, there was a traditional fear in the city of "socialistic" schemes for public housing. The vigorous and capable Mayor Murrell Tripp investigated the problem, with the result that on March 20, 1953 the Southeast Lubbock Development Corporation was chartered. The non-profit corporation was headed by a twelve-man board of directors chosen from among interested citizens. To begin the Manhattan Heights project the city commission subdivided approximately two hundred acres. On a small portion streets were put through and water and sewer facilities provided. A few acres were then deeded to the Southeast Lubbock Development Corporation, which made the lots available for sale to Negro applicants. Lots sold slowly at first because of the difficulty of Negroes in gaining loans from the Veterans Administration, Federal Housing Authority, or from conventional sources. There was also the suspicion of Negroes for projects sponsored by whites. Slowly the sale of lots increased, until by 1960 some 250 out of 344 lots available had been sold. Applicants must be approved by the project's board of directors and must begin building within 120 days. Lots cost from \$850 to \$1350 each, with the average about \$1000. The proceeds from the sales of lots are used to pay project notes held by the city to cover the cost of the land and improvements. Mae Simmons City Park is located nearby, and land is available for a future shopping center. Dunbar Junior-Senior High School was opened in 1959 and Phyllis Wheatley Elementary School in 1957. With the beginning of urban renewal in the late fifties, there was additional hope that Lubbock might escape the development of a permanent slum area.¹⁴⁹

One of the most important assets of the city is its library. The need for such an institution, beyond that maintained by

the county in the courthouse, was long felt, especially by women's groups. The steps taken toward realization of the dream of a public library were typical of those followed in many similar civic projects. Mrs. H. F. Godeke called a group of interested citizens to meet in the Hotel Lubbock on March 21, 1946. Out of this meeting came the Lubbock Library Association, which by May had a membership of some 257 persons. Mrs. Godeke was elected president of the association and continued in that capacity until the library was built. In the autumn of 1946 the library association had printed 7500 sheets explaining the need for a public library. These were distributed through the schools, civic clubs, women's clubs, and other organizations. Early in 1947 petitions were circulated asking for the opening of a city library.¹⁵⁰ Association members publicized the issue vigorously and finally convinced the city administration there was substantial support for it. On May 24, 1947, a bond election was held, with 635 voting in favor of the library, and only 185 against it. Considerable difficulty over a site then arose, after which the Korean war intervened to curtail the supply of materials.¹⁵¹ In February 1952 the city commission provided for a Library Board of seven members to advise it. The board was first concerned with a location for the library. Several sites were suggested. After much thought and debate the board recommended the use of McCrummen Park on 19th Street across from Tom S. Lubbock High School. An agreement was worked out whereby the Park Commission agreed to lease the south 160 feet of McCrummen Park for use of the library. The Library Board also secured the appointment of Gerald H. Sandy of Kansas City as librarian.¹⁵² The library was opened on July 20, 1954. Beginning with only six full-time staff members and 5000 volumes borrowed from the Texas State Library, the Lubbock Public Library grew steadily until in 1959 it had 65,000 volumes of its own, a staff of 12, and some 27,000 bor-

rowers who were responsible for a circulation of 398,000 books.¹⁵³

Undoubtedly the most important of the city's recreational assets are those embraced within its system of parks. Although the city charter of 1917 authorized the purchase of land for recreational purposes, and provided for a Park Commission — the only independent commission in the city — it was not until nearly a decade had passed that a park system actually came into being. Late in 1919 the county purchased from W. A. Myrick eighty acres of land just east of Lubbock for a county park, later named Shannon Park. Shortly afterward the city acquired land adjacent to the county park. This became City Park No. 1. Not much was done by the city with its new park until 1927. Then, under the urging of the Business and Professional Women's Club and the Board of City Development, Mayor Pink L. Parrish appointed a committee of Mrs. J. E. Vickers and Mrs. C. F. (Lou) Stubbs, representing the Business and Professional Women's Club, and H. D. Woods, representing the Board of City Development, to work with Commissioner A. V. Weaver in beautifying the park. In a little over a month the committee reported it had supervised the planting of some 536 trees in the park.¹⁵⁴ The city fathers were apparently pleased with their work, for in August 1927 they voted to put Commissioner Weaver in charge of the park and to authorize him to spend such funds as necessary for its upkeep. Early in 1928 the city commission accepted the plans of Texas Tech's Horticulture Department head, C. H. Mahoney, for the landscaping of the park. Shortly afterwards, in April, the commission appointed a Park Commission of Mrs. C. F. Stubbs, J. B. Maxey, and K. N. Clapp, with Maxey as chairman, to work with Commissioner Weaver in managing the park.¹⁵⁵ The city commission expanded its park system rapidly once it had begun to act. In 1929 the city decided to move before land values went up, and purchased three park sites. In March land was purchased on 19th Street, which be-

came McCrummen Park. A month later land was purchased at 23rd Street and Avenue L, later called Highland Park. In August land was acquired at 22nd Street and Avenue C, and this was made into Booker T. Washington Park. A year later Pioneer Park at 7th Street and Avenue T was provided for, as was Rolling Prairie Park at 28th Street and Avenue X. McCrummen Park, a pioneer venture in West Texas, was developed first because it was on a main street, 19th, and would serve as a model to convince the public of the value of parks. In 1931 there were six parks: City No. 1, Highland Heights, Booker T. Washington, McCrummen, Rolling Prairie, and Pioneer. These had been named the year before as the result of a campaign sponsored by the Park Commission. A year later the custom of naming parks for prominent citizens was begun when in November 1932 the Park Commission changed the name of Prairie Park to Carlisle Park in honor of W. A. "Gus" Carlisle, who came to the plains about 1890, and renamed Highland Park in honor of Rollie Burns.¹⁵⁶ By this time there were over two hundred acres distributed among the six parks.

Once set in motion, the development of city parks continued at a steady pace. In March 1931 the Park Commission took a notable step when it recommended the hiring of the first park superintendent, C. D. McGehee, a graduate of Texas Tech's Horticulture Department. On June 28, 1932, a city election was held to amend the city charter so as to enlarge the Park Commission to five members. Mrs. Clark Mullican and C. E. Russell were appointed to fill the vacancies created.¹⁵⁷

Mackenzie State Park came into being through the cooperation of the city, county, and state. As early as 1924 D. E. Colp, chairman of the State Parks Board, visited Lubbock and urged the Chamber of Commerce to take the lead in providing land near the city for a state park. Nothing was accomplished until the great depression. In 1933 members of Allen Brothers Post of the American Legion became interested in a

state park for the city. A park would not only benefit the city, but would lead to the establishment of a CCC camp here, in whose building veterans could be employed. Early in December 1934 Lubbock applied to the State Parks Board for the establishment of a state park at Lubbock. In January 1935 the city purchased 350 acres of land in Yellow House Canyon from Mrs. Mollie D. Abernathy, together with another 100 acres from P. F. Brown. This, plus the old City Park No. 1 and the adjacent county park, were then deeded to the state. The combined acreage was then named Mackenzie Park, following a suggestion by Professor W. C. Holden of Texas Tech that it be named after the famous army general and Indian fighter. The CCC camp was approved by the federal government in April 1935. It was built in the summer of 1935, after which Mackenzie Park's 547 acres were swiftly transformed by the CCC camp members through the planting of over 5000 trees, building of roadways, bridges, a recreation building, and other park facilities. The city discovered the state could not be depended upon to provide funds for Mackenzie Park, and a bill was put through the legislature leasing the park to the city in order that it might be properly maintained and developed. This is a unique situation so far as the operation of parks in the United States is concerned.¹⁵⁸

Beginning in 1937 the city sponsored a recreation program. The idea was conceived by J. O. Jones, local WPA administrator. Until its demise in 1943 the WPA paid the salary of a recreation director and the city provided the facilities. A summer program was maintained consisting of such activities as volley ball, soft ball, baseball, swimming, and handicrafts. In winter there were indoor sports and suitable handicrafts. In 1943 the city took over the recreation program. A recreation council was appointed to supervise the recreation department, and the city commission provided funds. In 1955 the Parks Department and the Recreation Department were merged into the Park and Recreation Department, which has jurisdiction

over the city's 31 parks totalling some 1035 acres. The recreation program has been greatly expanded, so that not only are there the traditional sports and handicrafts, but also bridge instruction, an extensive and popular square dance program, casting instruction for fishermen, and a golden age club for older persons. Once, the concept of a park was that it was a place of undisturbed and unused beauty. Today, at least in Lubbock, parks are recreation centers first and foremost. The Park and Recreation Department draws a line between providing facilities, instructors, and aid in establishing programs, and going into the entertainment business itself. For example, in 1946 it provided funds to begin the Little Symphony movement, but left the actual creation of the orchestra to private groups. Its budget for 1960-61 totals \$308,431. In 1959 some 2,586,486 persons participated in the recreation programs and used the park facilities, including the estimated 1,969,398 entering Mackenzie Park.¹⁵⁹

Commercial forms of entertainment continued their development along paths previously laid down. Movies were vastly attractive during the twenties and thirties. By 1928 the newspapers were carrying advertisements for four theaters, the Lindsey, Lyric, Palace, and Rex. The former three were to be permanent, while the Rex soon disappeared. The Lyric was the oldest, dating back to the period prior to World War I. Next came the Lindsey, which opened during the war and was named for its owner, J. D. Lindsey. In September 1924 Lindsey and his son Cliff built the Palace. Interest in movies ran so high that on Sundays the *Avalanche-Journal* carried a full page devoted to them, including advertisements, gossip, and brief accounts of the shows at each of the theaters.¹⁶⁰

For a period of perhaps two decades movie news was important to the people of Lubbock. The twenties were the "golden age" of movies, when they provided fresh and exciting entertainment and were not yet challenged by television. The high point probably came in February 1929 when the

Lubbock newspapers chronicled the coming of talking movies to the Palace, followed by the installation of sound equipment in each of the other theaters. By 1941 there were ten movie theaters in the city, marking the approximate apex of interest in indoor theaters. Although the popularity of movies declined steadily after World War II, they continued to have such appeal, especially to young patrons. Drive-ins made their appearance on October 3, 1947, when the 5-Point Drive In opened at 34th Street and the Brownfield Highway. By 1960 there were fifteen movie theaters in the city, including eight drive-ins, and the newspapers still carried pages of advertisements and news concerning their offerings. The number of movie enthusiasts might have declined, but in 1960 a theater could still advertise the latest epic production of "Ben Hur," with all seats reserved and costing as much as two dollars each.¹⁶¹

Interest in radio also continued to mount during the twenties and thirties. As early as 1921 Paul Hargis had a radio station in the Von Rosenberg home. By early the next year a radio club was meeting regularly to discuss problems and practice building sets, and the Rotary Club had established a committee to look into the possibility of building a radio station in the city. By 1923 there were three amateur radio stations in the city, operated by Noel McCollum, Paul Hargis, and W. H. Ward. Before the first radio station opened on a commercial basis, the newspapers of the late twenties and early thirties listed columns of radio programs that might be heard at half-hour intervals throughout the day. Following the time and program name came a list of the call letters of fifteen or twenty stations where the programs might be heard by enthusiasts sitting hunched before their sets for half the night while they twisted dials and strained their ears to hear distant signals. Lubbock's first commercial radio station was KFYO, which had been located in Breckenridge and Abilene prior to being moved to Lubbock. When it began broadcasting on

April 23, 1932, the occasion was suitably marked by a continuous seventy-two hour broadcast, a dinner with distinguished guests invited, and a dance. In 1936 the station was acquired by the *Avalanche-Journal*. This was the only commercial station broadcasting from the city until KSEL opened on November 1, 1946, after which several more soon followed.¹⁶² By 1960 there were eight stations, including two FM, all broadcasting seemingly endless repetitions of more or less popular music interspersed with liberal sprinklings of commercials and some news programs.

What was probably the first mention of television in Lubbock came in an article printed in the *Morning Avalanche* on October 28, 1928, which reported that an inventor had devised a system using over two thousand photoelectric cells for the reproduction of pictures. Despite this, it would be nearly another quarter of a century before Lubbock could boast of its first television station. Station KDUB began broadcasting on November 13, 1952, on channel 13 as an affiliate of the CBS system. The second station, KCBD, opened on May 10, 1953, broadcasting over channel 11 as an NBC affiliate. In 1960 Texas Tech was considering opening an educational station on channel 5.

There were, of course, many other forms of commercial entertainment. Circuses continued to be popular in the city whenever they appeared. The Hagenback-Wallace circus visited the city, and Harley Sadler had by 1935 given up his earlier shows in favor of the Bailey Brothers Circus, which he had recently acquired and which featured movie stars Jack Hoxie and Dixie Lee.¹⁶³

For a few years after World War I airplanes were sure to attract a crowd whenever they buzzed over the city to land in a nearby field. Those daring enough to risk it could pay a dollar or two for a ride over the city in these biplane relics of the war. By the early twenties troupes of aviators were barnstorming around the country. In December 1922 Daredevil

Chubby Watson brought his aerial circus to town and advertised thrills for everybody, with his performers doing hand-stands on the wings of their planes, hanging from the wings by one hand or by their toes, and doing trapeze stunts in mid-air. A year later the Gates flying circus appeared. Four aviators took turns flying two planes and doing aerial acrobatics, while "Diavalo," billed as the world's master dare-devil of the air, changed from one plane to another while both were flying at full speed. "Diavalo" lived to return the next year with still another group, this one led by Captain Lowell Yerex and Lieutenant Gray and sponsored by the Texas Company. As the twenties waned Lubbock became more sophisticated and some of the thrill went out of the sight of an airplane. But on April 8, 1932, the first autogiro to visit the city flew in and gave rides to some of the hundreds of people who went out to see it. The machine, an ancestor of the modern helicopter, was owned by the Piston Ring Company of Muskegon, Michigan.¹⁶⁴

As time went on a seemingly endless variety of entertainment forms became available to residents of the city. For a number of years during the twenties, Battery "C", 131st Field Artillery Battalion of the Texas National Guard, held an annual field day of firing practice on the Bud Johnston ranch some twelve miles southeast of the city. On the appointed day the battery would haul its seventy-five-millimeter guns and its machine guns to the ranch and proceed to blast away at the cliffs of Yellow House Canyon while several hundred spectators looked on. Battery personnel served visitors a typical army meal at noon. Lubbock was vastly proud of its National Guard battery and raised money to build stables on the fairgrounds on the eastern outskirts of the city. The battery used several downtown buildings as armories until the present armory was built on 4th Street near the Tech campus in the late fifties. The newspaper reported the activities of the battery, as in 1923 when its personnel left for two weeks summer training

at Camp Stanley near San Antonio, and when the battery received seventeen fine cavalry horses.¹⁶⁵

Yellow House Canyon continued its earlier popularity as a recreation spot. Buffalo Springs were on the old S. I. Johnston ranch. In 1924 a beginning was made towards developing the site into a recreational spot by Sheriff "Bud" Johnston and his brother Jim. After the estate was sold, J. A. "Andy" Wilson, a pioneer resident, formed the Buffalo Lakes Association in the late twenties and put a small dam across the canyon to create a small lake on which members could launch their boats. Swimming, fishing, hunting, camping, and picnicking were available, and some of the members of the association built cabins around the lake.¹⁶⁶ In December 1957 Lubbock County Water Control and Improvement District No. 1 bought 1612 acres around Buffalo Lakes to provide a community recreation center, thus climaxing a long campaign by the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce. A new dam was constructed, and by the summer of 1960 Buffalo Lakes were open for swimming, fishing, boating, camping, and other forms of recreation.

The local newspapers have always been an important force in the cultural development of the city. The *Avalanche* was justly proud of the contribution it made towards informing and entertaining South Plains residents. In October 1922 the paper began appearing as a daily (except Mondays) and became the Lubbock *Daily Avalanche*. With the issue of October 3, 1923, the name was changed to the Lubbock *Morning Avalanche* as it shifted from afternoon to morning publication after a period of experimentation earlier in the year.

In April 1922 the *Plains Agricultural Journal*, published by the Plains Journal Publishing Company, which had been organized by the former manager of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, Curtis A. Keen, began publication. In November of that year it became the *Plains Journal* as a weekly paper. Two years later, on September 8, 1925, it became an afternoon and Sunday paper under the name of the Lubbock *Daily Jour-*

nal. In September 1926 the *Avalanche* Publishing Company acquired it. From then until 1932 the *Morning Avalanche* and the *Daily Journal* were published. On October 31, 1932, the latter became the *Evening Journal*. Both papers were published until 1959. On June 29, 1959, the names were consolidated into the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* with morning, evening, and Sunday editions.¹⁶⁷

Other papers have also been published in the city. On September 27, 1928, the first issue of a new weekly newspaper, the *Lubbock News* appeared. In November it became a bi-weekly issued on Wednesday and Saturday mornings. The venture soon failed, however, as did another publishing attempt in the thirties, the *Lubbock Times*.¹⁶⁸ In 1945 the *Mercantile News* was founded as a weekly distributed without charge and concentrating on shopping news. In 1950 the name was changed to the *Lubbock Sun*. Distribution is now made twice weekly.

The *Avalanche-Journal* changed steadily through the years. The *Morning Avalanche* added color comics late in 1923 and by this time was also carrying a woman's page, a sports page, and theater news as regular features. Early comics were "Slim Jim and the Force," "Terry and Tacks," "Doings of the Van Loons," and "Tim - The Kelly Kids - Tom." The first sports column was written by the sports editor of the *Daily Journal*, Allan Carney, beginning on January 27, 1929, and called "In the realm of sports." When Carney left in July 1930 for a world tour he was succeeded by Collier Parris, who edited the sports page of the *Evening Journal* and wrote a column for a number of years. In 1924 the *Plains Journal* began an annual cooking school, which was taken over by the *Avalanche-Journal* and made an annual event. In June 1933 the *Avalanche-Journal* sponsored a special train to the Chicago World's Fair. The train left on June 25 carrying between thirty and forty passengers from Lubbock and the surrounding area and joining a larger train at Amarillo for the trip to Chicago.¹⁶⁹

Not so appealing to local readers, although no doubt entertaining to those outside the afflicted area were the articles and pictures of the swirling dust storms that periodically enveloped the region. The city also entertained itself briefly in 1932 when stories about its new swimming pool regulations were printed. K. N. Clapp, manager of the city swimming pool, announced he would enforce the new ordinance banning the use of one-piece and trunk-and-brassiere bathing suits at the city pool. Thereupon, some humorously inclined young writers on the Lubbock newspapers put a story on the news wire about a city in the middle of a desert and a thousand miles from a bathing beach requiring bathing beach censorship. Newspapers across the country reprinted the story and enjoyed a brief laugh at the expense of the city.¹⁷⁰

Each year since 1920, with the exception of the war years from 1942-1945, the Panhandle-South Plains Fair has brought entertainment and new ideas to the people of Lubbock and the entire area. Dubbed the "Show Window of the South Plains" and designed to publicize productive activities of the region, the fair also mixes in generous amounts of entertainment. A large carnival troupe provides shows, games, and rides along a typical midway, and special attractions such as air shows, daredevil automobile drivers, musical revues, human cannonballs, midget auto races, and ice shows lure those seeking excitement. Each fair begins with a parade of school children and marching bands from surrounding counties. The parade proceeds down Broadway and ends at the fairgrounds leased from the county just east of Avenue A between East Broadway and the Mackenzie Park freeway. Exhibits ranging from the agricultural products of about fifteen counties to livestock, home appliances, various farm crops, and exhibits in the Women's Division form the core of the fair. Judging in the various categories of livestock, farm crops, and other exhibits goes on throughout the fair, with cash prizes to winners. Although fairs have been held in many places ever since

ancient times and are one of the most typical aspects of the state, local, and county scene in the United States, it is doubtful if the people of any area enjoy theirs more than do the people of the South Plains the Panhandle-South Plains Fair. The fair has grown from a modest three-day event in the early twenties to the present six-day spectacle which in 1960 attracted 196,398 visitors. The fair is held late in September or early in October and is directed by the Panhandle-South Plains Fair Association, a non-profit organization whose members serve without pay. Over the years the buildings and grounds have been continually rebuilt and improved until today their worth approaches \$750,000.¹⁷¹

SPORTS

Sports in their many variations have undoubtedly been far and away the most popular form of diversion among Lubbockites. Something has already been said on this in the sections on the schools and Texas Tech, but an increasingly varied athletic program developed among city residents as time went on. Baseball has always been more or less popular, although professional baseball fluttered through an erratic career. The Lubbock "Hubbers," organized in 1922, played in the Panhandle-Pecos Valley League in 1923. The team played well and eventually won the league championship from the Amarillo "Gassers" in a nine game playoff series, five games to four. But only desperate measures and civic support saved the team from collapsing in mid-season from financial paralysis. Perhaps excitement over the location of Texas Tech in Lubbock, announced in August, had something to do with the lack of support. Since the players had not been paid for the last half of the season, they were free agents and the baseball club ceased to exist. It was not revived for five years.¹⁷²

The Lubbock Baseball Association, a non-profit organization, attempted to revive professional baseball in Lubbock in

1928. By July financial floundering had become pronounced and the association transferred its liabilities to a group composed of the Panhandle Construction Company, the H. H. Shell and Son Construction Company, and D. N. Leaverton. Although the team finished the season, it did not take the field for the 1929 season. In 1931 several Lubbock businessmen attempted to sell enough stock to support a team in the Panhandle League, but failed. In 1933 another unsuccessful attempt was made to get enough financial blood to enter a team in the West Texas-New Mexico League. Professional baseball did not reappear in the city until 1938, when the "Hubbers" played in the West Texas-New Mexico League. The team won the league championship and in 1939 came within a few hundred customers of fifty thousand admissions. The "Hubbers" remained in the league until 1943, when the war intervened. The team was revived in 1946 and lasted until July of that year, when it expired — apparently forever.¹⁷³

Amateur and semi-professional baseball did better in the city. Teams were competing throughout the twenties, and in 1931 the *Avalanche-Journal* began sponsorship of its annual baseball tournament, held in July of each year through 1937. The best teams of the South Plains were selected from the applicants, with Lubbock's entry often called the "Hubbers." This was really semi-pro baseball, with some of the players paid for playing, whenever the money could be found. Opponents were teams from Tahoka, Slaton, Plainview, Amarillo, Hobbs, and Roswell. For a number of years in the mid-thirties Sam Rosenthal sponsored a team called the Hub City Clothiers and did much to promote interest in the game. Fletcher "Sled" Allen was usually to be found as manager of a team, and for a time managed Rosenthal's.¹⁷⁴ Merrill Park, owned by the Merrill estate and located on the southeastern outskirts of the city, was the usual site for baseball during the twenties and early thirties. The park would seat about 1300 people. The first

night baseball in the city (outside of an exhibition with the House of David team) was played there on July 3, 1931, with Collier Parris, sports editor of the Lubbock *Evening Journal*, proudly proclaiming it to be the first site where amateur baseball could be played at night. Merrill Park was razed in December 1932, and in January 1933, during the period of hope when the city was trying to re-establish professional baseball, the city furnished a site for a diamond on Avenue H about half a mile north of the courthouse. When this proved too rocky, a group of baseball enthusiasts provided a park on College Avenue at 2nd Street. In 1936 another group banded together to erect a board fence around the field and to put up a grandstand. Lubbock also supported a Negro team, the "Black Hubbers," which played amateur baseball during the thirties.¹⁷⁵

After World War II amateur baseball continued to be played. The "Black Hubbers" resumed play with area teams and continued on into the 1950's. Besides the high school and college teams, there is now a host of boys' teams and a men's semi-pro team. An American Legion baseball team was formed in 1944 and was said to be the only team playing baseball in West Texas that year. By 1946 some 275 boys were playing in organized leagues in the city. About fifteen boys between ages 14-17 played on the American Legion team, which was entered in district 1-AA competition. Those unable to make the team played on four teams sponsored by businessmen. For boys under fourteen, six civic clubs sponsored teams. Boys under thirteen who could not compete on other teams were enrolled in a peewee league. By 1960 American Legion and Little League baseball teams were enthusiastically supported by several hundred boys as players and several thousand parents as partisan and rabid spectators.¹⁷⁶

Softball also flourished during the thirties. By 1931 there was a softball league functioning, and until World War II, popularity of the sport continued to grow. At one point there

were two leagues, the American and the National. Games were played at several sites in the city and various tournaments were held. The game reached what was probably the peak of its popularity in the two or three years after World War II. Early in 1946 Jumbo Webster Park was built and equipped with lights. In that year also the City Recreation Department began sponsoring softball teams and soon several hundred players were participating and playing two or three games a week on several diamonds.¹⁷⁷ The game still remains popular, although having declined somewhat from its peak days.

Golf has shown a steady growth in popularity since the establishment of Lubbock Country Club in 1922. Work on a public course was begun by a group of enthusiasts in 1923 and the course was opened in the county park in Yellow House Canyon in 1924. In 1929 W. G. McMillan, a Lubbock contractor, constructed Meadowbrook Golf Course near the original public course in what is now Mackenzie State Park. The new course, a part of the park, was maintained by the city until 1939, when McMillan leased it. He operated it until 1954 as a public course. In that year the city again took over its operation and McMillan opened the Westlake course west of the city for public play. Hillcrest Country Club was organized in 1950, and after the Korean war had delayed construction, was opened for play in 1953. In 1961 still another private club, the Caprock Golf Club, was being built south of the city.

The first city championship was played in 1928, although it is not clear whether the winners of the two brackets ever met to decide the championship. Clinton Bussey, Manson Allen, Al Holton, Ted Tipps, and several others were among the annual contenders for the city championship. By the early thirties the game was popular enough for club tournaments to be held, as well as invitational tournaments. By the mid-thirties a Lubbock Women's Golf Association was in being and conducting its own tournaments.¹⁷⁸ It would be difficult to estimate how many golfers now play more or less regularly in the city, but the num-

ber undoubtedly has reached several thousand, with well over a hundred thousand rounds being played on courses in the city each year. Golf illustrates the attractiveness of the city to the sports-minded, since there is seldom a week when weather conditions make playing impossible for at least one day out of the seven—despite such occasional annoyances as gale force winds and sandstorms. Those not afflicted with a mania for pursuing some kind of pellet over the landscape in one type of game or another perhaps remain unmoved, but those incarcerated in the polar regions of states to the north are envious.

By the period of World War I, tennis had made its appearance in Lubbock. In 1914 or 1915 a family named Warren built a court at their home about eight miles east of the city, and by this time a few high school students also were playing the game. By 1923 the Idlehour Tennis Club had been formed and in August of that year held the first annual West Texas Tournament. Three courts were available, one at the Lubbock Inn and two near the Methodist Church. Over thirty players participated, some coming from such widely spread locations as Midland, Sweetwater, Colorado City, Lubbock, Plainview, and Amarillo. As an outcome of the tournament the West Texas Tennis Association was founded. In May 1924 the Lubbock Lawn Tennis Club held a tournament. Two years later Hubert Burgess built a clay court beside his home in the seven-hundred block of 28th Street, where many of the tennis matches until 1940 were contested. Other early courts were those built by the West Texas Gas Company north of the present Southwestern Public Service Company building on Avenue K, one built on 21st Street in the late twenties by the Roberts brothers, and one built on 14th Street by Mrs. I. C. Enochs and Clarence and Jimmy Whiteside. Among the leading players of the late twenties and early thirties were Frazier McCrummen, Otis Felty, Hubert Burgess, Carl Nail, Jim Stahl, and Marshall Gordon.¹⁷⁹

Beginning in 1927 several consecutive annual city tennis

tournaments were held, and from time to time the West Texas Tennis Tournament was held in the city. By the early thirties there were perhaps two hundred tennis players in the city, playing on private courts. In the late twenties courts were built at Texas Tech, the city followed in 1932 with the first of its courts in city parks, and the high school put in courts in the late thirties. Although the game continued to gain slowly in popularity and more or less regular city tournaments were held, it was always on a rather disorganized basis. The newspapers were chary of publicity and those who did not play the game had little interest in it. Despite this the annual city tournament held in the summer of 1959 attracted nearly 150 contestants.¹⁸⁰

Wrestling has enjoyed a popularity not often found in cities the size of Lubbock. Very possibly this is because Fletcher "Sled" Allen promoted the sport vigorously for many years. Before Allen began his promotional activities, the Allen Brothers Post of the American Legion sponsored bouts in the mid-twenties between such men as "Sailor" Jack Woods, Kala Pasha "The Terrible Turk," and Charles Olson, middleweight champion of Canada. These bouts were held in the Auditorium in the 800 block of Texas Avenue. In 1931 bouts were held in the Frolic Dance Hall.¹⁸¹ In the spring of 1933 Texas Tech football coach Pete Cawthon recruited boxing and wrestling teams at the college, which undoubtedly added to the popularity of both sports. Professional wrestling on a permanent basis began in 1933. During the summer "Sled" Allen received his wrestling promoter's license from the State Department of Labor (an appropriate source). On October 1 he took over management of the Uptown Dance Hall, defunct since the summer, and laid plans to promote indoor baseball, basketball, volleyball, Saturday night and holiday dances, boxing and wrestling, and probably any other activity his fertile mind thought might attract paying customers. His other schemes met with indifferent success, but his wrestling pro-

grams were a success and became regular Wednesday night features in the city, with only infrequent interruptions. In the fall of 1933 Jack Van Bebber joined Texas Tech as wrestling coach. As the reigning middleweight wrestling champion of the 1932 Olympic games, Van Bebber soon became a favorite of Lubbock wrestling devotees and fought a number of times for Allen during the next few years. Until his retirement in 1958 Allen brought many wrestlers to the city and staged his bouts in a variety of locations, including Jumbo Webster Park, Jamboree Hall on the old South Plains Army Air Base north of the city, and finally at Fair Park Coliseum. In 1960 these Wednesday night bouts were being promoted in Allen Arena in Fair Park Coliseum by promoter Lou Sarpolis.¹⁸²

Professional boxing never did enjoy the unique success achieved by wrestling. Bouts were staged by the American Legion post early in the twenties, and from time to time other promoters tried their luck. In 1939, for example, the *Evening Journal* heralded the bouts put on by promoter Jimmy Koenig and Benny Woodall at the Auditorium and asserted this was the first serious attempt to bring boxing to the city. Despite the fact that Lubbock's promising heavyweight, Babe Ritchie, fought, the sport was not able to maintain itself permanently. After World War II several attempts were made to promote the sport, but without success.

Amateur boxing has also had a checkered career. Early in 1931 Texas Tech coach Pete Cawthon and his staff started a series of "fun nights" for local men. The programs included boxing and wrestling bouts by both college and high school students, skating exhibitions, and musical numbers by the bands of the high school and Texas Tech. These continued to be a feature of the winter season for several years. At least as early as 1935 district elimination boxing bouts were held in the college gymnasium by the Texas Amateur Athletic Federation, with winners going on to the regional and state tournaments.¹⁸³

Polo was an exciting and popular game, at least for those who played it. During the twenties and thirties several West Texas cities boasted of polo teams. Lubbock for a time in the late thirties had two teams, as did Dalhart, Lamesa, and Plainview. Teams also played out of San Antonio, Lockney, Texline, Hale Center, and the military school at Roswell, New Mexico. Probably the main reason why polo was so extensively played in the region was the inexpensiveness of horses and the low cost of their upkeep. The first polo in Lubbock was played in the late twenties, soon after Battery "C" and Service Battery of the 131st Field Artillery Battalion of the Texas National Guard received their horses. Service battery's stables were located on the Tech campus just west of the present Jones Stadium, and games were played in a field full of caliche and "goat head" burrs, about where the Lubbock Auditorium-Coliseum and its parking area are now located. Although no formal team existed in the strict sense of the word, games were organized by players such as Captain Ingerton, B. F. Condray, Dr. O. C. Corry, Dr. Fred Harbaugh, Harold Griffith, Julian Williamson, Lewis Kittrell, and N. K. Snodgrass. The college's agriculture division supplied horses for those connected with the college as faculty members or students. Those who supplied their own horses found they could be bought usually for less than a hundred dollars and maintained for only a few dollars a month. On occasion area players went east with the animals they had trained, played on Long Island or in New England, and then sold the horses for a tidy profit.¹⁸⁴

After a brief flurry in the early thirties, polo waned in the Lubbock area after about 1933 when the batteries were motorized and lost their horses. About 1936 the game was revived locally. Most of the games played during this later period took place at Fair Park on Sunday afternoons. A typical program would match Lubbock against Lockney, and Lamesa against Plainview. Among local players, besides those already

mentioned, were Claude Hurlbut, Bob Hester, Joe Dick Slaughter, Murphy May, J. H. Cooper, Charlie Smith, J. T. Mather, and "Dutch" Avinger. Hurlbut remembered that the players would load four horses into a trailer and drive to Roswell, play in the afternoon, and then drive home that night vowing never to try it again — and recovering enough by the next Sunday to do it all over again somewhere else. There were several riding stables in the city where horses could be kept. Doyle Beasley had one at the Fair Park where riding horses could also be rented. John Stinson, a Lubbock dry cleaner, had one out on South Avenue H, and Joe Bowman kept one just south of 34th Street, where he also kept his prize show horses.¹⁸⁵

Oddly enough, the only national championship team the city has ever been able to claim was an offshoot of polo, motorcycle polo. The Lubbock Motorcycle Club was organized late in October 1928 and began making weekend trips to surrounding areas under the leadership of its president, G. C. Hill, and its road captain, Henry Antic. The club fielded a polo team in 1932 and played its first home game in April against a team from Plainview. An added attraction was a motorcycle rider plunging through a board wall at eighty miles an hour. The sports editor of the *Evening Journal*, Collier Parris, was lured out to watch a game the next year. He saw the Lubbock team in their bright red shirts and tams please a thousand spectators by outclassing Amarillo 18-0. What he liked about the game was that it was a combination of polo and football combined into a general helter skelter in which rules were few, times out scarce, and penalties non-existent. Lubbock's team, called the "Red Shirts," went undefeated for two years. In October of 1934 the team loaded its machines into trailers and drove to Philadelphia, where it defeated the Philadelphia Quakers 9-7 for the world's championship in an overtime chukker.¹⁸⁶ After that, interest in the game seems to have slipped away.

By all odds the most rapidly growing sport at present, and possibly the most popular of all, is bowling. This is undoubtedly a sign of the times that is indicative of the growing interest in family participant sports. Old, dingy "alleys" have given way to modern air conditioned, glistening, well lighted "lanes" with automatic pin setters and comfortable facilities for both players and spectators.

The first bowling seems to have been done in the city in 1932. In that year Gust Kallas bought four alleys in San Antonio and moved them to the site where S & Q Clothiers' downtown store now is. The Lubbock Bowling Club was organized late that year and bowled at Kallas' alleys on Broadway, and traveled to surrounding cities for matches. The name Lubbock Bowling Club was adopted for the alleys to avoid the impression that bowling was on the same level as pool halls. Kallas later sold his alleys to M. L. Davis, who moved them to the basement of the Myrick building.¹⁸⁷

In March 1938 Jake Hancock built four alleys at 1107 Main Street. A year later he moved them to 1113 Main Street and combined them with the four alleys of the Lubbock Bowling Club, which he moved over from the Myrick building. In 1940 the Playmore Lanes were opened on 14th Street by J. A. Peel, who operated them until 1947 when the lease was lost and the lanes moved to Amarillo. When Hancock entered the service in 1942 he sold his Lubbock Bowling Club to Alton Abbott, who in turn was drafted within six months and sold out to Judge Robert J. Allen. In 1945 Allen sold a half interest to E. A. Christensen, and in 1950 sold the other half to Ben Brown. In April 1955 Brown and Christensen closed the Lubbock Bowling Club on Main Street and moved the facilities to their present location on Avenue Q south of 34th Street.¹⁸⁸

From 1947-1955 the eight lanes of the Lubbock Bowling Club were the only ones between Lamesa on the south and Plainview on the north. In 1956 Quinn Connelly opened the QC Bowl on South College Avenue, followed in 1958 by the

North College Lanes, Oakwood in 1959, and in the fall of 1960 by the Fiesta Bowl. The city now has a total of 124 lanes, which stay open as late at night as anyone wants to bowl.¹⁸⁹

The significance of the rapid rise of bowling seems to lie in its relationship to general changes taking place in society in Lubbock and throughout the country. In the 1930's bowling establishments were new to most people, and hence rather suspect. They were usually located in downtown districts with unimpressive appearances and in the midst of dingy surroundings. Pinsetters usually were transients who worked a week or a month and then drifted on. Postwar Lubbock, as postwar America, was vibrant and expanding and looking for excitement. Bowling changed also, and the change can be set rather accurately at 1950 when automatic pinsetters replaced the transients. By that time the word alley had been replaced by the term "lane," which had no unfavorable connotations. Parking was a universal problem, which led bowling promoters to move to suburban areas. Besides giving space, this brought the lanes closer to their clientele and into appealing surroundings.¹⁹⁰

Today in Lubbock there are some four thousand bowlers competing in organized leagues, and probably as many more who are unattached. A coordinated effort has been made at advertising the game as a healthful and beneficial family sport. Lubbock claims to have the largest bowling league in the state, the Employees' League, in which forty-eight five-man teams bowl a double shift each Monday night. There are leagues for college students, couples, expert bowlers, and for virtually anyone who has an interest in the game. An effort is being made to interest younger bowlers, and there are over three hundred junior bowlers in the city. In 1960 there was also an eighty-nine year old bowler, W. C. Rylander, who regularly bowled three times a week. As the problem of what to do with leisure time becomes more pressing with the decline in

the work week, bowling seems in a fair position to compete seriously with other forms of recreation, as the approximately thirty million bowlers in the United States testify.¹⁹¹

These, then have been the main lines of the cultural development of Lubbock. As has been true of other aspects of the city's history, this has been the record of a steady progression from uncomplicated forms to sometimes highly complex ones. Old problems have been solved, only to allow new ones to force themselves to the front. If there is one thing that may be said with some degree of certainty, it is that change will continue, so that what was once new and exciting will soon be commonplace and eventually outmoded. But if the city's cultural progress continues at the same relative pace as in the past, perhaps the city will continue to hold its appeal for the thousands who call it home.

FOOTNOTES

¹ R. D. Gage to R. C. Crane, January 16, 1931, Hugh Nugent Fitzgerald to R. C. Crane, February 12, 1931, both in the R. C. Crane papers, in the Southwest Collection, Texas Technological College; R. C. Crane, "The West Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College Movement and the Founding of Texas Technological College," *The West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, VII (1931), 3.

² Don H. Biggers to John J. Dillard, November 21, 1925, copy in the Crane papers; Biggers to R. C. Crane, January 20, 1931, in the Crane papers.

³ Homer D. Gage, *Establishment of Texas Technological College, 1916-1923* (Lubbock, Texas Tech. Press, 1956), 4-5. In preparing this account I have relied heavily on this monograph, as well as on the article by Judge Crane previously cited.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7. Wade calls the association the West Texas A. & M. College Campaign Committee, but letterheads of the organization bore the title of West Texas A. & M. Campaign Association.

⁵ Copy of an affidavit by Thomas F. Hodge, March 24, 1926, in the Crane papers.

⁶ Crane, "The West Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College Movement," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, VII (1931), 10.

⁷ Hodge Affidavit, March 24, 1926, in the Crane papers; Wade, *Establishment of Texas Technological College*, 18-28. Judge Crane believed the furor raised over the selection of Abilene was important in helping bring about the impeachment of the governor.

⁸ Crane, "The West Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College Movement and the Founding of Texas Technological College," *The West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, VII (1931), 20; Wade, *Establishment of*

Texas Technological College, 32-33, 48-55; *Lubbock Avalanche*, April 14, 1921.

⁹ Crane, "The West Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College Movement," 21-29.

¹⁰ Wade, *Establishment of Texas Technological College*, 64-66.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 81-83.

¹² *Ibid.*, 86. Silliman Evans, Austin correspondent of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, and Homer D. Wade, legislative representative of the West Texas Chamber of Commerce, were among those who helped bring harmony and push the bill through to passage.

¹³ Senate Bill No. 103, copy in the Southwest Collection.

¹⁴ The board was composed of the chairman of the State Board of Control, S. B. Cowell; the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. S. M. N. Marrs; the President of the University of Texas, Dr. William S. Sutton; the President of the College of Industrial Arts of Texas, Dr. F. M. Bralley; and the President of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, Dr. W. B. Bizzell.

¹⁵ Hamilton Wright, "Story of Visitation of Technological Locating Committee to Various Competing Towns in West Texas (1923)," in Wade, *Establishment of Texas Technological College*, 151-59; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche* August 9, 1923.

¹⁶ *Lubbock Avalanche*, November 14, 1922, January 2, 1923; *Brief to the Locating Committee for a West Texas A & M College* (Lubbock, Lubbock Chamber of Commerce, 1923).

¹⁷ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, August 9, 1923.

¹⁸ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, August 28, 29, 1923.

¹⁹ Ruth Horn Andrews, *The First Thirty Years: A History of Texas Technological College, 1925-1955* (Lubbock, The Texas Tech Press, 1956).

²⁰ Minutes of the first meeting of the Texas Technological College Board of Directors, in the Southwest Collection. Other members of this first board were: John W. Carpenter, Dallas Utilities Executive; Mrs. Charles B. DeGroff, El Paso hotel owner; Mrs. C. F. Drane, Corsicana; former governor William P. Hobby, Houston; Clifford B. Jones, manager of the Spur Ranch; C. W. Meadows, Waco wholesale grocer; Dr. J. E. Nunn, Amarillo newspaper publisher; and R. A. Underwood, Plainview banker.

²¹ Amon Carter to State Senator W. H. Bledsoe, November 15, 1923, in the Carter papers, Vol. I, pp. 232-33; Carter to W. P. Hobby, November 17, 1923, Carter papers, Vol. 4, pp. 326-27; Clay McClellan to A. G. Carter, April 30, 1923, in the Carter papers, Vol. 2, pp. 68-9; T. J. Caldwell to Amon Carter, October 2, 1923, in the Carter papers, Vol. 8, pp. 79-80.

²² Senate Bill No. 103, copy in the Southwest Collection.

²³ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, January 20, May 6, 1924.

²⁴ *Dallas News*, May 15, 1924.

²⁵ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, November 16, 1924.

²⁶ *Denison Herald*, June 24, 1925.

²⁷ *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, July 17, 1925.

²⁸ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, October 19, 1924.

²⁹ Amon G. Carter to the *Abilene Reporter*, April 1, 1924, in the Carter papers, Vol. 1, p. 2. The designations were later changed to divisions, and later to schools.

³⁰ Andrews, *The First Thirty Years*, 88.

³¹ Houston Press, December 31, 1932, from a clipping in the Texas Tech Scrapbooks in the Southwest Collection.

³² Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, August 4, 15, September 26, 1931; *The Hub*, August 1930, p. 6, September 1930, p. 6, March 1931, p. 4, July 1931, p. 2, August 1931, p. 8; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, August 7, 1935; Andrews, *The First Thirty Years*, 290, 300-01. *The Hub* is the publication of the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce; copies are in the Southwest Collection.

³³ "Football Season Review," in *La Ventana*, (Lubbock, Texas Technological College, 1938), XIII, n. p. Copies of the volumes of this annual students' yearbook are in the Southwest Collection.

³⁴ Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, February 24, June 19, 1925; Amarillo *News*, March 28, 1935; Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, November 6, 1925, October 9, 11, 26, 1934; Andrews, *The First Thirty Years*, 289-90, 302-03.

³⁵ Andrews, *The First Thirty Years*, 272-77; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

³⁶ "The 29th Annual Report of the West Texas Museum Association September 1, 1958 to August 31, 1959," in *The Museum Journal* III (1959), 252.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 252-53.

³⁸ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, April 8, 1932; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, June 22, 1941; Elsie Montgomery Wilbanks, *Art on the Texas Plains; The Story of Regional Art and the South Plain Art Guild* (Lubbock, The South Plains Art Guild, 1959), 33, 35.

³⁹ Nat Williams, Superintendent of Lubbock Schools, to Lawrence Graves, interview, August 29, 1960; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, September 8, 1960.

⁴⁰ A. W. Eckert, Business Manager of Lubbock Public Schools, to Lawrence Graves, interview, August 29, 1960. \$4,500,000 in bonds authorized in the bond election of November 3, 1959 are as yet unsold.

⁴¹ *The Lubbock Public Schools: Report on 30 Years of Growth* (Lubbock, Lubbock Independent School District, 1950), n. p.; Nat Williams to Lawrence Graves, telephone interview, October 21, 1960.

⁴² *The Lubbock Public Schools: Report on 30 Years of Growth; Course Offerings and Graduation Requirements* (Lubbock, Lubbock Public Schools, rev. ed., 1959), 5-8.

⁴³ *Course Offerings and Graduation Requirements*, 5-8.

⁴⁴ Paul Edward Young, History of Education Since 1920 (typescript in the Southwest Collection), 16; Williams interview, August 29, 1960.

⁴⁵ *The Lubbock Public Schools: Report on 30 Years of Growth*; Miss Dorothy Rylander to Lawrence Graves, interview, August 5, 1960; Williams interview, August 29, 1960. In 1960 there were thirty-seven cafeterias.

⁴⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

⁴⁷ Williams interview, August 29, 1960.

⁴⁸ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 191, 192.

⁴⁹ Alma Baker Rea, A History of the Lubbock Rotary Club (MA Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1949), 12, 18, 20. By early 1926 the loan fund had over \$4,000 available.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 41, 44, 57-58, 72-74; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, June 10, 1924.

⁵¹ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, December 21, 1923, December 18, 1924.

⁵² *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, July 1, 1932, June 24, 1933; June 12, 1934, June 12, 1935, June 18, 1936, June 15, 1937; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, June 22, 1941.

⁵³ *Lubbock Daily Journal*, May 13, 1926.

⁵⁴ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, July 30, August 7, 1929.

⁵⁵ S. S. McKay to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 22, 1960; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, March 11, 1931; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, March 9, 1930, December 28, 1934, June 22, 1941; *The Hub*, April 1930, p. 4: Lubbock, Texas, Lions Club activities (typescript in the Lubbock Lions Club Office).

⁵⁶ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, April 12, 1930; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, March 23, 1930, June 22, 1941, October 27, 1946.

⁵⁷ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, December 2, 16, 18, 1938; June 22, 1941.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, June 22, 1941; George E. Dyer, A Brief History of six service clubs of Lubbock (Typescript in the Southwest Collection), 13-15.

⁵⁹ Dyer, Brief History of Six Service Clubs, 16.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁶¹ Twentieth Century Club, the Civic League, Junior Twentieth Century Club, the Athenaeum Club, the Delphian Club, the Business and Professional Women's Club, the Lubbock Music Club, the Sorosis Club, and the Child Study Club (*Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, September 27, 1925.).

⁶² *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, May 22, 1924, September 25, 1925.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1926. Mrs. A. W. Young to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 25, 1960. Mrs. Young exemplifies the type of energetic and capable woman who has done much to give life to many projects to fill cultural needs of a growing young city.

⁶⁴ Young interview, October 25, 1960.

⁶⁵ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, March 31, 1926.

⁶⁶ Young interview, October 25, 1960. The list of member clubs of the Lubbock Women's Club gives an interesting view of the type of women's clubs in the city: Allegro Music Club, Alpha Kappa Gamma, Altrusa, Association of American University Women, American Business Women's Association, Athenaeum, Beta Sigma Phi, Bud to Blossom, C.P.A. Auxiliary, Clement Sorosis, Daughters of the American Revolution, Delta Kappa Gamma, Epsilon Sigma Alpha, Heritage Study Club, Junior League, 1952 Study Club, Junior Twentieth Century Club, Kappa Kappa Iota, Lubbock Garden Club, Lubbock Junior Garden Club, Lubbock Study Club, Lubbock Woman's Forum, Lubbock Women's Study Club, Manuscript and Creative Arts, Pierian Sorosis, Progressive Study Club, Shakespeare Club, Sorosis, Sunshine Study Club, Texas Graduate Nurses, Twentieth Century Club, Welcome Luncheon, Women in Construction.

⁶⁷ Constitution of the Junior League of Lubbock, Texas, in *The Junior League Yearbook*, 1959-60, as quoted in Mrs. Sandra L. Myres, *History of the Junior League of Lubbock, Texas* (Typescript in the Southwest Collection), 17.

⁶⁸ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, September 11, 12, 1935; Myres, *History of the Junior League*, 3.

⁶⁹ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, September 12, October 19, 1935.

⁷⁰ Myres, History of the Junior League, 4-5; Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, February 24, 1939.

⁷¹ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, February 24, 1939; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, February 26, 1939; Myres, History of the Junior League, 5-7.

⁷² Myres, History of the Junior League, 10-11.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 13-15.

⁷⁴ *Health, Welfare and Recreation Services Directory for Lubbock, Texas* ([Lubbock], Community Chest and Council, Inc., 1960), copy in the Southwest Collection.

⁷⁵ Summary Report to the Citizens' Survey Committee in Lubbock, Texas (Mimeographed pamphlet, 1954, copy in the Southwest Collection), 1.

⁷⁶ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, April 6, 1924; *The Hub*, October 1930, p. 8; *Health, Welfare and Recreation Services Directory*, 7.

⁷⁷ Lubbock *Avalanche Journal*, September 27, 1960, October 4, 1960; Mrs. Maxine D. Caldwell to Lawrence Graves, interview, August 29, 1960. Among those leading in the reorganization movement was Mayor David Casey. Mrs. Caldwell noted that this was the only time in its history that the Red Cross had failed to have a chapter in a city the size of Lubbock. About sixty-five percent of Red Cross funds raised in cities across the country come from some form of Community Chest or United Fund drive.

⁷⁸ Lubbock *Avalanche*, May 19, 1921; Captain H. R. Bergen to Lawrence Graves, interview, September 8, 1960.

⁷⁹ Bergen interview, September 8, 1960.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*; 1959 Annual Report, the Salvation Army (Typescript, copy in the Southwest Collection).

⁸¹ 1959 Annual Report, the Salvation Army; The Salvation Army, Intake Policies (Typescript, copy in the Southwest Collection); Bergen interview, September 8, 1960.

⁸² Charles A. Guy to Lawrence Graves, interview, September 8, 1960; *The Hub*, December 1939, p. 2; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, December 27, 1960.

⁸³ Mrs. W. T. Milam to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 3, 1960.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* Members of the first board were G. P. Kuykendall, president, Dude Buster, vice president, V. H. Moore, Mrs. Milam, Lynn West, Morris Levine, Mr. Milam, E. J. Parsons, Tom Foster, and Ray C. Mowery, secretary-treasurer. The board aided in gaining state approval of the home.

⁸⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, December 23, 1956; Lubbock *Evening Journal*, December 21, 1956; *Buckner Baptist Benevolences* (n.p., n.d.), p. 8.

⁸⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, June 26, 1960.

⁸⁷ Lubbock *Evening Journal*, July 21, 28, 1940; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, June 22, 1941, October 27, 1946; *The Hub*, March 1940, p. 4, October 1943, p. 8. The five sponsors in 1940 were: the American Business Club, Kiwanis Club, Lions Club, Optimist Club, and Rotary Club.

⁸⁸ Charles W. Brewer, A History of Youth Organizations in Lubbock (Typescript in the Southwest Collection), 5.

⁸⁹ *The Hub*, October 1943, pp. 3, 8; Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, July 3, 1946; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, December 15, 1946; James Rosson, Executive Director of the Lubbock Community Chest, to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 21, 1960.

⁹⁰ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, June 24, 1924, April 3, 1932; South

Plains Council, Boy Scouts of America, *Annual Report*, 1958. There were 2030 Cub Scouts, 1444 Boy Scouts, and 201 Explorer Scouts.

⁹¹ South Plains Council, Boy Scouts of America, *Annual Report*, 1958; W. R. Postma, South Plains Council, Boy Scouts of America, History (Mimeographed pamphlet, copy in Southwest Collection).

⁹² Irene Beck, History of Girl Scouting in Lubbock (Typescript, 1952, copy in the Southwest Collection).

⁹³ Caprock Girl Scout Council, *Annual Report*, 1959 (Lubbock, Caprock Girl Scout Council, 1959), copy in the Southwest Collection.

⁹⁴ Brewer, A History of Youth Organizations in Lubbock, 11, 13.

⁹⁵ Lubbock *Avalanche*, January 30, 1919.

⁹⁶ *The Hub*, December 1927, p. 4.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, September 1929, p. 1, December 1929, p. 5. Officers of the chest were: E. L. Klett, president; directors J. J. Clements, A. H. Leidigh, C. F. Drexel, J. W. Gamel, Rev. W. P. Jennings, K. N. Clapp, Dr. W. T. Read, Charles Nordyke, Charles Whitacre.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, September 1930, p. 5, October 1930, p. 8.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, September 1930, p. 5, October 1930, p. 8, November 1930, p. 8. Other budgets for chest agencies were: Boy Scouts, \$4000; YMCA and YWCA, \$4000; Salvation Army, \$3600; Camp Fire Girls, \$2200, and \$1950 for administration, making a total of \$25,750.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, December 1930, p. 2, January 1931, p. 6, June 1931, p. 7. In January 1931 the city commission appropriated \$500 with which to assist United Charities in its welfare work for two weeks.

¹⁰¹ Lubbock City Commission Minutes, June 12, 1930, January 12, 1931; Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, June 13, 1930. The citizens' committee was Judge Robert H. Bean, L. C. Denton, C. E. Hunt, and R. S. Williams.

¹⁰² City Commission Minutes, August 31, 1931; Lubbock *Daily Journal*, September 1, 1931.

¹⁰³ City Commission Minutes, August 31, December 17, 1931, March 10, April 14, June 23, 1932, January 11, 1934, May 13, 1948; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, January 16, 1938.

¹⁰⁴ City Commission Minutes, September 29, 1932, October 9, 1933, September 29, 1938, January 14, 1949. Dr. Rollo was also head of the city health department for a number of years.

¹⁰⁵ City Commission Minutes, January 8, 1942, March 27, 1947, January 14, 1949; Lubbock *Evening Journal*, February 14, 1949; Report of Function of the Lubbock City-County Child Welfare Unit (Typescript, n.d., copy in the Southwest Collection).

¹⁰⁶ City Commission Minutes, April 26, December 13, 1951; Bergen interview, September 8, 1960.

¹⁰⁷ Murrell Tripp to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 28, 1960; T. L. Swander, Summary Report to the Citizens' Survey Committee in Lubbock, Texas (mimeographed pamphlet, August 3, 1954, copy in the Southwest Collection), pp. a, d. Hereinafter referred to as the Swander Report.

¹⁰⁸ Swander Report, 1-2; Walter W. Whitson, Individual Services to Families and Children in Lubbock, Texas (mimeographed pamphlet, 1954, copy in the Southwest Collection), 1-3.

¹⁰⁹ Mrs. Rosa Settle, City-County Welfare Director, to Lawrence Graves,

interview, August 31, 1960; Individual Services to Families and Children in Lubbock, 3, 5-6.

¹¹⁰ Settle interview, August 31, 1960; Lubbock City-County Welfare Department, Manual of Services (mimeographed pamphlet, n.d., copy in the Southwest Collection), 1-4. The legal basis for welfare assistance from tax funds rests on an antiquated statute of 1876 providing that each commissioner court shall "Provide for the support of paupers, and such idiots and lunatics as cannot be admitted into the lunatic asylum, residents of their county, who are unable to support themselves . . . Provide for the burial of paupers. (*General Laws of the State of Texas* (1876), Chapter LV, Section 4). The legislature has failed to appropriate money for vocational rehabilitation or for medical care for the aged.

¹¹¹ History of the Community Planning Council (mimeographed pamphlet, ca. 1959, copy in the Southwest Collection), 1.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 2-3. The YWCA had quarters first in the Great Plains Building, and then in the American Legion building adjacent to City Hall. In 1960 the Y moved to a building at 1641 Broadway. It has concentrated on such things as sewing, art, and bridge instruction, as well as classes in domestic science for Negro women.

¹¹³ Community Planning Council, Report of the Committee on Migrant Workers, October, 1959 (Mimeographed pamphlet, copy in the Southwest Collection).

¹¹⁴ *The Hub*, June 1946, pp. 2, 5, September 1946, p. 7; *Lubbock Evening Journal*, June 7, 21, 24, December 12, 1946; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, November 5, 13, 19, December 6, 1946.

¹¹⁵ History of the Community Chest and Council (mimeographed Pamphlet, copy in the Southwest Collection); James Rosson, Executive Director of Lubbock Community Chest, to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 21, 1960.

¹¹⁶ Swander Report, 18-20. Much has, of course, been done since that time to correct the deficiencies found in 1954.

¹¹⁷ Richard Moore, Some Developments in the Medical History of Lubbock since 1920 (typescript in the Southwest Collection), 9.

¹¹⁸ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, August 2, 1953; *The Hub*, February 1928, p. 8. In November 1960 the hospital had not yet been able to open its new addition because of its operating deficit caused by its heavy load of charity patients.

¹¹⁹ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, August 2, 1953; Moore, Some Developments in the Medical History of Lubbock since 1920, 3-5.

¹²⁰ *The Hub*, March 1945, p. 6; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, August 2, 1953.

¹²¹ *Survey of Health and Medical Services and Facilities, Lubbock, Texas* (Lubbock, Lubbock Community Chest and Council, 1959), 47. Hereinafter referred to as the *Mustard Report*.

¹²² Bed capacities of Lubbock hospitals in 1960 were: Methodist Hospital, 335 (including a new 100-bed addition); West Texas Hospital, 100; St. Mary's of the Plains, 49; Porter Clinic Hospital, 32; Taylor Hospital, 25; Lubbock Osteopathic Hospital, 22; Chatman Hospital, 16; Goodnight Hospital, 14; Lauf Clinic, (maternity only), 10. (*Mustard Report*, 47).

¹²³ *Mustard Report*, 6-9.

¹²⁴ Development of Lubbock City-County Welfare Department (mimeograph, n.d., in the Southwest Collection).

¹²⁵ *Mustard Report*, 54. Surrounding countries were also failing to care for the medically indigent. In November 1960 Methodist Hospital authorities revealed that it was operating at an approximate deficit of \$10,000 monthly because of its heavy load of charity patients. In 1959 the hospital handled 242 such cases, with a write-off of \$110,453. Between 35 and 40 percent of these cases were from outside of Lubbock County. (Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, November 23, 1960.)

¹²⁶ *Mustard Report*, 54-56.

¹²⁷ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, April 27, 1932.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, April 13, 1932, June 11, 1933.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, April 13, 1932.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1932; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959. The chapter was still active in 1960.

¹³¹ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

¹³² Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, March 28, 31, 1926, October 27, 1928, April 27, 1932.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, September 28, October 31, 1928, May 13, 14, 1933.

¹³⁴ J. E. Vickers to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 18, 1960; Dorothy Rylander to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 18, 1960.

¹³⁵ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, October 26, 1928; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, June 22, 1941.

¹³⁶ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, October 28, 1923; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, April 15, 1928.

¹³⁷ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, April 18, 1935.

¹³⁸ Andrews, *The First Thirty Years*, 79. Dean Killion became band director in 1959.

¹³⁹ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, October 13, 1928.

¹⁴⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, June 9, December 15, 1946; Lubbock *Evening Journal*, June 11, July 2, October 22, 23, December 13, 1946.

¹⁴¹ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

¹⁴² Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, September 3, 1925.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, December 4, 1927.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, November 19, 1953; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959.

¹⁴⁵ Lubbock *Evening Journal*, December 12, 1945; Tripp interview, October 28, 1960.

¹⁴⁶ Operating agreement between the City of Lubbock and Texas Technological College, August 20, 1953, copy in the Southwest Collection; Marshall Pennington to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 14, 1960. For events where no admission is charged, the college receives use of the Auditorium-Coliseum at cost, while for events at which an admission charge is made it pays the cost plus a percentage of admissions charged. The city maintains the parking lot between the Auditorium-Coliseum and Jones Stadium.

¹⁴⁷ David Blackburn, Auditorium-Coliseum manager, to Lawrence Graves, interview, September 6, 1960.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; Lubbock Municipal Auditorium-Coliseum (mimeographed pamphlet, n.d., copy in the Southwest Collection).

¹⁴⁹ Sterling Miller, Internal Auditor of Lubbock, to Lawrence Graves,

interview, November 4, 1960; Tripp interview, October 28, 1960; Minutes of Southeast Lubbock Development Board, February 4, 1953. Value of land and improvements in 1960 was \$334,293.83. Members of the first board of directors were: James Atcheson, Robert H. Bean, Oliver Cates, Roy Davis, Albert Fortenberry, George Green, Dr. F. L. Lovings, J. W. McKee, A. R. Osborn, Carlton Priestly, Tom Sawyer and George Woods.

¹⁵⁰ Lubbock Public Library Association Secretary's Record Book, minutes of meetings March 21, May 28, August 24, September 24, 1946, January 4, March 17, 1947. Hereinafter referred to as Secretary's Record Book. The original library had been turned over to the county on January 1, 1926.

¹⁵¹ City Commission Minutes, June 5, 1947; Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, May 27, 1947; Lubbock *Evening Journal*, November 30, 1949; Secretary's Record Book, minutes of meetings of Board of Directors, December 9, 1949, July 17, 1951; Young interview, October 25, 1960.

¹⁵² Secretary's Record Book, minutes of annual meeting April 15, 1953, association meeting, May 7, 1953; City Commission Minutes, February 15, 1952; Park Commission Minutes, June 26, 1952. The library stands on the site of the McCrummen family homestead.

¹⁵³ Gerald H. Sandy, Librarian of Lubbock Public Library, to Lawrence Graves, interview, August 29, 1960.

¹⁵⁴ County Commissioners court minutes, November 10, 1919; city commission minutes, March 11, April 28, 1927.

¹⁵⁵ City Commission Minutes, August 5, 1927, March 8, April 12, 1928; *The Hub*, May 1928, p. 7.

¹⁵⁶ City Commission Minutes, October 3, 1927, March 28, April 29, August 8, 1929, June 12, 1930; *The Hub*, May 1929, p. 2, February 1930, p. 3, June 1930, p. 7; Lubbock Park Commission Minutes, May 26, 1930, November 30, 1932, in the Park and Recreation Department office; Park Board to Rollie Burns, July 26, 1932; Rollie Burns to K. N. Clapp, August 25, 1932, in Park Commission Minute Book; K. N. Clapp to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 3, 1960. Clapp has served on the Park Commission continuously since its formation in 1928 and for several years on the State Parks Commission. Much data on the early park system is to be found in a notebook in Mr. Clapp's possession.

¹⁵⁷ City of Lubbock, Ordinance Record, Book 2, p. 23; City Commission Minutes, July 1, December 8, 1932; Lubbock Park Commission Minutes, March 13, 1932. The vote was 1193 to 785 in favor of creating a park commission. McGehee served as park superintendent until his resignation in September 1946.

¹⁵⁸ City Commission Minutes, January 9, 1935; Lubbock County Commissioners Court Minutes, January 9, 1935; *The Hub*, October 1939, pp. 2-3; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, June 15, 1924, February 21, 1937; Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, April 30, 1924, January 10, 1935.

¹⁵⁹ *The Hub*, February 1940, p. 4, September 1943, p. 2, January 1944, p. 7; A. C. Hamilton, Superintendent of Park and Recreational Department, to Lawrence Graves, interview, August 30, 1960; Byron D. Tate, Superintendent of Parks, to Lawrence Graves, interview, August 30, 1960.

¹⁶⁰ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, September 27, 1925; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, October 28, 1928.

¹⁶¹ *The Hub*, February 1929, p. 7, April 1929, p. 7, May 1941, pp. 4, 10; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, September 25, 1960.

¹⁶² *Lubbock Avalanche*, January 3, February 10, April 7, 1922, October 28, 1928; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, May 15, 1932; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, August 22, 1923, April 21, 26, 1932; *Lubbock Evening Journal*, October 31, 1946; *The Hub*, June 1941, p. 5.

¹⁶³ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, October 13, 1928, September 22, 1935. Sadler returned to Lubbock several times after World War II with dramatic productions.

¹⁶⁴ *Lubbock Avalanche*, May 8, 1919, December 12, 1922; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, December 13, 1923, April 28, 1924, April 9, 1932.

¹⁶⁵ Captain Lewis Kittrell, Lubbock Police Department, to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 4, 1960; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, July 5, 22, 1923. The stables were later moved to the Tech Campus, where they remained until the battery was motorized about 1934.

¹⁶⁶ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, May 16, 1924; *The Hub*, March 1930, p. 5; Claude Hurlbut to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 10, 1960.

¹⁶⁷ *Plains Agricultural Journal*, April 1922; *Plains Journal*, November 15, 1923; *Lubbock Daily Journal*, September 8, 1925; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, September 19, 1926; *Lubbock Evening Journal*, October 31, 1932; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959. Charles A. Guy, who had been managing editor and then editor of the *Plains Journal*, became editor of the *Daily Journal* upon its founding and has remained as editor since then.

¹⁶⁸ *The Hub*, September 1928, p. 2, November 1928, p. 3; Charles A. Guy to Lawrence Graves, interview, August 26, 1960.

¹⁶⁹ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, October 28, 1923, October 28, 1928; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, January 27, 1929, July 13, 1930, June 25, 1933; *Plains Journal*, November 2, 1924.

¹⁷⁰ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, October 16, 1928, May 29, 30, 1932; *Lubbock City Commission Minutes*, April 28, 1932.

¹⁷¹ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, October 4, 14, 1923; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, September 25-October 3, 1960; *The Hub*, July 1946, p. 6, August 1946, p. 7, September 1949, pp. 2, 3, 7, October 1954, p. 4. There has been some criticism of the gambling games operated by the carnival shows, and which prey upon teen-agers and unwary adults. See the *Lubbock Sunday Sun*, October 9, 1960.

¹⁷² *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, August 5, 9, December 23, 1923; *Lubbock Daily Avalanche*, August 28, 1923.

¹⁷³ *The Hub*, May 1928, p. 7, July 1928, p. 7; *Lubbock Evening Journal*, June 5, 1931, April 6, May 12, 1933, April 8, 1938, April 7, September 4, 1939; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, March 31, 1946, July 8, 1956.

¹⁷⁴ *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, July 8, 23, 1932; *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, July 15, 1934, July 7, 1935; *Lubbock Evening Journal*, August 10, 1936.

¹⁷⁵ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, June 28, 1931, April 30, 1933, July 19, 1936, July 28, 1938; *Lubbock Evening Journal*, June 29, 1931, December 5, 1932, January 30, 1933, June 16, 1933; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, September 1, 1953.

¹⁷⁶ *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, May 12, 19, June 23, July 7, 1946; *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, September 1, 1953.

¹⁷⁷ Lubbock *Daily Journal*, September 1, 1931; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, October 1, 1933; Lubbock *Evening Journal*, August 1, 23, 1934, July 24, 1935, July 6, 1938, June 21, 1939.

¹⁷⁸ Lubbock *Daily Avalanche*, September 6, 1923; Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, April 17, 1934; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 1, September 23, 1928, September 22, 1929, June 14, 1931, July 5, 1936; Lubbock *Daily Journal*, July 11, September 16, 1929; City Commission Minutes, October 26, 1939.

¹⁷⁹ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, May 29, 1923, May 2, 1924; Lubbock *Daily Avalanche*, August 17, 27, 1923; Hubert Burgess to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 13, 1960.

¹⁸⁰ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 2, 1928, September 1, 1929, June 14, 1931, July 1, 1934; Lubbock *Daily Journal*, July 2, 1928; Burgess interview, October 13, 1960; Park Commission Minutes, November 30, 1932.

¹⁸¹ Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, May 10, 17, June 8, 1924; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, June 14, 1931.

¹⁸² Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, October 1, November 5, 1933, February 25, 1934, July 7, 1946, July 26, 1959, November 2, 1960; Lubbock *Evening Journal*, February 2, 1933.

¹⁸³ Lubbock *Daily Journal*, May 24, 1931; Lubbock *Evening Journal*, April 24, Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 7, 1935; *La Ventana*, Vol. VIII, 1933, n.p., Vol. IX, 1934.

¹⁸⁴ *La Ventana*, Vol. V (1930), 287; Claude Hurlbut to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 10, 1960; Dr. Fred Harbaugh to Lawrence Graves, interview, December 2, 1960.

¹⁸⁵ Lubbock *Evening Journal*, August 10, 1936; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 25, September 5, October 10, 1937, September 3, 1939; Hurlbut interview, October 10, 1960; Harold Griffith to Lawrence Graves, interview, November 2, 1960.

¹⁸⁶ Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, October 14, 1928, April 24, 1932, July 1, October 14, 21, 1934; Lubbock *Evening Journal*, May 23, 1933; Lubbock *Morning Avalanche*, October 23, 1934. Lubbock players on the championship team were Perry Lee Adams, Wade Anthony, Stewart Champlin, captain, Otto Flynn, Robert Howard, Roy Lynch, coach, and Dugan Wheeler.

¹⁸⁷ E. A. Christensen to Lawrence Graves, interview, October 19, 1960; Lubbock *Evening Journal*, April 6, 1933; Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*, July 26, 1959. In March 1933 the *Evening Journal* reported a match between Lubbock and Plainview bowlers at the Matador Bowling Club alley at 1116 Texas Avenue.

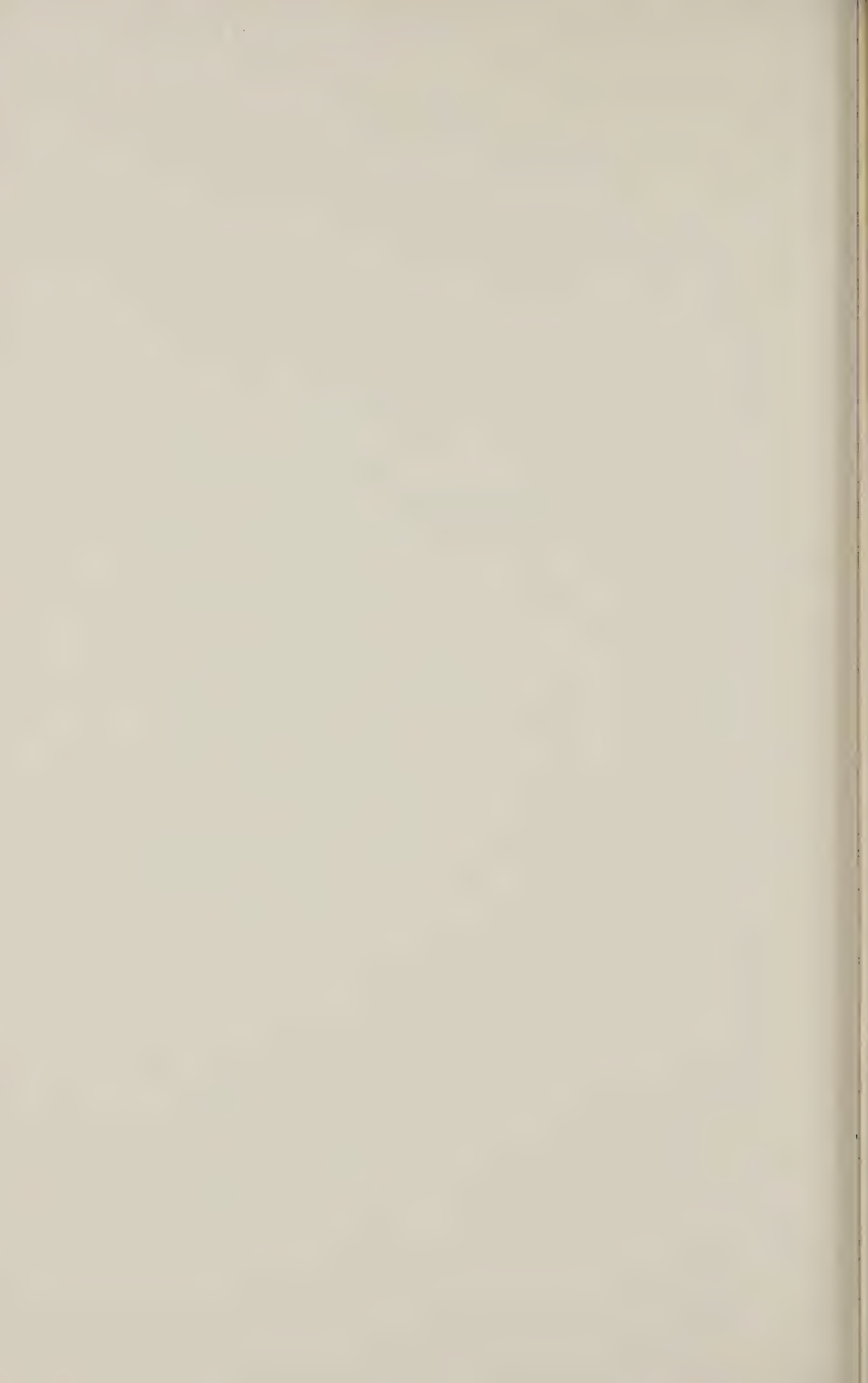
¹⁸⁸ Christensen interview, October 19, 1960.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Appendixes



Appendixes

APPENDIX I

MAYORS AND CITY COMMISSIONERS

Terms were for two years each, with tenure staggered to provide a continuing body. Since 1926 Commissioners' terms have been four years.

1909—Mayor Frank E. Wheelock; Councilmen, Dr. M. C. Overton, C. E. Parks, P. B. Penney, G. A. Rush, Sam C. Spikes.

Rush and Spikes resigned in December and B. O. McWhorter and N. R. Porter were elected to replace them.

(Wheelock served as Mayor until 1915).

1910—Councilmen P. B. Penney, B. O. McWhorter, N. R. Porter.

1911—Councilmen Warren A. Bacon, C. E. Parks.

1912—Councilmen Penney, McWhorter and Porter re-elected.

Penney resigned in July 1912 and was replaced by W. K. Dickinson in September 1912.

1913—Councilmen Warren A. Bacon, W. K. Dickinson and Raleigh Martin.

Porter resigned in July and L. H. W. Terry was elected to replace him.

1914—Councilmen L. B. Wright, W. B. Atkins and W. K. Dickinson.

- 1915—Mayor W. F. Schenck; Councilmen F. M. Maddox, Raleigh Martin.
Wright resigned in September and L. H. W. Terry was elected to replace him in February 1916.
- 1916—Councilmen John R. King, L. H. Simpson, and L. H. W. Terry.
- 1917—Mayor J. K. Wester; Councilmen Raleigh Martin, E. C. Priest.
Wester resigned in October 1917 and C. E. Parks was elected mayor in November and served until 1922.
December 29, 1917 four Councilmen became Commissioners—L. H. Simpson, Raleigh Martin, L. H. W. Terry and E. C. Priest.
- 1918—Commissioners L. H. Simpson, J. O. Jones, George C. Wolfarth and W. S. Posey.
- 1920—Commissioners Simpson, Jones, Wolfarth and Posey re-elected.
- 1922—Mayor Percy Spencer; Commissioners J. O. Jones, George C. Wolfarth, H. G. Love and W. S. Posey.
- 1924—Mayor F. R. Friend; Commissioners J. O. Jones, H. G. Love, W. S. Posey, George Wolfarth.
Love resigned August 1924, and was replaced by R. W. Blair in a special election September 1924.
- 1926—Mayor Pink L. Parrish; Commissioners R. W. Blair, J. O. Jones, J. H. Hankins, W. S. Posey.
Blair resigned August 1926 and was replaced by A. V. Weaver in a special election held September 1926.
- 1928—Mayor H. D. Woods; Commissioners J. F. Bacon, J. H. Hankins, D. N. Leaverton, A. V. Weaver.
- 1930—Mayor J. J. Clements; Commissioners J. F. Bacon, George E. Benson, D. N. Leaverton, John E. Roach.
- 1932—Mayor J. J. Clements; Commissioners J. F. Bacon, George E. Benson, John E. Roach, J. C. Royalty.
- 1934—Mayor Ross Edwards; Commissioners J. F. Bacon, W. B. Price, A. J. Richardson, J. C. Royalty.
Bacon resigned in October 1934 and George Benson was elected to fill Place 4. Benson resigned the following year and B. E. Needles was elected to fill the unexpired term.

- 1936—Mayor Ross Edwards; Commissioners J. A. Fortenberry, W. G. McMillan, W. B. Price, A. J. Richardson.
- 1938—Mayor Carl E. Slaton; Commissioners J. A. Fortenberry, Hub Jones, W. G. McMillan, W. B. Price.
- 1940—Mayor Carl E. Slaton; Commissioners Hub Jones, Garland Newsom, W. G. McMillan, W. B. Price.
- 1942—Mayor Carl E. Slaton; Commissioners Hub Jones, Garland Newsom, W. G. McMillan, W. B. Price.
- In July 1942 McMillan resigned and J. O. Jones was elected to fill his unexpired term.
- 1944—Mayor Overton W. Ribble; Commissioners F. H. Childress, J. Ray Dickey, Hub Jones, W. B. Price.
- 1946—Mayor Clarence A. Bestwick; Commissioners F. H. Childress, J. Ray Dickey, W. B. Price, John Spikes.
- 1948—Mayor W. H. Rodgers; Commissioners E. K. Hufstедler, Jr., W. B. Price, John Spikes, Clarence K. Whiteside.
- 1950—Mayor Clarence K. Whiteside; Commissioners L. E. Davis, E. K. Hufstедler, Jr., Harry Morris, Lucian Thomas.
- 1952—Mayor Murrell R. Tripp; Commissioners Hurley Carpenter, L. E. Davis, Harry Morris, Lucian Thomas.
- 1954—Mayor Murrell R. Tripp; Commissioners Lennis Baker, Hurley Carpenter, S. S. Forrest, Lucian Thomas.
- 1956—Mayor S. S. Forrest; Commissioners Lennis Baker, O. L. Byrd, David Casey, Homer Maxey.
- 1958—Mayor Lennis Baker; Commissioners David Casey, Otis Maner, Homer Maxey, Vernon Thompson.
- 1960—Mayor David Casey; Commissioners Frank H. Chappell, Jr., Otis Maner, W. C. O'Mara, Vernon Thompson.

APPENDIX II

THE BOARD OF CITY DEVELOPMENT

The Board of City Development is composed of fifteen members appointed to six-year terms by the City Commission. The following table shows those appointments from 1926, when the Board was constituted, through 1950. The first Board's selection provided for two, four, and six-year terms; subsequently, only five members were appointed every two years.

1926—Warren Bacon, James L. Dow, F. O. Kelley, J. A. Rix, and O. L. Slaton, two-year terms; H. L. Allen, J. W. Hankins, F. A. Norman, Pink L. Parrish, and W. W. Royalty, four-year terms; and J. B. Maxey, B. Sherrod, Spencer A. Wells, Roscoe Wilson, and H. D. Woods, six-year terms.

Hankins and Parrish, elected city commissioner and mayor respectively, were replaced by G. P. Kuykendall and Neil Wright, Sr.

1928—Claude Burrus, C. E. Maedgen, H. E. Blocker, T. B. Duggan, and S. C. Arnett.

Woods, elected mayor, was replaced by R. J. Murray.

1930—W. O. Stevens, Homer D. Grant, J. A. Hodges, J. J. Clements, and F. R. Friend.

Blocker, who resigned, and Quinn, deceased, were replaced by I. E. Barr and Charles Guy; Burrus, a county commissioner, resigned, replaced by R. C. Smith.

1932—Geo. A. Clements, Durwood Bradley, J. O. Jones, R. F. Hinchey, and George Pickle.

1934—W. T. Gaston, S. J. McFarland, J. D. Hassell, E. J. Parsons, and I. E. Barr.

1936—R. C. Hopping, A. W. May, Mark Halsey, O. J. Sexton, and Parker Prouty.

1938—Chas. R. Bacon, Arno Dalby, Jas. L. Quicksall, Sam S. Rosenthal, and J. B. Maxey.

1940—H. L. Allen, S. C. Arnett, G. P. Kuykendall, George A. Simmons, and J. A. Fortenberry.

1942—Earl B. Collins, Roy Furr, J. D. Hassell, Jack M. Randal, and H. H. Van Aken.

Arno Dalby, who resigned to join the armed forces, was replaced by J. Ray Dickey.

1944—W. C. O'Mara, Retha R. Martin, F. W. Groce, Ray Farmer, C. H. (Brownie) Hamilton.

H. H. Van Aken, who left the city, was replaced by Homer D. Grant, 1945.

1947—S. L. Forrest, L. E. Davis, E. K. Hufstedler, Chas. R. Bacon, and Carl Maxey.

Hufstedler resigned and S. L. Forrest (deceased) were

replaced by Raymond Burford and W. C. Wood. Randal, deceased, was not replaced at this time.

1949—Guy C. Victory, J. Ray Dickey, O. L. Byrd, W. G. Alderson, and Joe Bryant.

APPENDIX III

CITY MANAGERS

April 1918–December 1925	M. S. Ruby
January 1926–May 1926 Interim	A. B. Davis
May 1926–November 1927	N. H. Parkinson
December 1927–May 1930	G. W. McCleary
May 1930–April 1931	J. Bryan Miller
April 1931–August 1942	W. H. Rodgers
August 1942–January 1946	M. R. Smith, Jr.
January 1946–March 1948	Homer Hunter
March 1948–February 1949	M. R. Smith, Jr.
February 1949–July 1955	Steve Matthews
July 1955–Incumbent	H. P. Clifton

CITY SECRETARIES

April 1909–December 4, 1915	W. M. Shaw
January 10, 1916–February 16, 1918	J. L. Lamb
February 16, 1918–August 1, 1919	E. C. Priest
August 1, 1919–April 8, 1926	J. R. Germany
April 8, 1926–April 28, 1926 Interim	R. A. Holland
April 28, 1926–February 8, 1927	F. W. Groce
February 28, 1927–December 8, 1927	G. W. McCleary
December 8, 1927–April 14, 1931	W. H. Rodgers
April 14, 1931–June 15, 1934	J. L. Holt
June 15, 1934–March 26, 1936	W. O. Stevens
May 15, 1936–Incumbent	Mrs. Lavenia Williams Lowe

CITY ATTORNEYS

April–July 1909	E. L. Klett
July 1909–1910	R. J. Dillard
1911	W. H. Bledsoe
1911–1913	Roscoe Wilson
February 1914–July 10, 1916	John R. McGee
July 1916–December 1917	John E. Vickers

December 1917–April 1925	R. A. Sowder
April 1925–December 12, 1935	E. L. Klett
December 12, 1935–April 1936	J. E. Vickers (Vickers and W. W. Campbell)
May 15, 1936–May 31, 1945	Durwood Bradley (Bradley and W. D. Wilson)
May 31, 1945–deceased 1960	Vaughn E. Wilson

CITY HEALTH OFFICERS

City Physician July 12, 1909–March 1910	Dr. G. S. Murphy
City Health Office created March 2, 1910	Dr. G. S. Murphy
May 1911–April 1918	Dr. O. F. Peebler
April 1918–April 1922	Dr. W. L. Baugh
April 1922–August 1925	Dr. G. G. Castleberry
August 1925–October 1948	Dr. J. W. Rollo
October 1948–July 1955	Dr. L. B. Woods

DIRECTOR OF CITY-COUNTY HEALTH UNIT *

November 15, 1951–August 1, 1953	Dr. R. E. Johnson
August 1, 1953–April 15, 1954	Dr. C. A. Pigford
April 15, 1954–July 15, 1954	Dr. Fred P. Kallina (temporary)
July 15, 1954–January 1, 1958	Dr. C. A. Pigford
January 1, 1958–December 1958	Dr. Wallace Hess
December 1958–January 1961	Dr. C. A. Pigford

* Since 1955 the Director of the City-County Health Unit has also served as City Health Officer.

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Barrier, (Mrs.) Eppie to Jean Paul, July 30, 31, August 16, 1958.
Baugh, Dr. William Leo to Barbara Campbell, September 16, 1954.
———, to Jean Paul, June 8, 9, 1958.

Bayless, (Mrs.) Roscoe to Jean Paul, June 10, 11, 1958.

Bean, George R. to Jean Paul, August 8, 1958.

Broadhurst, W. L. to Lubbock Women's Club History Roundtable, March 6, 1958.

Carter, Clayton to Jean Paul, August 4, 1958.

Collins, (Mrs.) Ida to Jean Paul, August 22, 26, 1958.

Conley, (Mrs.) Elmer to Jean Paul, July 24, 1958.

Crump, Bob to Jean Paul, July 7, 1958.

Crump, Katie Bell to Jean Paul, July 9, 1958.

Duggan, Arthur P., Jr. to Roy Sylvan Dunn, August 17, 1956.

Fluke, (Mrs.) Olive to Jean Paul, July 24, 1958.

Hunt, Homer to Lubbock Women's Club History Roundtable, May 1, 1958.

Hurd, (Mrs.) Grace to Jean Paul, July 16, 1958.

Hutchinson, Dr. J. T. to Barbara Campbell, March 6, 1954.

Jackson, (Mrs.) J. W. to Jean Paul, July 22, 1958.

Johnson, Samuel Hamilton to Roy Sylvan Dunn, June 3, 1959.

Lowrey, E. J. to Jean Paul, August 4, 1958.

McWhorter, Owen to Jean Paul, July 15, 1958.

Overton, Dr. M. C. to Barbara Campbell, March 25, 1954.

Posey, Walter S. to Seymour V. Connor, July 28, 1959.

Puckett, Wiley to Jean Paul, July 25, 1958.

Rush, Rufus to Jean Paul, August 5, 1958.

Rush, O. E. to Roy Sylvan Dunn, June 29, 1960.

Sanders, Liff to Jean Paul, June 20, July 5, 1958.

Shepherd, (Mrs.) M. L. to Jean Paul, July 23, 1958.

Spikes, (Mrs.) Nellie Witt to Roy Sylvan Dunn, February 19, 1957.

Stubbs, Herbert F. to Jean Paul, June 8, 1958.

Stubbs, (Mrs.) Lou to Roy Sylvan Dunn, August 27, 1957.

Taylor, (Mrs.) Albert to Jean Paul, June 7, 1958.

Twitty, W. E. to Jean Paul, August 27, 1958.

Wagner, Dr. Charles to Barbara Campbell, April 8, 1954.
Yates, Clarence P. to Seymour V. Connor, July 29, 1959.

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Unless otherwise indicated, notes made of the following interviews are in possession of the person making the interview.

- Baugh, (Mrs.) W. L. to Winifred Vigness, December 14, 1960.
Bean, George R. to W. C. Holden, June 16, 1959.
Bergen, H. R., Captain, Salvation Army to Lawrence Graves, September 8, 1960.
Blackburn, David, manager of Lubbock Auditorium-Coliseum, to Lawrence Graves, September 6, 1960.
Broadhurst, W. L. to Roy Sylvan Dunn, November 8, 1960.
Burgess, Hubert to Lawrence Graves, October 13, 1960.
Bryant, (Mrs.) Hattie Linn to Roy Sylvan Dunn, August 12, 1956. Notes in SWC, TTC.
Caldwell, (Mrs.) Maxine to Lawrence Graves, August 29, 1960.
Christensen, E. A. to Lawrence Graves, October 19, 1960.
Clapp, K. N. to W. C. Holden, June 24, 1959.
———, to Virgil Lawyer, June 20, 1960.
———, to Lawrence Graves, November 3, 1960.
Davis, the Reverend A. L. to M. L. Dillon, January 27, 1959.
Dawson, the Reverend Floyd to M. L. Dillon, February 8, 1960.
Dunn, the Reverend A. L. to M. L. Dillon, January 27, 1959.
Eckert, A. W., Business Manager of Lubbock Public Schools, to Lawrence Graves, August 29, 1960.
Ellis, G. D. (Leslie) to Roy Sylvan Dunn, August 12, 1956. Notes in SWC, TTC.
Ellis, L. C. to Lawrence Graves, October 16, 1959. Telephone interview.
Flowers, William to Seymour V. Connor, July 29, 1959. Notes in SWC, TTC.
Griffith, Harold to Lawrence Graves, November 2, 1960.
Gross, Dave to Roy Sylvan Dunn, July 30, 1960. Telephone interview.
Guy, Charles A. to Lawrence Graves, September 8, 1960.
Hamilton, A. C., Director of Lubbock Park and Recreation Department, to Lawrence Graves, August 30, 1960.
Harbaugh, Dr. Fred to Lawrence Graves, December 2, 1960.
Heaton, Nat D. to Lawrence Graves, September 22, 1959.
Holden, W. C. to Roy Sylvan Dunn, June 2, July 20, 1960.

- Holden, W. C. and Frances to Virgil Lawyer, June 27, 1960.
- Hurlbut, Claude to Lawrence Graves, October 10, 1960.
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- McElroy, E. L. to Lawrence Graves, September 25, 1959.
- McKay, S. S. to Lawrence Graves, October 22, 1960.
- McWhorter, Owen to Roy Sylvan Dunn, August 1958. Notes in SWC, TTC.
- Milam, (Mrs.) W. T. to Lawrence Graves, November 3, 1960.
- Miller, Sterling to Lawrence Graves, November 4, 1960.
- Murfee, Mae to Lawrence Graves, October 19, 1959.
- Myrick, Walter A., Jr. to Jean Paul, August 26, 1958. Notes in SWC, TTC.
- Ogle, Frank, and Bruce Bryan, Lubbock Division, Texas Highway Department, to D. M. Vigness, April 20, 1960.
- Ohnemus, Ernest to Lawrence Graves, August 5, 1959.
- Pennington, Marshall, Vice President and Comptroller, TTC, to Lawrence Graves, November 14, 1960.
- Posey, Walter S. to Seymour V. Connor, July 28, 1959. Notes in SWC, TTC.
- , to Lawrence Graves, October 16, 1959.
- , to Virgil Lawyer, June 21, 1960.
- Privett, J. C. to Roy Sylvan Dunn, July 30, 1960. Telephone interview.
- Rosson, James, Executive Director, Lubbock Community Chest, to Lawrence Graves, November 21, 1960.
- Rylander, Dorothy to Lawrence Graves, August 5, November 18, 1960.

- Sandy, Gerald H., Librarian of the Lubbock Public Library, to Lawrence Graves, August 29, 1960.
- Settle, (Mrs.) Rosa, Lubbock City-County Welfare Director, to Lawrence Graves, August 31, 1960.
- Southern, Guy, Agent, Burlington Railroad, to D. M. Vigness, November 23, 1960.
- Tate, Byron D., Superintendent of Parks, Lubbock, Texas, to Lawrence Graves, August 30, 1960.
- Thomas, Gerald Waylett, Dean of Agriculture, TTC, to Roy Sylvan Dunn, November 14, 1960.
- Tripp, Murrell to Lawrence Graves, October 28, 1960.
- Twitty, W. E. to Lawrence Graves, October 5, 1959.
- Vickers, J. E. to Lawrence Graves, October 13, November 11, 1959, November 18, 1960.
- Williams, Nat, Superintendent of Lubbock Schools, to Lawrence Graves, August 29, 1960, October 21, 1960, telephone interview.
- Wilson, Smylie to Roy Sylvan Dunn, May 9, 1960. Telephone interview.
- Woods, H. D. to D. M. Vigness, June 9, 1960.
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- Yates, Clarence P. to Seymour V. Connor, July 29, 1959. Notes in SWC, TTC.
- Young, (Mrs.) A. W. to Lawrence Graves, October 25, 1960.

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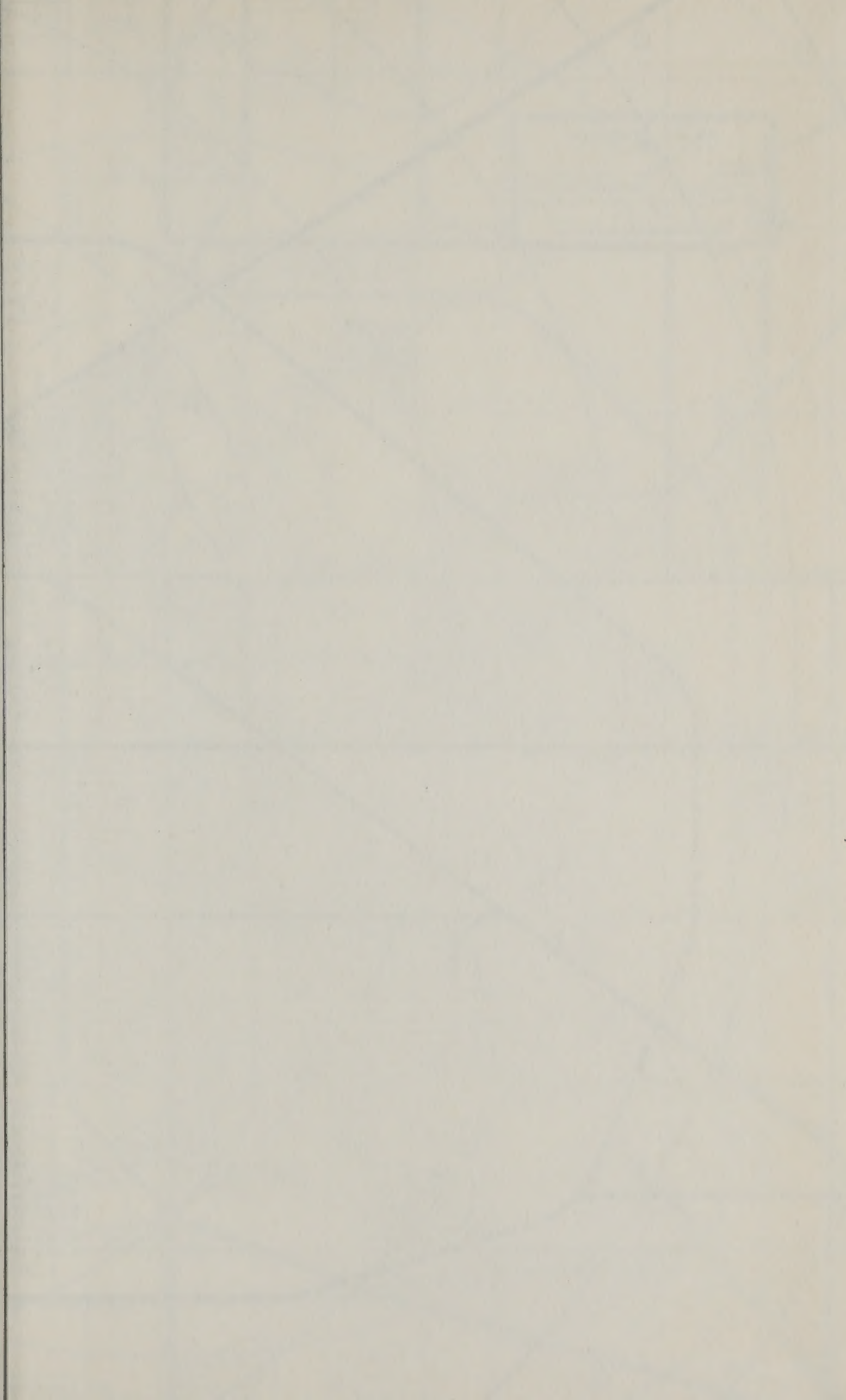
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MANAGEMENT PLAZA

1-14-1955

CLAYTON ROAD

STANDARD

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REESE AIR FORCE BASE

REESE AIR FORCE BASE

ORGANIZED RESERVE AND TEXAS NAT'L GUARD ARMORY

TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE

7000	7001	7002	7003	7004	7005	7006	7007	7008	7009
7010	7011	7012	7013	7014	7015	7016	7017	7018	7019
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7030	7031	7032	7033	7034	7035	7036	7037	7038	7039
7040	7041	7042	7043	7044	7045	7046	7047	7048	7049
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7000

5000

7000

LEVELLAND

HIGHWAY

34th ST

34th STREET

34th ST

34th ST

34th ST

34th ST

34th ST

Spur 327

b

PROPOSED LOOP 700

7

LUBBOCK, TEXAS

"HUB OF THE PLAINS"

MAP EXPLANATIONS

	MAIN		STREETS AND NAMES
	CITY LIMITS		RAILROADS
	SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL PROPERTY		PARKS

Scale in Miles
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 1 1/4 1 1/2 1 3/4 2

